

n.º 10

# Pessoa plural

Pessoa Plural

A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies

ENGLISH  
POEMS

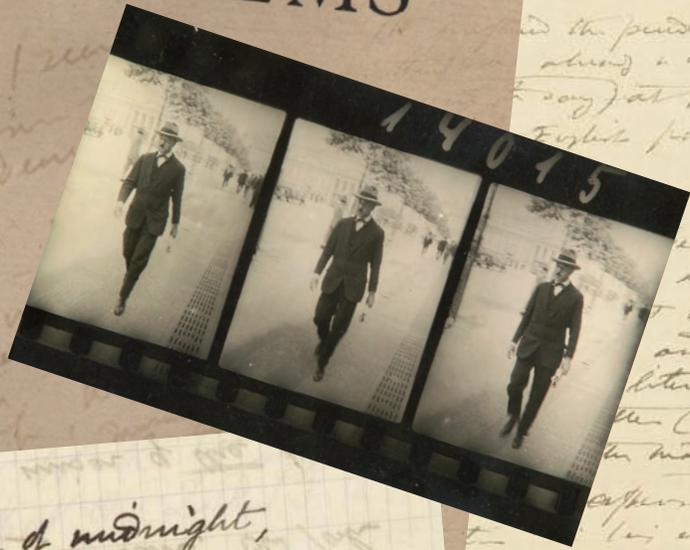
*The student of Salamanca.*

*Part the first.*

7-2-15

*How many masks  
Upon our faces  
If for*

*How many masks  
Upon our faces  
If for*



*Was more than the hour of midnight,  
As is told by ancient stories,  
When all in sleep and in silence  
Enwrapped in earth and gloomy  
Then the*

*Alexander Search*

*Alexander Search*

*A. Search*

*Alexander Search*

*mask our soul's  
the unmasking.*

GUEST EDITOR

Patricio Ferrari

Onésimo Almeida  
Paulo de Medeiros  
Jeronimo Pizarro

EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

## Special Issue

Inside the Mask:

The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa

issn: 2212-4179

*Autographs must have letters part*  
*Frederick Wyatt*  
*Frederick Wyatt*  
*Frederick Wyatt*

**Table of Contents**  
Número 10, outono de 2016  
(Número especial: Dentro da Máscara—  
A Poesia Inglesa de Fernando Pessoa)  
Issue 10, Fall 2016  
(Special Issue: Inside the Mask—  
The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa)

[PART 1: Inside the Mask]

**Introductory Note** ..... 1

[Nota Introdutória]

Patricio Ferrari

**I. Pessoa's English Poetry: an Overview / A Poesia Inglesa de Pessoa: uma Visão Geral**

**Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism** ..... 16

[O Ceticismo Voluptuoso de Pessoa]

Kenneth David Jackson

**II. Pessoa's Fictitious English Poets / Os Poetas Ingleses Fictícios de Pessoa**

**Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine** ..... 34

—and the political Pessoa

[Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine

— e um Pessoa político]

Carlos Pittella

**Pessoa's Wyatt** ..... 66

[O Wyatt de Pessoa]

Stephen Merriam Foley

**III. On *The Mad Fiddler* / Sobre *The Mad Fiddler***

***The Mad Fiddler* in the context of Pessoa's Correspondence** ..... 76

[Fontes Poéticas em *The Mad Fiddler*]

Susan Margaret Brown

<b>Fernando Pessoa's <i>The Mad Fiddler</i>:</b> .....	89
Sensationism in English [ <i>The Mad Fiddler</i> de Fernando Pessoa: Sensacionismo em Inglês] Patrícia Silva	

#### **IV. The Classical World in Pessoa's English Chapbooks / O Mundo Clássico dos Livros Ingleses de Pessoa**

<b>Pessoa's <i>Antinous</i></b> .....	106
[O Antínoo de Pessoa] J.D. Reed	

<b>Notes on Pessoa, <i>Inscriptions</i>, and the <i>Greek Anthology</i></b> .....	120
apontamentos de Pessoa sobre Teosofia e espiritualidades da Índia [Notas sobre Pessoa, <i>Inscriptions</i> e a <i>Antologia Grega</i> ] Kenneth Haynes	

#### **V. On the 35 Sonnets / Sobre os 35 Sonnets**

<b>Blindfolded Eyes and the Eyable Being:</b> .....	135
Pessoa, the senses, and the 35 Sonnets [Olhos Vendados e Ser Visível: Pessoa, os sentidos e os 35 Sonnets] M. Irene Ramalho-Santos	

<b>Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's 35 Sonnets</b> .....	151
[Complexidade Métrica nos 35 Sonnets de Pessoa] Geoffrey Russom	

<b>Putting Your Heart to Sleep with Pentameters</b> .....	173
A Prosodic, Lexical, and Syntactic Analysis of Pessoa's "Sonnet X" [Pondo o Coração para Dormir em Pentâmetros: Uma análise prosódica, sintática e lexical do "Sonnet X" de Pessoa] Manuel Portela	

#### **VI. Pessoa as Translator / Pessoa como Tradutor**

<b>On Pessoa's <i>The Student of Salamanca</i></b> .....	193
[ <i>O Estudante de Salamanca</i> de Pessoa] Jorge Wiese	

## VII. Ever-widening Pessoa / Pessoa sempre-crescente

<b>The Enduring Presence of Pessoa</b> .....	219
[A Persistente Presença de Pessoa]	
George Monteiro	

## VIII. Documents / Documentos

<b>The Poems of Frederick Wyatt</b> .....	226
[Os Poemas de Frederick Wyatt]	
Patricio Ferrari & Carlos Pittella	

<b><i>The Mad Fiddler: Unpublished Documents</i></b> .....	302
[ <i>The Mad Fiddler: Poemas Inéditos</i> ]	
Kenneth David Jackson	

<b><i>The Student of Salamanca: an English translation</i></b> .....	318
[ <i>O Estudante de Salamanca: uma tradução em inglês</i> ]	
Nicolás Barbosa López	

## IX. Reviews / Resenhas

<b>Searching for the Corpus of Alexander</b> .....	552
[Em Busca do Corpus de Alexander]	
Nicolás Barbosa López	

<b><i>The Mad Fiddler: The Critical Edition</i></b> .....	558
[ <i>The Mad Fiddler: a Edição Crítica</i> ]	
Kenneth David Jackson	

<b>The Incomplete English Poems of Fernando Pessoa</b> .....	568
[Os Poemas Ingleses Incompletos de Fernando Pessoa]	
Gary Stough	

<b>Connections and Transformations:</b> .....	575
Fernando Pessoa Reads and Writes in English	
[Conexões e Transformações: Fernando Pessoa Lê e Escreve em Inglês]	
David Mittelman	

[PART 2]

**Nietzsche's and Pessoa's Psychological Fictionalism..... 578**

[O Ficcionalismo Psicológico de Nietzsche e Pessoa]

Antonio Cardillo & Pietro Gori

**Octavio Paz, leitor de Fernando Pessoa: ..... 606**

crítica, tradução e poesia

[Octavio Paz, reader of Fernando Pessoa:

criticism, translation and poetry]

Daiane Walker Araujo

**Os destinatários dos panfletos pessoanos de 1923..... 628**

[The addressees of the Pessoaan pamphlets of 1923]

José Barreto

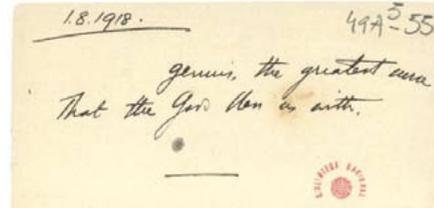
**Pessoa na língua de Baudelaire ..... 704**

[Pessoa in the language of Baudelaire]

Fernando Carmino Marques

# Introductory Note

Patricio Ferrari\*



Genius, the greatest curse  
That the Gods bless us with.<sup>1</sup>

In October of 1977 Brown University had the honor to host the first International Symposium on Fernando Pessoa.<sup>2</sup> At that time, referring to Pessoa's English output, Edwin Honig pointed out that much remained to be said about the poet's bilingualism.<sup>3</sup> No one more than George Monteiro has committed himself to

---

\* University of Lisbon, Center for Comparative Studies (Postdoctoral Research Fellowship funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia [the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research, and technology] between 2013-2015). Currently in the MFA program at Brown University.

<sup>1</sup> Fernando Pessoa. Detail from unpublished manuscript dated 1 August 1918 (BNP/E3, 49A<sup>5</sup>-55; see Key to abbreviations). We find the slightly different lines ("Genius the greatest curse | That the gods gave men on earth," p. 184) in Hubert Jennings' selection of poems by Pessoa. The selection of Portuguese and English poems closes the "The Poet with Many Faces," an unpublished study datable from c. 1974 and currently edited by Carlos Pittella. This work is part of the Jennings literary estate, recently donated to Brown University by his son and daughter, Christopher Jennings and Bridget Winstanley. (See <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:706076/>). The lines transcribed by Jennings may or may not be a direct transcription of the document reproduced above. During his lifetime, Jennings published two books on Pessoa (actually, two versions of the same book), one in Portuguese and one in English (JENNINGS, 1984 and 1986). Prior to 1974, the most significant contribution to Pessoa studies in English was the selection and translation by Edwin Honig (PESSOA, 1971). For a recent special number on the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies see (PITTELLA, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> The essays of this Symposium were collected in *The Man Who Never Was* (MONTEIRO, 1982). Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) lived in Durban, South Africa, from February 1896 to August 1905. In August 1901 he returned to Portugal where he remained until September of the following year, embarking once again for Durban. In December 1904 he completed his studies at Durban High School (Form VI). For detailed information regarding his British education see (SEVERINO ([1969/1970] 1983 and JENNINGS, 1984 and 1986).

<sup>3</sup> Poet, translator, critic, and professor of English and Comparative Literature at Brown University from 1957 until his retirement in 1982, Edwin Honig (1919-2011) is responsible for the first US translation of a *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* (PESSOA, 1971). In an interview given to *Fall River*, a Rhode Island newspaper, later quoted in *Diário de Notícias* in 1978, Honig stated: "Para se poder avaliar a universalidade de Pessoa é preciso distinguir o que nele é português, o que nele é bilinguismo, e o que nele é internacional. O bilinguismo de Pessoa está praticamente por estudar."

exploring this largely ignored aspect of one of the greatest Modernist poets. Almost two decades ago, in his ground breaking *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature* (MONTEIRO, 2000), he discussed at length the complex web of implications regarding Pessoa's role as a voracious reader and writer of English.

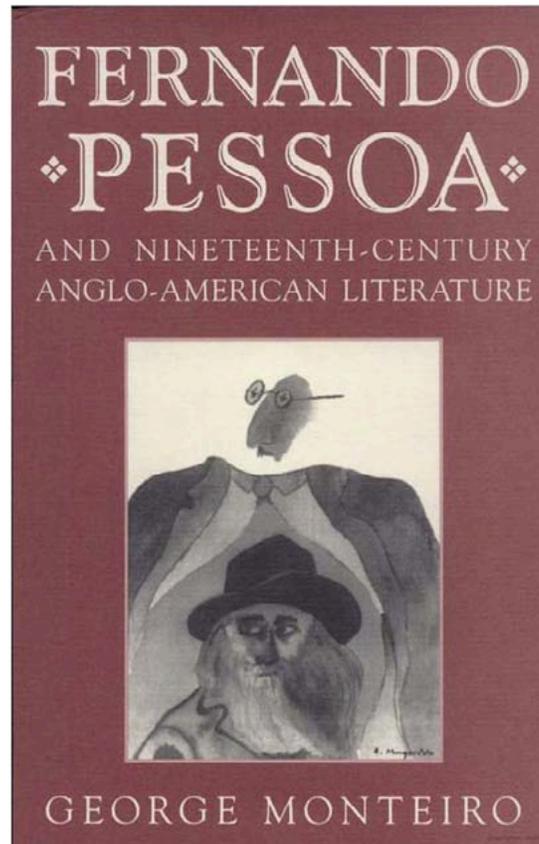


Fig. 2. George Monteiro, *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*, 2000.

The publication of *Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa*, conceived and organized in that same pioneering spirit and coming full-circle almost forty years later, wishes to celebrate George Monteiro<sup>4</sup>—the renaissance scholar, the man—who at the outset of his seminal work stated,

---

["In order to assess Pessoa's universality it is necessary to distinguish what in him is Portuguese, what in him is bilingualism, and what in him is international. Pessoa's bilingualism is yet to be studied."] (*Diário de Notícias*, 1978). Among Honig's papers held at The John Hay Library of Brown University figure unpublished material regarding the preparation of the *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* and other writings on the Portuguese poet.

<sup>4</sup> George Monteiro is a critic, translator, poet, Professor Emeritus of English, and of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies. In 1975 he founded the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies with Onésimo Almeida and Nelson H. Viera. Some of his books on Portuguese subjects are *The Presence of Camões: Influences on the Literature of England, America, and Southern Africa* (1996), *The Presence of Pessoa: English, American, and Southern African Literary Responses* (1998), and

as recognized by Pessoa [...] writers influence other writers and that, by implication, the specific consequences of such influence are worth study [...]. Inquiry of this nature is especially rewarding in the case of Pessoa and nineteenth-century literature written in English, for Pessoa was both bilingual and bicultural.

(MONTEIRO, 2000: 1)

Reading Pessoa's English production alongside the English Romantics (Wordsworth, Keats, Byron), Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Edgar Allan Poe, among others, Monteiro did not fail to highlight Pessoa's unparalleled expression of self-othering in comparison to predecessors (e.g., Robert Browning) and contemporaries (e.g., Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats) (see, among others, RODITTI, 1963: 373 and 385; MONTEIRO, 2000: 58-66 and 157, n. 9; and MCNEILL, 2010: 107-133 [123]).

For this poetic scheme Pessoa coined the literary term "heteronymismo" ["heteronymism"], a concept that was formalized by Pessoa in 1928 (PIZARRO, 2012: 73-98) and that distinguishes Fernando Pessoa's works from that of the main fictional authors other than himself, who came into being around 1914 (Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos), each with his own literary and philosophical idiosyncrasies, personal traits (e.g., occupation, calligraphy, and horoscope), languages, diction, and individual practice of poetic meter and poetic rhythm. A recent study counted 136 distinct fictitious authors—with more than 40 of them having an Anglophone background and/or name.<sup>5</sup>

A precocious literary invention without precedent in the history of literature, a unique literary creation that the young Portuguese poet would begin in English—a language he had learned while living outside of Portugal. From an early age, while still a high-school student in the British-governed town of Durban, South Africa, Pessoa began publishing poetry in English under different names. The first English-speaking figure to make it to print was Karl P. Effield, originally

---

*Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century AngloAmerican Literature* (2000). Among his translations from the Portuguese are *In Crete with the Minotaur and other Poems* by Jorge de Sena, *Self-Analysis and Thirty Other Poems* by Fernando Pessoa, *A Man Smiles at Death with Half a Face* by José Rodrigues Miguéis, *Iberian Poems* by Miguel Torga, and *Poems in Absentia* by Pedro da Silveira. Included among his recent books are two works of literary criticism – *Elizabeth Bishop in Brazil and After: A Poetic Career Transformed* (2012) and *As Paixões de Pessoa* (2013) – an anthology (co-edited with Alice R. Clemente), *The Gavea-Brown Book of Portuguese-American Poetry* – and a book of poems, *The Pessoa Chronicles: Poems, 1980-2016* (2016).

<sup>5</sup> See *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios* edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, [2013] 2016). When not quoting from a first edition I shall provide the year in which the work was first published: ([first publication] publication I use). This will only be done in the first occurrence.

from Boston, Massachusetts.<sup>6</sup> On 11 July 1903 his poem “The Miner’s Song” appeared in *The Natal Mercury*, a weekly newspaper from Durban (PESSOA, 2016: 109-118). Interestingly, Pessoa submitted another poem in this newspaper under the name of Charles Robert Anon, name under which he attempted without success to publish three political sonnets about the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 (PESSOA, 2016: 141).<sup>7</sup>

Since most readers and critics would agree that Pessoa wrote his finest poetry in Portuguese, it is noteworthy that the first book he submitted for publication was *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of English poems that the London publisher Constable & Company Ltd. turned down in 1917. Although disappointed, he was not deterred from publishing some English works he had written during that decade: *Antinous*, a long poem that celebrates the homoerotic love between Antinous and the Emperor Hadrian, and *35 Sonnets*, inspired by Shakespeare’s sonnet series. Both chapbooks were self-published in Lisbon in 1918. Three years later, in 1921, he published *English Poems I-II*, which included a revised version of *Antinous* and *Inscriptions*, a series of epitaphs likely motivated by his reading of *The Greek Anthology*, translated into English by R. W. Paton and *English Poems III (Epithalamium)*, twenty-one poems infused with explicit scenes of heterosexual love set in Rome). These two slim volumes were published by Olisipo, a commercial agency and publishing house that Pessoa had founded that same year.

Literary fame came posthumously. During his lifetime Pessoa only managed to have one poem published in England. It appeared in *The Athenæum*,<sup>8</sup> a literary magazine published in London (1828-1921) with contributors that included Thomas Hardy, Edmund Gosse, T. S. Eliot, Robert Graves, Aldous Huxley, and Edmund Blunden—all of whom are extant in his private library, a collection largely comprised of English books.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> The origin of Karl P. Effield is likely connected to Edgar Allan Poe; the American writer, editor, and literary critic best known for his tales of mystery and the macabre was born in Boston in 1809. *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays* was among the books Pessoa chose upon winning the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize in 1903. Although the Prize was intended for 1903, it was awarded on 24 February 1904. As a matter of fact, one of the books chosen, JOHNSON (1890), is dated 1904. The other two books chosen were KEATS (1898) and TENNYSON (1902).

<sup>7</sup> For the early English political poetry of Pessoa see the contribution by Carlos Pittella in the present Issue.

<sup>8</sup> In the Index to the publications from January to June 1920 Pessoa’s name is given as “Pessoa, Ferdinand.” This is likely a mistake for his name appears correctly on p. 136. The poem Pessoa published in *The Athenæum* on 30 January 1920 was “Meantime,” entitled “Far Away” in *The Mad Fiddler*. See PESSOA (1999: 25 and 56).

<sup>9</sup> For an introduction and full catalogue of Pessoa’s private library see PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010).

For some time he seems to have entertained the idea of establishing contact with some of these Anglophone authors, poets, scholars, and literary critics. The first two appear in an unpublished list datable to the end of the 1910s.<sup>10</sup>

"Eng[lish] Poems"

Gilbert Murray.  
 Thomas Hardy.  
 Edmund Gosse.  
 Alfred Noyes.  
 Rudyard Kipling.  
 (Edward Carpenter).  
 J. C. Squire ("Mercury").  
 /Cambridge Literary Agency/.  
 Prof. Saintsbury.  
 Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.  
 (Lord Riddell.)  
 /Classical Scholars./

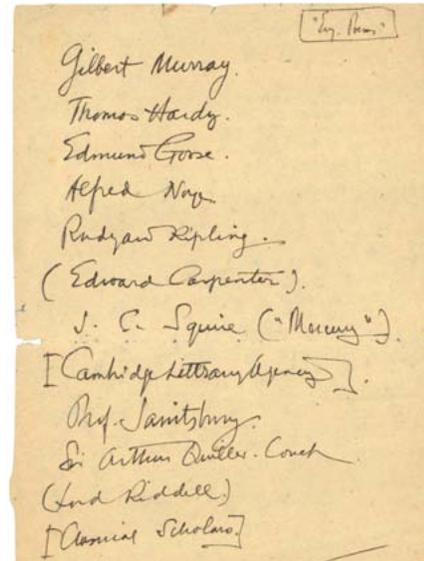


Fig. 3. Ms. datable to c. 1917 (BNP/E3, 64-99<sup>v</sup>). Detail.

Although there are no traces of correspondence between Pessoa and the men of letters in this list, the truth is that he would continue to write English poetry until the year of his death, as attested by the following lines that open an unpublished poem datable 20 October 1935:

When I knew I was dead,  
 I got up from my bed  
 And I wondered what happened to me.

(BNP / E3, 49A<sup>7</sup>-15)

\*

A month following the second Symposium on Fernando Pessoa at Brown University, in April 2015, Onésimo T. Almeida wrote:

Quando Pessoa/Search/Wyatt/Pessoa for(em) devidamente internacionalizado(s), sempre que se referir o bilinguismo literário e se mencionar Nabokov, Semprun, Cioran e Conrad,

<sup>10</sup> George Edward Bateman Saintsbury, whose names also appears in this list, is one of the critics that Pessoa seems to have intended to contact the most. His name is listed in 92W-69<sup>v</sup>, 144P-82<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>1</sup>-116<sup>r</sup>, and 48G-9<sup>r</sup>. No correspondence is known between the two men. The latter two references were given by João Dionísio in his introduction to PESSOA (1993:11-12) and again by Angioni and Gomes in PESSOA (1999: 14-15).

haverá que fazê-lo(s) figurar nesse grupo. Não há paridade absoluta, mas as diferenças entre eles serão intrigantes e instrutivas.

(ALMEIDA, 2015: 33)

[When Pessoa/Search/Wyatt/Pessoa become internationally recognized as they should be, whenever the topic of literary bilingualism arises and Nabokov, Semprun, Cioran, and Conrad are mentioned they will have to be mentioned as well as part of that group. There is no absolute equality, but the differences between them will be fascinating and instructive]

Focusing on a body of poetry that continues to grow due to discoveries still being made in the Pessoa Archive, this Special Issue also celebrates the fifth year of *Pessoa Plural*.

The Issue is divided into three sections: (I) Articles: Pessoa's English poetry—an overview; Pessoa's fictitious English poets; on *The Mad Fiddler*; the classical world in Pessoa's English chapbooks; on the 35 *Sonnets*; Pessoa as Translator; the ever-widening presence of Pessoa in English-language writers; (II) Documents from Pessoa's Archive; (III) Reviews of editions of and about Pessoa.

The series opens with David K. Jackson's study of Pessoa's English poetry. He discusses some English influences pertaining to the poet's formative years. In the next chapter, with the political poetry as a focal point, Carlos Pittella examines published and unpublished writings between 1905 and 1907. Stephen Foley's brief account evaluates the figure of Thomas Wyatt and the possible connections with Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt. The third chapter is devoted to *The Mad Fiddler*. While Susan M. Brown traces connections in Pessoa's correspondence, Patrícia Oliveira Silva pays particular attention to the impact of romantic poets from the pantheist lineage of Shelley and Blake. In the chapter on Pessoa's classical chapbooks, J. D. Reed looks at *Antinous* from a tradition of poems on mythological dying-god figures mourned by their divine lovers. There follows an unprecedented study of Pessoa's *Inscriptions*. Kenneth Haynes shows not only how Pessoa participated in a widespread Victorian and Edwardian practice, but also reveals which poems Pessoa was particularly drawn to in *The Greek Anthology*. The chapter on the 35 *Sonnets* contains three contributions. While Maria Irene Ramalho concentrates on the role of the senses, Geoffrey Russom and Manuel Portela undertake a formal analysis. The former sheds important light on Pessoa's metrical patterns, enjambments, and grammatical constructions not used by Shakespeare; the latter analyses Pessoa's "Sonnet X" as a modernist parody of the Shakespearean sonnet. On the chapter on Pessoa as Translator, Jorge Wiese studies the meter and rhythm of Pessoa's translation of Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*]. George Monteiro closes the section of articles by offering accounts of how a number of significant English-language writers have reacted to the work of Pessoa.

The following section presents previous unpublished writings from Pessoa's Archive. Carlos Pittella and I revisit previously attributed material by Pessoa to Alexander Search and publish "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt," both poems and paratexts. David K. Jackson transcribes and compares the newly-found typescript of 47 pages of *The Mad Fiddler* belonging to Pessoa's niece, Manuela Nogueira, to two other typescripts in the Pessoa Archive. Nicolás Barbosa transcribes in full and for the first time Pessoa's partial translation of *The Student of Salamanca*.

The review section closes the Issue. Reviewing two different editions, one of Alexander Search's poetry and the other of English poems by Pessoa himself—Barbosa argues for a re-edition of Alexander Search's complete writings and Cary Stough calls for a complete edition of Pessoa's English poems. Jackson reviews the critical edition of *The Mad Fiddler* in the light of the new findings in Nogueira's private collection. David Mittelman assesses the first book-length publication focusing on the study of Pessoa as reader and writer of English, which appeared in 2015.

Fernando Pessoa's multiple work has had its effect on literature, including the way we look at literature. He established his poetic reputation only towards the end of his life (only in Portugal). Posterity was much kinder to him than life had been. Today he is one of the most celebrated poets of the past century. It was in Portuguese that Pessoa was an innovator, bringing to that language poetic rhythms absorbed in his beloved English tongue. Yet, as the essays in this Special Issue intend to show, his English poetry merits more attention than has been paid it to date.

Although Pessoa wrote more than 2,000 poems in all three languages combined (English, Portuguese, and French), he only published a small fraction during his short life. Today, eighty years after his death, with the preparation of the complete works still under way, some of his poetic output remains to be published. While the complete French poetry appeared in France in 2014 and the publication of the complete Portuguese poetry is forthcoming,<sup>11</sup> the editorial status of the English poetry has lagged behind. With hundreds of poems still to be deciphered and annotated, the posthumous publication of English poetry remains a vast *terra incognita* (see PIZARRO, 2012: 158; FERRARI and PITTELLA-LEITE, 2015: 228-229). It is my sincere hope that further studies bridging English, comparative literature, and linguistics will be carried out.

---

<sup>11</sup> For Portuguese, see the critical edition directed by Ivo Castro (PESSOA, *Poemas de Fernando Pessoa*, volume I, tomes II-IV). The critical edition still has one tome of posthumous Portuguese poetry under way: poetry written until 1914 (tome I). The *Poesia 1902-1917*, edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva, Ana Maria Freitas, and Madalena Dine, and published in 2005 by Assírio & Alvim, does not include all the non-attributed, dated Portuguese poems written by Pessoa during 1902-1917. For the French poetry, see PESSOA (2014).

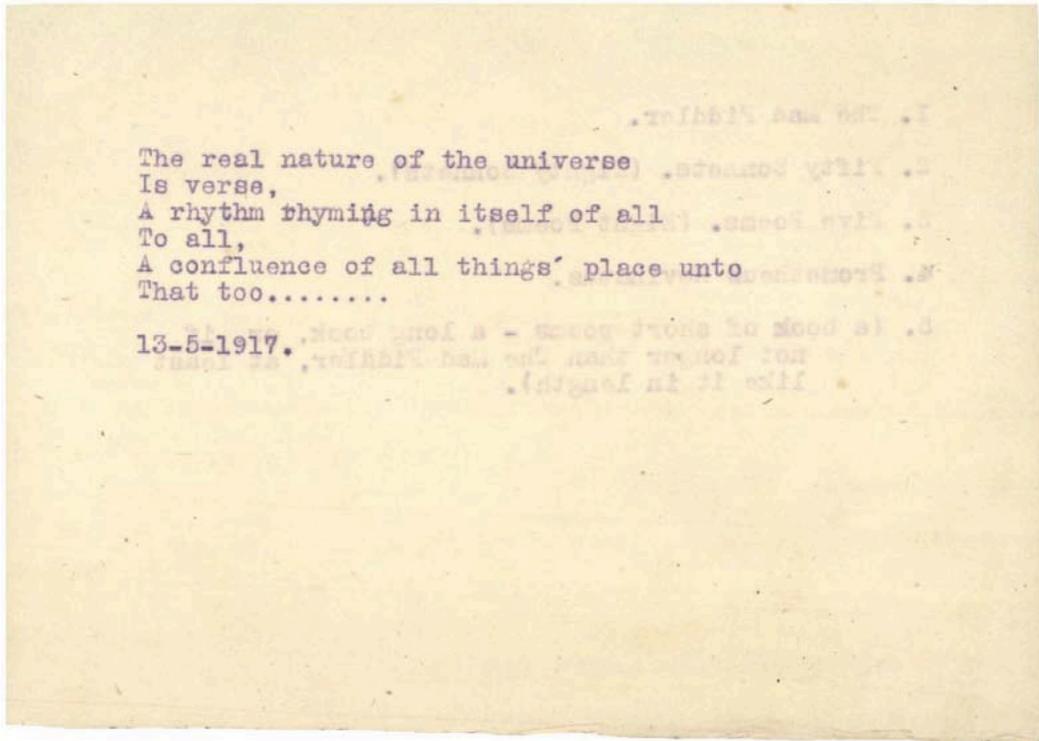


Fig. 4. Typewritten dated 13 May 1917 (BNP/E3, 31-94v; in PESSOA [2014] 2015: 78).

The real nature of the universe  
 Is verse,  
 A rhythm rhyming in itself of all  
 To all,  
 A confluence of all things' place unto  
 That too.....

## Key to Symbols Used in Transcriptions

In the transcription of unpublished documents by Fernando Pessoa, we employ the following symbols:

□	blank space in line/phrase by author
[     ]	line of verse left blank or incomplete
*	conjectural reading by the editor
/     /	word/passage doubted by the author
†	illegible word
<>	enclosed words were crossed out
<>/ \	submission by overwriting (<phrase replaced>/replacement \)
[↑ ]	interlinear addition in line above
[↓ ]	interlinear addition in line below
[→ ]	addition in the same line on the right
[← ]	addition in the same line on the left
	new verse or new paragraph
[word]	word or part of word supplied by the editor

Words underlined by Pessoa are reproduced in italics. In the case of verse, marginal line numbers in italics and in bold refer to genetic notes to the poem.

## Key to abbreviations

BNP / E3	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal / Espólio 3 [National Library of Portugal / Archive 3]
ed.	editor
ms.	manuscript
typ.	typescript

## Bibliography

- ALMEIDA, Onésimo Teotónio (2015). "Pessoa, poeta inglês (de direito)." *Jornal de Letras*, Lisbon, 13-26 May, p. 33.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELA-LEITE (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*. Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, Tagus Press, spring, pp. 227-246.
- HONIG, Edwin. "Fernando Pessoa nos Estados Unidos." *Diario de Notícias*, Lisbon, 1978.
- JENNINGS, Hubert D. (1986). *Fernando Pessoa in Durban*. Durban: Durban Corporation.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1984). *Os Dois Exílios: Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos & Fundação Eng.º António de Almeida.

- JOHNSON, Samuel (1890). *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*. Edited, with notes, by Alexander Napier. Introduction by John W. Hales. London: George Bell and Sons. 3 vols. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 9-37].
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. With Memoir, Explanatory Notes. With portrait and illustrations. London, New York: Frederick Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- MCNEILL, Patrícia Silva (2010). *Yeats and Pessoa. Parallel Poetic Styles*. London: Legenda.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- \_\_\_\_ (ed.) (1982). *The Man Who Never Was*. Providence: Gávea-Brown.
- PITTELLA, Carlos (Guest ed.) (2016). *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoaan studies*. Carlos Pittella, guest editor. Providence: Gávea-Brown. [A printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8].
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2012). *Pessoa Existe?* Preface by Miguel Real. Lisbon: Ática. Collection Ensaística Pessoaana.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection." 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. [First Edition 2013].
- \_\_\_\_ (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari with the collaboration of Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence. Clepsydre Collection.
- \_\_\_\_ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. [First edition 2014].
- \_\_\_\_ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome I.
- \_\_\_\_ (1971). *Selected Poems by Fernando Pessoa. Including poems by his heteronyms Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Alvaro de Campos as well as some of his English sonnets and selections from his letters*. Translated by Edwin Honig. With an introduction by Octavio Paz. Bilingual edition. Chicago: The Swallow Press.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays*. With an introduction by Charles Baudelaire. A new edition. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-442].
- RODITI, Edouard (1963). "Fernando Pessoa, Outsider Among English Poets." *The Literary Review*, vol. 6, n.º 3, spring, pp. 372-385.
- SEVERINO, Alexandrino (1983). *Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Lisbon: D. Quixote. [First published in 1969/1970].
- TENNYSON, Alfred (1902). *The Works of Alfred Tennyson*. London: Macmill and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-541].

## Acknowledgements

It is with pleasure and deep gratitude that I wish to acknowledge the generosity of several Departments at Brown University and various Portuguese Institutions that have made possible two International Symposiums devoted to Fernando Pessoa as an English poet—the first one held at the Fernando Pessoa House in Lisbon on 3 July 2014 and the second on 17 and 18 April 2015 at Brown University—and the subsequent publication of this Special Issue. Besides the sponsorship of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies with the participation of the Literary Arts Program, the Department of English, the Department of Comparative Literature, and the Music Department at Brown University, the following institutions, all of which are located in Lisbon, Portugal, have contributed to these events: the Fernando Pessoa House, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Luso-American Foundation, and the Foundation for Science and Technology.

For the realization of both Symposiums and the publication of this Special Issue I am deeply indebted to numerous people of different generations, backgrounds, and fields:

to Professors George Monteiro, Elena Buescu, and Jerónimo Pizarro for their professionalism and guidance during my post-doctoral years between 2013 and 2015,

to Professors George Monteiro, Onésimo T. Almeida, and Nelson Vieira for their generosity, expertise, and constant support during my last post-doctoral year at Brown University in 2014-2015 and beyond,

to editors-in-chief Onésimo T. Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro for the invitation, trust, and assistance during the preparation of this Special Issue,

to Jerónimo Pizarro for his editorial aid and the revision of all the transcriptions of Pessoa's documents published here for the first time,

to Carlos Pittella for the editorial aid on every single contribution in this Special Issue as well as for the translation of most Portuguese texts,

to Kailin Beall for her committed production of the *Pessoa Plural* for the last three years,

to Mark Streeter for his careful editorial revisions of some of the essays in this Special Issue,

to Consuelo Sherba, Katherine Winterstein, Emmanuel Feldman, and Nigel Gore for the memorable concert that closed the Symposium at Brown University,

to José Pires Correia at the Fernando Pessoa House and to Lígia Maria de Azevedo Martins and Fátima Lopes at the National Library of Portugal,

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to the following people who, in different ways and most kindly, have contributed on the Lisbon Symposium (Carmo Mota, Christian Kjelstrup, Stefan Helgesson, Antonio Cardiello, and José Barreto) and at the Brown Symposium (Onésimo T. Almeida, Nelson H. Vieira, Armanda Silva, Claudia J. Fischer, Forrest Gander, Cole Swensen, Gale Nelson, and Stuart Blazer).

Last but not least, I am grateful to all the participants, especially to those whose contribution appears in this Special Issue.

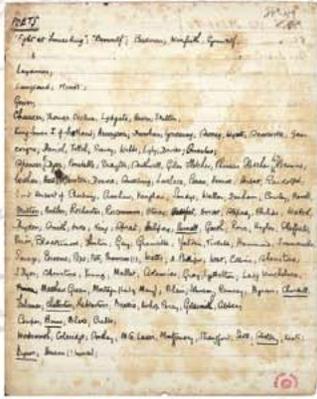


*fundação*

**LUSO-AMERICANA  
PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO**



## Annex I. Program of Symposium at the Fernando Pessoa House



## Fernando Pessoa's English Poetry

A tribute to Georg Rudolf Lind  
Casa Fernando Pessoa / Organized by Patricio Ferrari\*

**3 July 2014**

Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), one of the foremost poets of the twentieth-century, wrote English verse from May, 1901 until the last month of his life in November, 1935. Intended as a tribute to Georg Rudolf Lind, pioneer editor of Pessoa's English poetry, this one-day conference gathers the voices of scholars from different parts of the globe. This international event held at the Pessoa House is the first one entirely devoted to a poetic corpus still largely unexplored.

### PROGRAM

**15hs-17hs30**

**Patricio Ferrari.** On Pessoa's English Poetry Output: published, about to be published, still to be transcribed

**Richard Zenith.** Pessoa, Shelley and the Spirit of Prometheus

**Susan Margaret Brown.** The poetry of Alexander Search: searching for what?

**Manuel Portela.** "As to a child, I talked my heart asleep": a lexical, syntactic and prosodic analysis

Patricio Ferrari in conversation with **Christian Kjelstrup**

Coffee break

**18hs-20hs45**

**Stefan Helgesson.** Pessoa, Anon and Durban: Reconstructing a forgotten Context

**Carlos Pittella.** Kropotkin, Kitchener, Chamberlain - and the political Pessoa

**Mariana de Castro.** Romantic Modernists: Pessoa & Lord Byron

**Patricia McNeill.** Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler*: sensationism in English

**João Dionísio.** Fernando Pessoa's English Poems and Poetry in English

**Book launch** - Fernando Pessoa, *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*, ed. by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: Tell-a-Story, 2014. **Presentation by Susan Margaret Brown.**

\*FCT Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Universidade de Lisboa (Centre for Comparative Studies), Stockholms universitet (Department of English), and Brown University (Département of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies).

O evento decorrerá nas duas línguas.



Entrada livre no limite dos lugares disponíveis.  
Programa sujeito a alterações.

O acesso ao auditório por elevador é vedado após o início das sessões.

Rua Coelho da Rocha, 16 | 1250-088 Lisboa Autocarros 709, 713, 720, 738 e 774  
Tel.: 21 391 32 70 | info@casafernandopessoa.pt Elétricos 25 e 28  
www.casafernandopessoa.pt Metro Rato

## Annex II. Program of Symposium at Brown University (Conference)

## Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa

How many masks wear we, and undermasks,  
Upon our countenance of soul, and when,  
If for self-sport the soul itself unmasks,  
Knows it the last mask off and the face plain?  
The true mask feels no inside to the mask  
But looks out of the mask by co-masked eyes.  
Whatever consciousness begins the task  
The task's accepted use to sleepness lies.  
Like a child frightened by its mirrored faces,  
Our souls, that children are, being thought-losing,  
Poist otherness upon their forgot causing;  
And get a whole world on their forgot causing;



And, when a thought would unmask our soul's masking,  
Itself goes not unmasked to the unmasking.

*Fernando Pessoa*

**s y m p o s i u m**

17-18 April 2015

McCormack Family Theater/MacMillan Hall



Brown University

Saturday 18 April 2015

MacMillan Hall (167 Thayer St.), Room 115

- 9:00am Coffee
- 9:30am **Panel 2: Pessoa's Major English Fictitious Poets**  
K. David Jackson "Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism"  
Stephen Foley and Patricio Ferrari "Pessoa's Wyatt"
- 10:45am **Panel 3: Multilingual Translator**  
Jorge Wiese "Pessoa's English Rendering of Espronceda's *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"  
Claudia J. Fischer and Forrest Gander "Pessoa as Self-translator: *Naval Ode* and *Opiary*"
- 12:15pm Lunch
- 1:30pm **Panel 4: Two Chapbooks and an Unpublished Typescript**  
Susan M. Brown "Thoughts on *The Mad Fiddler*"  
Joseph Reed "Pessoa's *Antimus*"  
Kenneth Haynes "Pessoa and *The Greek Anthology*"
- 3:15pm **Panel 5: Shakespeare, Pessoa and the Art of the Sonnet**  
Geoffrey Russom "How Do We Apprehend Pessoa's Rhythmical Effects?"  
John Casey "A Bad Orator/An Unperfect Actor: Pessoa Reading Shakespeare"  
Peter K. Savel "A Reader of Shakespeare turns to Pessoa's *Sonnets*"
- Coffee Break
- 5:00pm **Closing Keynote Address**  
George Monteiro "And What Now, Fernando?"
- 6:00pm **Aurea Performance: *The Mad Fiddler***  
Consejo Sherba, Katherine Winterstein, Emmanuel Feldman and Nigel Gore, featuring the music of Francaix, Purcell, Ravel and others

FUNDAÇÃO  
LUSO-AMERICANA

FUNDAÇÃO  
CAVALHEIROS  
OURIBRAN

Organized by Patricio Ferrari

On April 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>, 2015, voices from five different departments at Brown University will join with local poets, musicians, actors and scholars in a two-day celebration of Fernando Pessoa, a major twentieth-century writer known primarily for his Portuguese works (*The Book of Disquiet* and the heteronymic poetry).

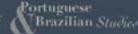
Two things make this event unique. In October of 1977 Brown hosted the first international symposium on Pessoa. At that time Edwin Honig pointed out that much remained to be said about the poet's bilingualism, referring to his English output. No one more than George Monteiro has committed himself to exploring this largely ignored aspect of Pessoa, and his *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature* (2000) breaks new ground in its discussion of the vast implications of Pessoa's role as a voracious reader/writer of English.

This conference, conceived and organized in that same pioneering spirit and coming full-circle almost forty years later, will focus on a body of poetry that continues to grow due to discoveries still being made in the Pessoa Archive. Open to faculty, students, writers and lovers of poetry.

Friday 17 April 2015

McCormack Family Theater (70 Brown St.)

- 4:00pm **Opening Remarks**  
**Opening Keynote Address**  
Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos  
"Seeing Nothing – Being Nothing – Being a Poet.  
Emily Dickinson Reads Fernando Pessoa"
- 5:00pm **Panel 1: Poets Reading a Selection of Pessoa's English Poetry**  
Rosmarie Waldrop, Cole Swensen, Gale Nelson and  
Stuart Blazer
- 6:30pm **Reception**  
Location: Dept. of Literary Arts  
(68 ½ Brown St.)

Sponsored by the Department of  Portuguese  
Brazilian Studies

with the participation of Literary Arts | English | Comparative Literature | Music

*Charles Robert Anon*

*Alexander Search.*

*William Alexander  
Search.*

How many masks wear we, and undermasks,

*Chas. James Search*

*Frederick Wyatt  
Frederick Wyatt  
Frederick Wyatt*

*Thomas Gore*

Design by Kate Beall

## Annex III. Program of Symposium at Brown University (Concert)

**AUREA** The Alchemy of Music & Words  
Consuelo Sherba Artistic Director

**The Mad Fiddler**  
*Fernando Pessoa*

Chamber music of Purcell, Dowland, Ravel, Villa Lobos and Milhaud, with poems from *The Mad Fiddler* and *Sonnets* by Pessoa.

Nigel Gore spoken word  
Chris Turner harmonica - spoken word  
Katherine Winterstein viola  
Consuelo Sherba viola  
Emmanuel Feldman cello

**AureaEnsemble.org**

Sponsored by the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University

**Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa**  
SYMPOSIUM - BROWN UNIVERSITY

**Aurea** closes out this two-day celebration of Portuguese poet, Fernando Pessoa. A symposium with voices from five different departments at Brown University, it brings together local poets, musicians, actors and scholars. Open to all faculty, students, writers and lovers of poetry.

## PROGRAM

Readings	Music
	Sonata for violin and cello, I. Allegro <i>Maurice Ravel 1875 - 1937</i>
Mad Fiddler	Harmonica Improvisation <i>Chris Turner</i>
Sonnet VIII How many masks wear we?	String trio no.2 in A minor <i>Henry Purcell 1659 - 1695</i>
The Island, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	String Trio no.1 in G minor <i>Henry Purcell</i>
Sonnet XI Like a ship	Duo for violin and viola, I. Allegro <i>Heitor Villa-Lobos 1887 - 1959</i>
Elf dance, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Sonatina for violin and viola, III. Fugue <i>Darius Milhaud 1892 - 1974</i>
Sonnet XIV We are born at Nightfall	Burst forth my tears Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland 1563 - 1626</i>
Her fingers toyed, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Whoever thinks or hopes of love Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
Sonnet XV Like a Bad suitor	All ye whom love or fortune Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
Sonnet XVII My love and not I is the egoist	Rest a while you cruel cares Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
The Poem, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Harmonica Improvisation
Sonnet XX When in the widening circle of rebirth	Duo for violin and viola, II. slow <i>Heitor Villa-Lobos</i>
The Hours, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Harmonica Improvisation
Sonnet XXXV Good. I have done	Sonatina for violin and viola, II. Lent <i>Darius Milhaud</i>

# Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism

Kenneth David Jackson\*

## Keywords

Alexander Search, Imitation, Pessoa, Skepticism, Solitude, "The Mad Fiddler," English Poetry.

## Abstract

Fernando Pessoa devoured English literature in his early education in South Africa, and his early fictitious author Alexander Search wrote around 115 poems in imitation of poets from Wyatt to Byron, before and after Pessoa's return to Lisbon in 1905. Search's reading of English poetry across time, his imitation of variable styles in English, and his search for an aesthetic ideal characterize a youthful period of voluptuous reading and skeptical despair that may be compared to FitzGerald's pursuit of classical translation through poetic imagination.

## Resumo

Fernando Pessoa estudou avidamente a literatura inglesa durante a sua formação na África do Sul, e o seu autor fictício Alexander Search escreveu cerca de 115 poemas, imitando o estilo de poetas ingleses — de Wyatt a Byron —, antes e depois da volta de Pessoa a Lisboa em 1905. A relação de Search com a poesia inglesa, a sua imitação de estilos variados e a busca do jovem Pessoa por um ideal estético caracterizam um período juvenil, de intensa leitura e de desespero cético, comparável à busca de FitzGerald por uma tradução clássica através da imaginação poética.

## Palavras-chave

Alexander Search, Ceticismo, Imitação, Pessoa, Solidão, "The Mad Fiddler", Poesia Inglesa.

---

\* Yale University, Department of Spanish & Portuguese.

In an essay on literary translation, the Brazilian poet Haroldo de Campos examined the case of Edward FitzGerald's (1809-1883) translation of Omar Khayyám's (1048-1131) *Rubáiyát*, a text in a language for which the translator had only an amateur interest, and imagined that, at the moment of translation of the Persian text, FitzGerald would find the work archaic, part of a poetic tradition that one would have to know by heart to feel its meaning fully (CAMPOS, 1983: 62). FitzGerald worked on the *Rubáiyát* from a French translation, according to his own resourcefulness and his particular distance, filtered through a classical ideal. Campos perceives that FitzGerald translates Khayyám "in the light of Greek Epicureanism, which reflects as much of his classical education as a certain 'mood' of the time, which tends to voluptuous skepticism."<sup>1</sup> The phrase seems appropriate to describe the young Pessoa's relationship with English poetry, which he read voraciously as the language of his education and imagination,<sup>2</sup> and it captures Bernardo Soares' comment on FitzGerald's work in the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*]:<sup>3</sup> "Charity for all, intimacy with none" (PESSOA, 2003: 367).<sup>4</sup> Khayyám's poetry comes from an unknown place, and for a moment, in his clerk's ledger lines, Soares sees exotic unrhymed quatrains: "In the very act of entering the name of an unfamiliar cloth, the doors of the Indus and of Samarkand open up,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "à luz do epicurismo grego, e que responde tanto à sua formação clássica, quanto a um certo 'mood' do tempo, propenso ao ceticismo voluptuário" (CAMPOS, 1983: 63).

<sup>2</sup> Bernardo Soares' appraisal of Khayyám suggests that the Pessoa's reading of the *Rubáiyát* around 1910 was central to the origin of Ricardo Reis: "A philosophia practica de Khayyam reduz-se pois a um epicurismo suave, esbatido até ao mínimo do desejo de prazer. Basta-lhe ver rosas e beber vinho. Uma brisa leve, uma conversa sem intuito nem proposito, um pucaro de vinho, flores, em isso, e em não mais do que isso, põe o sabia persa o seu desejo maximo. O amor agita e cansa, a acção dispersa e falha, ninguém sabe saber e pensar embacia tudo. Mais vale pois cessar em nós de desejar ou de esperar, de ter a pretensão futil de explicar o mundo, ou o proposito estulto de o emendar ou governar. Tudo é nada, ou, como se diz na Anthologia Grega, 'tudo vem da sem-razão', e é um grego, e portanto um racional, que o diz" (PESSOA, 2008: 78) ["Khayyam's practical philosophy can be reduced to a smooth Epicureanism, with the desire for pleasure reduced to a minimum. It is enough for him to see roses and drink wine. A light breeze, a conversation without a purpose, a pitcher of wine, flowers, that and no more than that is the maximum that the Persian sage desires. Love agitates and tires, its action weakens and fails, no one knows how to think and thinking obscures everything. It is best to stop desiring or hoping, of having the futile pretension of explaining the world, or the foolish aim of changing or governing it"] (PESSOA, 2002: 366-367). Pessoa's copy also contains extensive draft translations of quatrains of the poem, published in *Rubaiyat* (Pessoa, 2008). Editor's note: Following Pizarro's critical edition (PESSOA, 2010: II, 534) this text along with others on the Persian poet are no longer considered part of the corpus that make the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*].

<sup>3</sup> On Pessoa and Khayyám, see PIZARRO (2013) and BOSCALLIA (2016).

<sup>4</sup> "Caridade para com todos, intimidade com nenhum. Assim interpreta FitzGerald em um passo de uma sua nota, qualquer coisa da etihca de Khayyam" (PESSOA, 2008: 77). Editor's note: Following Pizarro's critical edition (PESSOA, 2010: II, 534) this text along with others on the Persian poet are no longer considered part of the corpus that make the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*].

and Persian poetry (which is yet from another place), with its quatrains whose third lines don't rhyme, is a distant anchor for me in my disquiet" (PESSOA, 2003: 18).<sup>5</sup> The *Rubáiyát* opens a vision of the voluptuous orientalist dream of empire and domination: "Nearly all men dream, deep down, of their own mighty imperialism: the subjection of all men, the surrender of all women, the adoration of all peoples and – for the noblest dreamers – of all eras" (PESSOA, 2002: 53).<sup>6</sup> Soares acknowledges the imperialist orientalism of his failure to be: "I know I've failed. I enjoy the vague voluptuousness of failure like one who, in his exhaustion, appreciates the fever that laid him up" (PESSOA, 2003: 270).<sup>7</sup>

Contact with English literature formed Pessoa's early intellectual foundation with Milton, Shakespeare, the Elizabethans, Romantics and the Victorians, read in the colonial setting of Durban High School in British South Africa, where a literary education was considered essential for the development of a Victorian gentleman. English poetry was the first of Pessoa's "adverse genres," by which I mean imitation of form filled with incongruent content, and it was adverse in multiple dimensions. Pessoa assigned this first large body of creative work in English to the fictitious author Alexander Search,<sup>8</sup> and much of Search's poetry was written in the first four years after Pessoa had returned to Lisbon in August of 1905. In notes concerning Alexander Search, Pessoa assigns him the same birthdate as his own (13 June 1888) and produces short biographical sketches in which Search analyzes his own childhood, character, and personality. Search tells of early readings of novels of mystery and adventure; an inclination towards the spiritual, mysterious, and obscure; his loneliness; a loving and kind soul hindered by selfishness; a fear of insanity and criminal impulses; and an unbalanced susceptibility to suffering and pain (see PESSOA, 2016a: 227-248). In her study of Pessoa as a bilingual poet, scholar Anne Terlinden concludes that Pessoa wanted Search to be a complete heteronym:

---

<sup>5</sup> "No proprio registro de um tecido que não sei o que seja se me abrem as portas do Indo e de Samarcanda, e a poesia da Persia, que não é de um lugar nem de outro, faz das suas quadras, desrimadas no terceiro verso, um apoio longinquo para o meu desasocego" (PESSOA, 2010: I, 191).

<sup>6</sup> "Quasi todos os homens sonham, nos secretos do seu ser, um grande imperialismo seu, a sujeição de todos os homens, a entrega de todas as mulheres, a adoração dos povos, e, nos mais pobres, de todas [as] eras..." (PESSOA, 2010: I, 191).

<sup>7</sup> "Sei que falhei. Goso a volupia indeterminada da fallencia como quem dá um apreço exausto a uma febre que o enclausura" (PESSOA, 2010: I, 84).

<sup>8</sup> Editor's note: From approximately 1903 to 1906 Charles Robert Anon was the young Pessoa's most prolific literary figure in English, who wrote critical essays, short stories, sonnets, epitaphs, satires odes and elegies. Anon published in *The Natal Mercury* in 1904, and his name appears in Pessoa's personal library in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton* (1885), *The Philosophy of Herbert Spenser* (1904), and *A Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition* (1899) (see PESSOA, 2016a: 139-156). In 1906 Pessoa passes over some of Anon's poetry to Alexander Search (see PESSOA, 2016a: 227-248). For a complete list of Search's private library, see FERRARI (2009: 193-197).

He [Pessoa] builds his own library [...] including Byron, Coleridge, Shelley, and Whitman; collaborates in an intersectionist review with Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro, Guisado and Côrtes-Rodrigues; reads Portuguese, French, and Spanish; possesses a wide cultural background; and is influenced in his early poetry by the style and theme of the English Romantics

(TERLINDEN, 1990: 134-137)

Search's strange, uneven use of English often has the sense of a translation from multiple authors, perhaps a compilation of all the poets he had read, admired, and emulated in verse. Search's English was thus both synthetic and archaic, compiled and synthesized in his imagination through authors from Wyatt to Keats,<sup>9</sup> from whose voices Pessoa drew to create his first major literary persona. At the same time, the English verses of Alexander Search explore and predict traces of his author's character, introducing themes that will continue to be prominent in the later work, for which Search can be thought of as the first major fictitious author before the creation of the heteronyms in 1914.<sup>10</sup> Search's anguished personal and philosophical quest leads directly to Pessoa's later poems in English.

There is intensely dramatic self-analysis in this poetry with a voluptuous tone in the persona of a romantic wanderer on a quest for knowledge. Its skepticism lies in doubts about the impossibility of knowing anything about the nature of existence and reality, accompanied by self-doubts whether the author will ever fulfill his frightening literary potential under the burden of an almost perverse and hyperactive imagination. On surveying the poems attributed to Search, which at the time of her study were available only in Pessoa's literary archive,<sup>11</sup> Terlinden considered them to express the anguished thoughts of the young poet, even though the poems are often obsessive imitations of his most admired writers. She gives credence to the importance of thematic continuity and affirms "[...] the young poet A[lexander] Search might well be considered as a coarse melting-pot of the essential ontological intuitions of the later poetic genius [...] [and] could serve as the foundation of the mature heteronymic work of Pessoa" (1990: 91). Although Pessoa's English poems have been treated as a separate category,<sup>12</sup> represented mainly in the three chapbooks self-published in Lisbon in 1918 and 1921, the large body of work by Alexander Search now available supports the thesis of continuity in the bilingual poet and argues against the separation of poems in English from the poetry in Portuguese. Jorge de Sena and Terlinden were among the first scholars to view the English and Portuguese

<sup>9</sup> Editor's note: for the presence of Thomas Wyatt, see Stephen M. Foley's article in this issue.

<sup>10</sup> Search could be said to rest on revisiting the diaspora and dilution found among Victorian writers and artists of classical ideals, depicted aesthetically in paintings from the Pre-Raphaelites to the noble decorative figures of the English classical revivalist artist Frederick Leighton (1830-1896).

<sup>11</sup> Editor's note: Held at the National Library of Portugal since 1979. The first critical edition of Alexander Search's poetry was published by João Dionísio in 1997.

<sup>12</sup> For an overview of Pessoa's English poetry see FERRARI and PITTELLA (2015).

works as a unified whole, even at a time when the only English poetry available was what Pessoa had subsequently published more than a decade after Search's poems had been penned.<sup>13</sup>

In his essay "Alexander Search, entre o Sono e o Sonho," Yale scholar Stephen Reckert notices the artificiality of verses that he finds "excessively literary and even archaic," written for psychological, ideological, or esoteric purposes, worked through the antitheses inside/outside, self/others, light/darkness, madness/normalcy (1978: 81-102). Reckert analyzes the poem "In the Street," discovered in 1978 by Yvette K. Centeno, with its theme of the passer-by who unrolls a searching self-analysis of the artist and a critique of his powers as he is passing down a residential street in the evening. The poet is cold and alone, distant from the shadows of families he glimpses in the houses. He carries the burdens of the world and the curse of his restless imagination: "Happy were I but to have then | The usual life of men. || But oh! I have within my heart | Things that cannot keep still." He is the eternally excluded and condemned, calling himself "[a] wearied Sisyphus [...] | Against the world's ironic stone." (1997: 112).

As much as the wandering poet may wish to live the normal joys glimpsed in one of the homes, he exults at the same time in his difference: "For aught like madness is in me. [...] I dread to think my life might pass | Like that of men." (1997: 113-114). Being condemned to be forever a ceaseless wanderer against all norms, never to know the normal desires of men ("I know not to what I aspire | Yet know *this* I cannot desire") (1997: 114). Search nevertheless exults in his "delirious smart [...] restlessness" (1997: 112), and in the power of his mind to "perceive | Something none other can conceive" (1997: 115). Through the figure of the pensive, introspective passer-by, the poet revisits the interior of the self, passing not only through the street but also through the whole of life as a dramatic allegory. The allegorical structure of the intellectual journey of "In the Street" will be refigured in much of the later poetry, for which Caetano's *O Guardador de Rebanhos* [*The Keeper of Sheep*] (PESSOA, 2016b) serves as a principal example.

The epigraph preceding the poem "In the Street" taken from Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* ("But I, mein Werther, sit above it all; I am alone with the stars")<sup>14</sup> references Goethe's romantic hero, Werther from whose tragic destiny Pessoa is

<sup>13</sup> Jorge de Sena had previously suggested in his preface to *Poemas Ingleses* (1974) that the English poems were a mask through which Pessoa revealed more about himself than he later did in Portuguese—although, speaking of the eroticism and obscenity of *Antinous* and *Epithalamium*, Pessoa demurs in a letter to João Gaspar Simões dated 18 November 1930: "Não sei porque escrevi qualquer dos poemas em inglez" ["I don't know why I wrote any of those poems in English"] (PESSOA, 1998: 137-139).

<sup>14</sup> Pessoa's heavily annotated copy of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1903) is dated "February, 1904, Durban High School." Among the noted phrases (p. 36) is "Which of your Philosophical Systems is other than a dream-theorem [...]." For other marginalia in this book, see *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura* (PESSOA, 2006: II, 690-691).

protected by the force of his quest for the absolute, by humor and detachment, and by externalizing himself in his use of persona.

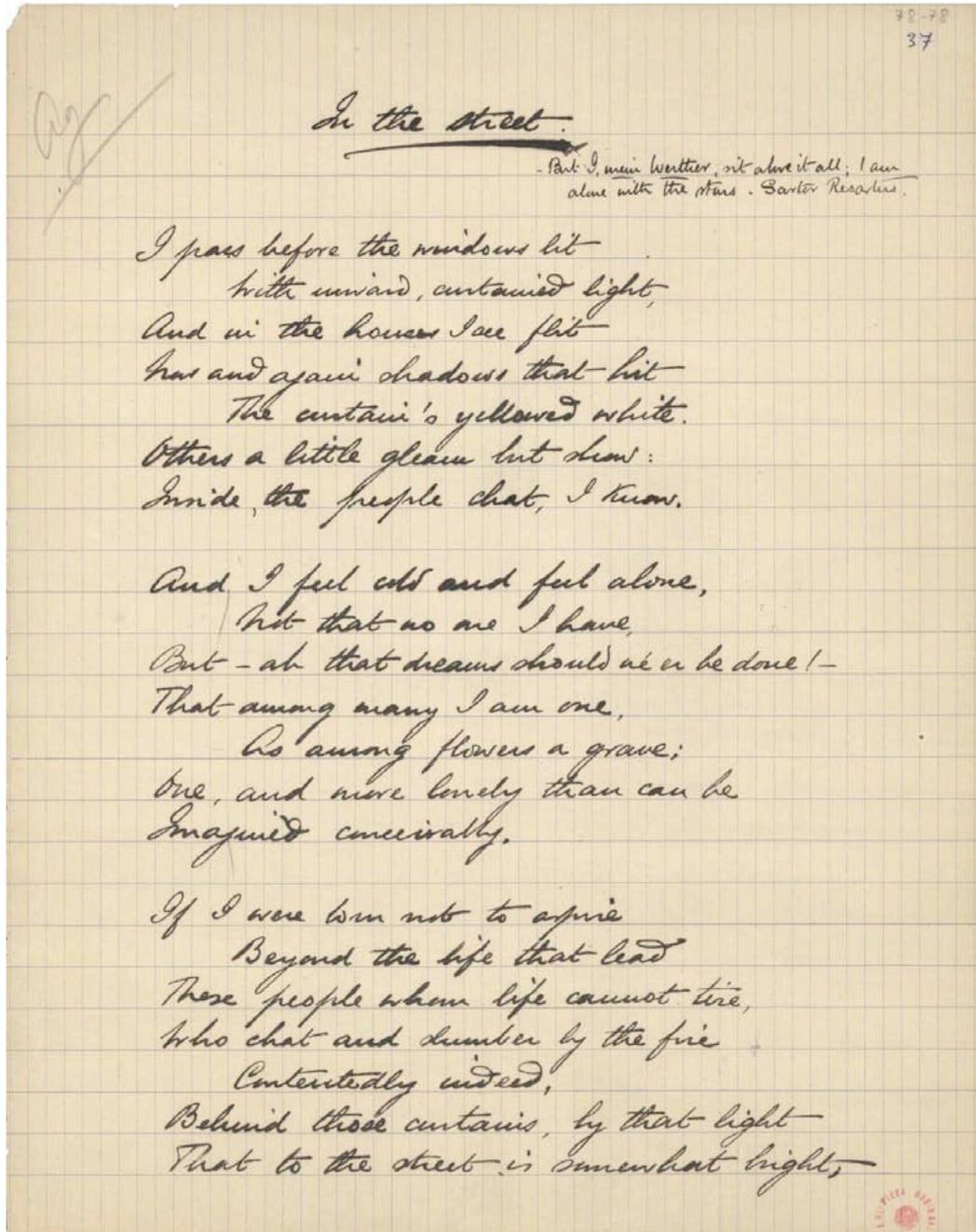


Fig. 1. Opening ms. page of "In the Street." (BNP / E3, 78-78).

The distance that protected Pessoa from Search's despair and solitude can be felt in his dismissive critique of Frederick Wyatt, one of the fictitious authors dating from 1913 (see PESSOA, 2016a: 359-370). The madness that Search feared in himself is cynically recommended to improve the image and reception of Wyatt: "It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived,

because it hit his character off so justly and yet showed how terribly evident even to casual & uninterested dreamers was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from all eyes" (PESSOA, 2016a: 365).<sup>15</sup> Pessoa's penetrating self-objectification by an almost omniscient and external consciousness also served to separate pure intellect from emotion.

In the bilingual volume *Poesia Inglesa* (PESSOA, 1995) editor Luísa Freire publishes 115 poems by Search written in the period 1904-1909 (sixteen written before his return to Portugal in 1905) plus "The Mad Fiddler" complete, followed by 31 dispersed poems, in the first full publication of texts by Alexander Search, which anticipated João Dionísio's critical edition (PESSOA, 1997). In the early poetry one finds a recapitulation of the reflections of the passer-by of "In the Street," expressed in diverse poetic forms and styles. University scholars may identify with the initial quatrain of "Death in Life":

Another day is past, and while it past,  
What have I pondered or conceived or read?  
Nothing! Another day has gone to waste.  
Nothing! Each hour as it is born is dead.

(PESSOA, 1997: 127)

Search writes as a Wordsworth in "Regret" ("I would that I were again a child | And a child you sweet and pure" (1997: 125); delivers a Shakespearean soliloquy in "Resolution" (I'll to my work then, so God make me strong | To bring the Demons of mine own self to | Their knees, and take the Devil by the throat") (1997: 127); floats in the clouds with Shelley in "Thought" ("How great a thing is thought! as through the gloom | Of stormy skies the sudden lightning curls, | As slow the storm in patience grim unfurls | Its mighty volume of resounding boom") (1997: 145); a Byron in "Perfection" ("Perfection comes to me in fevered dreams, | Beauty diving by earthly senses bound, | And lulls mine ear with slow, forgetful sound [...] Then day invades, and all is gone away; | I to myself return, and feel such woe | As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep –") (1997: 289-290); a Coleridge in "The Maiden" ("Then I asked a madman who had no home, | And he said: 'Alas for thee who dost roam! | Thou must become as I am now | For her thou seekest none can know") (1997: 139); and a Marvell in "Epigram" ("Ah, foolish girl, with many a fancy fraught, | Seek not the dreary path of solemn thought. | The man who thinks is he that suffers worst, | By nature blest, by everything accurst.") (1997: 308).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Editor's note: twenty of the twenty-one poems that make up Frederick Wyatt's book of poetry had been originally attributed to Alexander Search. For a full transcription of all the documents in *The Poems of Frederick Wyatt* project, see the Documents section in this issue.

<sup>16</sup> Pessoa's library contained *The Complete Poetical Works of Shelley* (1904), *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (1905), *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* [n.d.], *Poems of Robert Browning* (1907),

Self-analysis is often indistinguishable from autobiography: "My tale is simple, sad and brief – [...] Too soon I learned to see too clear, [...] I was not born to joy or love. [...] Like a tremendous, mystic sea | In lands where dreams alone can be" ("The Woman in Black") (1997: 99-102). The theme of madness figures prominently: "Oh God, let me not fall insane! | I know that half-mad I am now;" he exclaims in "Prayer," (1997: 119) and he surveys his life before 1907 in "My Life" ("Youth? Life? Twelve years I had of happiness; [...] Twelve years of sleep and seven of distress") (1997: 118). His constant old friends, companions, and colleagues are disappointment, despair, and solitude ("Familiar Conversation") (1997: 75). Venturing into the street once more in "A Winter Day" the poet finds it a crucible of the painful emptiness of his existence: "How deep my thoughts in pain and sadness are! | How wreck'd my soul in its intense despair! [...] As if life or the world were anything!" (1997: 77-80).

Currents of self-analysis are dominated by the skepticism and fatalism of one who laments his alienation from the normal lives he observes on the street in passing: "Oh joy! oh height of happiness! | To wish no more than life, | To feel of pleasure, of distress, | A normal more, a normal less" (1997: 113). The poet is by his nature "eternally excluded," (1997: 112) and complains in "Sonnet of a Sceptic": "When I in pain my troubled eyelids close | And look upon the world that in me lies. [...] I am like the night, | And yet in me no star, serenely bright, | The clouds of mind and soul so purely clears. [...] Unheard, unseen, I sit in heatless cold, | Enwrapped in my doubts and in my fears" (1997: 143-144). Constant disturbing questioning on "the sense of the sense of the universe" or "the sense of the mystery of all" ("Horror") (1997: 76) takes over his mind in "Mania of Doubt": "All things unto me are queries | That from normalness depart [...] Things are and seem, and nothing bears | The secret of the life it wears" (1997: 67). The poet by his compulsive nature must live the mystery of the unknown or empty nature of things: "A curtain hides the mystery | That in the world is known to be [...] From eyes unsensual that would see [...] That Nothingness pains more the heart" (1997: 68); and feel, in "Rage", perhaps with Burns, "[...] a rage – ay a rage! [...] A thirst of life nought can assuage [...] A cynic before dirt, | A revolt before God" (1997: 126-127).

The plaintive portrait of the poet's condition can turn from melancholic to stoic to euphoric pride in his superior mind as he continues on his allegorical road: "On an infinite road, at an unknown pace, | With endless and free commotion, | [...] | A freshness whose soul is motion!" ("On the Road") (1997: 210). The poet divines that his journey promises to lead his errant thoughts to "traverse impossible infinities" ("To a Hand") (1997: 64) in verses that foreshadow the revelatory "Ascensão de Vasco da Gama" ["Ascension of Vasco da Gama"] in

---

*The Works of Alfred Tennyson* (1902), *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (1898), and Edward Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (1910).

*Mensagem* (1934), the only full-length book Pessoa published during his lifetime: "By a sudden portal in the Visible | I have a glimpse of the Absolute" ("To a Hand") (1997: 63). His esoteric quest for mystical and divine truths both condemns and elevates the poet to an interminable search beyond the everyday world and firmly establishes the theme of mystery and the absolute in his poetry.

The early poems contain glimpses of subsequent works that have been observed by many readers. Reckert asks if it would not seem too fanciful to see in references to solitude, dream, and shipwreck in the poetry of Alexander Search the origin of the 1913 play, *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*]:<sup>17</sup> "Then day invades, and all is gone away; [...] As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep—" ("Perfection") (1997: 290); "It is an island out of human track, | Mysterious, old within the sea and full | Of caves and grottoes unexplored and black [...] Woven in a labyrinth and scarce of light" ("Soul-Symbols") (1997: 121-122). Could the failure of Pessoa's love letters to Ophelia be predicted by the anguished decision posed to the reader in the poem "A Question"? In the opening stanza we read: "If you had to choose between seeing dead— | Your wife whom you do love so well— | And the loss complete, irreparable, | Of your verses all, instead—" (1997: 73).

Humorous and even apparently meaningless poems<sup>18</sup> in Search bring to mind short poems by Álvaro de Campos or Pessoa, as in "The World Offended": "I said unto the World one day: 'I suspect thee of existence!'" (1997: 72). Or play with language in "The Lip": "I saw in a dream, by no light's gleam, | A man with only one lip – | Absolutely, absolutely, absolutely, | Absolutely with only one lip!" (1997: 93) or in "The Story of Solomon Waste": "[...] two clear facts, he lived and died | This is *all* the story of Solomon Waste" (1997: 211). Playful eroticism with a baroque tone makes a brief appearance in the satirical poem "On An Ankle: A Sonnet Bearing the Imprimatur of the Inquisitor-General and of Other People of Distinction and of Decency":

I had a revelation not from high  
But from below, when thy skirt awhile lifted  
Betrayed such *promise* that I am not gifted  
With words that may that view well signify.

And even if my verse that thing would try,  
Hard were it, if my task came to be sifted,  
To find a word that rude would not have shifted  
Therefrom the cold hand of Morality.

<sup>17</sup> On the origins of *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*] see K. David JACKSON (2010: 37-58) and Claudia J. FISCHER (2012).

<sup>18</sup> Editor's note: This category could include poems in English that were left unpublished/unattributed. See previously unpublished English poem "Envoi" included in *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems* (PESSOA, 2015).

To gaze is nought; mere sight no mind hath wrecked.  
 But oh, sweet lady, beyond what is seen  
 What things may guess or hint at Disrespect!

Sacred is not the beauty of a queen...  
 I from thine ankle did as much suspect  
 As you from this may suspect what I mean.

(PESSOA, 1997: 53)

By August of 1907, however, Pessoa has exhausted the poetic and psychological possibilities of Alexander Search, who becomes a victim of the heteronymic game.<sup>19</sup> That year Search penned a “Farewell” (“Farewell, farewell for ever! | ’Tis time this thing were done”) (1997: 40), before the two epitaphs that would put an end to this phase of his life and writing and cast out the suffering Search to make a place for the major heteronyms.<sup>20</sup> The first epitaph critiques his madness, powerless egotism, disorder, grief and fears, and his weak and execrable mind: “[L]et him lie in peace for ever [...] || [...] to the sin of having lived | He joined the crime of having thought” (1997: 110). In the second, it is Pessoa who expels the poet who aspired to last beyond his time: “Here the accursèd poet lies, | Hid far from the pure blue skies; [...] Vain was his thought. | He would be loved and he was not. [...] Down to him no light can go. | Damn’d be he for ever! (1997: 74). The final end, separating Pessoa definitively from Search, comes in an irreverent and theatrical epitaph composed after the definitive demise of the persona: “Here lieth Alexander Search | Whom God & man left in the lurch [...] He believed not in state or church | Nor in God, woman, man or love [...] This was his last sentiment: | Accurst be Nature, Man and God” (1997: 37-38).

---

<sup>19</sup> Editor’s note: Pessoa did not employ the term “heteronímia” [“heteronymy”]. He explained the difference between “duas categorias de obras” (i.e., “orthónymas” and “heterónymas”) in his “Tábua bibliográfica” [“Bibliographical Table”] published in the Coimbra-based magazine *presença* in December 1928. These categories as such only appeared in 1928.

<sup>20</sup> “Farewell” is dated 23 August 1907.

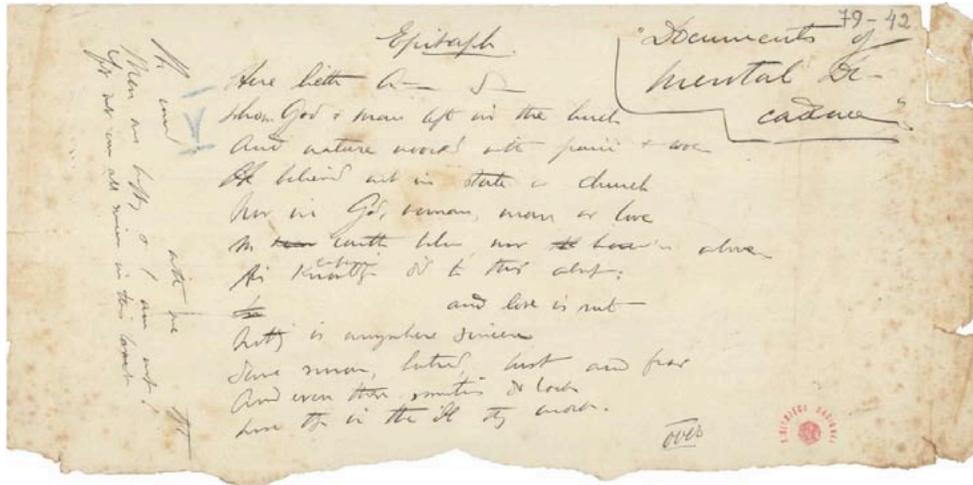


Fig. 2. Front of "Epigraph." (BNP / E3, 79-42<sup>r</sup>).

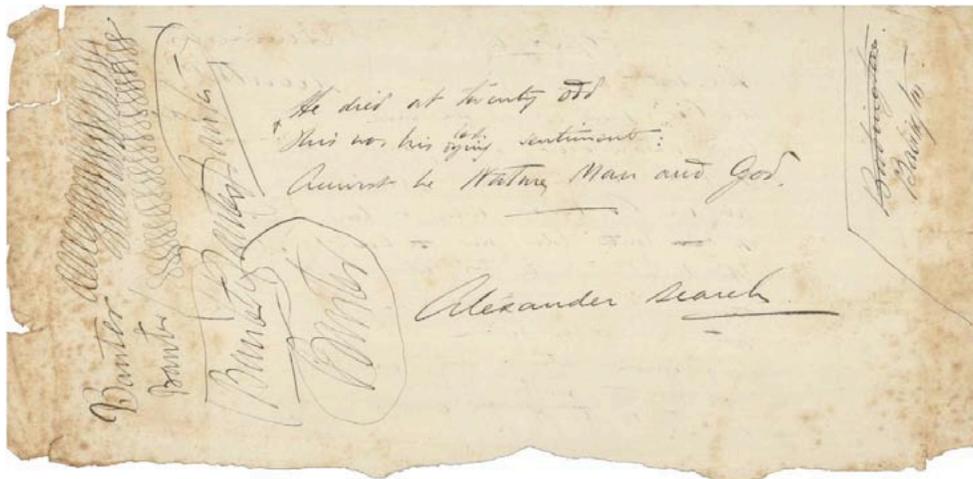


Fig. 3. Verso of "Epigraph." (BNP / E3, 79-42<sup>v</sup>).

English poems that Pessoa chose to translate into Portuguese may be useful to explain the development of the English poetry after Alexander Search. In 1990 the Brazilian researcher José Luiz Garaldi discovered previously unknown translations of English language poets into Portuguese by Fernando Pessoa that closely followed the poetry of Search, whose last poems were dated 1909 (see CAMPOS, 2015). In 1910-1911 the English editor Warren F. Kellogg was in Lisbon to organize a massive anthology in Portuguese language of the world's great poets, the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, published in 24 volumes, for which Pessoa translated at least five poems: "Godiva" by Alfred Tennyson (1819-1891), "On a portrait of Dante by Giotto" by James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), "Lucy" by William Wordsworth (1770-1850), "The last rose of summer" by Thomas Moore (1779-1852), and "Barbara Frietchie" by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892).<sup>21</sup> Although these translations were taken as commercial employment, they

<sup>21</sup> Published respectively in VI (pp. 2807-2809), VII (pp. 3534-3535), XVII (pp. 8272-8273 and 8330) and XX (pp. 10215-10218).

attest to Pessoa's broad reading of English poetry and mirror the variety of imitative styles found in Search's poems in the preceding years.<sup>22</sup> Brazilian poet Augusto de Campos finds common stylistic features in Pessoa's translations—comparable to other celebrated Pessoa translations from the 1920s, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (1806-1861) "Catarina to Camões" and Edgar Allan Poe's (1809-1849) "The Raven," "Ulalume," and "Annabel Lee"—to extend to subsequent poetry of the heteronyms (CAMPOS, 2015). Campos finds similarities in rhythm, stress-syllabic stress meters, colloquial alliteration, interrupted lines, and semantic patterns. He compares the diction and rhythm of the translation of Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" to "O Mostrengo" of *Mensagem* [Message], the alliterations of Tennyson's "Godiva" with the "Autopsychographia" ["Autopsychography"], and the short verses of Moore's "The Last Rose of Summer" to Pessoa's "Leve, Breve, Suave" ["Lightly, Shortly, Softly"].<sup>23</sup> Pessoa's heightened attention to the original produces some striking solutions that Campos considers to reveal a preference for concision through short and simple verses. Diction and rhythm are paramount, as Pessoa merges attention to the original with creative freedom in his solutions.<sup>24</sup> In a prose fragment that amounts to a brief theory of translation, "A poem is an intellectualized impression" (PESSOA, 1967: 74), Pessoa posits a double rhythm, verbal or musical and visual or imagistic, as a guide for translators, where the verbal rhythm is the more essential to be observed and maintained.<sup>25</sup> The translations discovered in the *Biblioteca Internacional* are further testimony of the technical role of English language poetry of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the rhythm, imagery, and themes to be developed by Pessoa after 1910.

---

<sup>22</sup> Portuguese scholar Arnaldo Saraiva identified other non-signed translations as by Pessoa, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "Caterina to Camões," Shelley's "To a Skylark" and Robert Browning's "Love Among the Ruins" for the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*. See SARAIVA (1996). For other translations of English poetry by Pessoa, see FISCHER (2015).

<sup>23</sup> Claudia J. Fischer documents the importance of translation in Pessoa's literary (2015). Fischer reveals fragments prepared by Pessoa for João Castro Osório, for whom Pessoa proposed a massive plan of translation in June 1923. The manuscript translations include lines from Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther," Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn," Tennyson's "Break, Break, Break," and Browning's "The Pied Piper of Hamelin: A Child's Story."

<sup>24</sup> For Pessoa's metrics, see FERRARI (2012).

<sup>25</sup> In the essay "A arte de traduzir poesia" ["The art of translating poetry"] Pessoa explains double rhythm as encompassing the concave and the convex: "A tradução de um poema deve, portanto, conformar-se absolutamente (1) à idéia ou emoção que o constitui, (2) ao ritmo verbal em que essa idéia ou emoção é expressa; deve conformar-se em relação ao ritmo interno ou visual, aderindo às próprias imagens quando possa mas aderindo sempre ao tipo de imagem" ["The translation of a poem should, therefore, conform totally to (1) the idea of emotion that constitutes it, (2) to the verbal rhythm in which this idea or emotion is expressed; it should conform to the relation of the internal or visual rhythm, adhering to the images whenever possible but always to the type of image"]. He offers as an example his translations of Poe's "Annabel Lee" and "Ulalume" (PESSOA, 1967: 74).

The influence of Fitzgerald's translation can also be documented through Pessoa's translations to Portuguese of multiple stanzas of the *Rubiáyát* written in the margins of his edition.

Pessoa's work for Kellogg allowed him to continue Search's excursion through English poetry. The announced demise of Search was perhaps not the end but rather a transfiguration of Pessoa's English poetry leading to "The Mad Fiddler," a second large collection of English verse and the first major complete, organic work that Pessoa considered ready for publication. A dramatic allegory, the 83 typewritten pages of "The Mad Fiddler" were signed "Fernando Pessoa" on the title page, with relatively few corrections or variant texts. In this sequence of 53 poems written from 1911-1917, a wandering poet embarks on a symbolic quest for the absolute that revisits some themes found in Search's poems. The narrator's quest for knowledge in "The Mad Fiddler" is more purely philosophical and abstract than Search's, yet continues the wandering motif found in Search, as if to suggest this collection to be a continuation or culmination of the earlier aimless, solitary, and dreamlike journey. Pessoa elaborates on themes first broached by Search. While Search's poem "In the Street" took the strolling poet on an anguished although linear course, for example ("I pass before the windows lit") (1997: 111), "The Mad Fiddler" leads the poet into a circular labyrinth of incantation. The poet's wandering is a "Great river so | Quiet and true," a metaphor of nature that he seeks to emulate, "Teach me to go | Through life like you!" ("Summer Moments") (1999: 92).

Terlinden notes the continuity between Search and Pessoa's "The Mad Fiddler" by locating similar themes, while considering "The Mad Fiddler" to be a more mature work poetically (1990: 138). Panic in facing death is a main theme that Terlinden documents in the two works. In Search's poetry the fear of death is prominent in the poems "On Death" (1904), "Flashes of Madness" (1905), "What Death Doth Take for Wife Is" (1906), "The Story of Solomon Waste" (1907), "My Life II" (1908), and "To my Dearest Friend" (1909) (TERLINDEN, 1990: 90-91). If in these poems death is a final departure from life, in Pessoa's "Mad Fiddler," since "everything has Another Meaning" (1999: 67), there is a suggestion that death can be set aside: "Cold unfelt hand in cold dead hand, | Let us set out for mere Somewhere" (1990: 67-68). In "When the Lamp is Broken" (1906), Search observes sadly that one remembers its breaking more than the its light: "When the lamp is broken and the shaking | Light is for ever fled, | There is more memory of its breaking | Than of the light it shed" (PESSOA, 1997: 301); while in "The Broken Window" from "The Mad Fiddler," the home and heart where the poet dwelled is like the window broken forever: "The whole room is buried alive" (1999: 61).

The anguish and loneliness felt by Search is intensified in "The Mad Fiddler." In the interior sections of the "Mad Fiddler," the poet continues the

wanderings of Search, yet in a forest of estrangement in a state of imagined bliss between sleep and dream ("The Poem"):

There sleeps a poem in my mind  
That shall my entire soul express.  
I feel it vague as sound and wind  
Yet sculptured in full definiteness.

(PESSOA, 1999: 41)

The fiddler is possessed by undreamed dreams, by ghosts of dead selves (1999: 43), and like the three watchers in *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*] imagines returning to a time that never was: "[...] I could return to that | Happy time that was never mine"; "And false bliss, although false, is bliss" (1999: 49 and 41). Finally he arrives at the great river that will be his guide: "Great river so | Quiet and true | Teach me to go | Through life like you!" (1999: 92); and a mirror for reflecting his many existential questions: "Where is my home?"... "What should have been"... "Why made I dreams | My only life?" (1999: 93-94). The mad fiddler first appears because the villagers call to him; his strange music replied to their "Lost sense belonging | To forgotten quests" (1999: 31). The sounds of violin, viol, flute, and bassoon transport them to a magical island, perhaps that of the absent Mariner in Pessoa's 1913 play ("That isle that knows no hours | Nor needeth hours to know") (1999: 33), which is like a dream where their whole lives enter a musical, sensual state of veiled spirituality: "O dream-pressed spirit-wine!" (1999: 35). The villagers are transformed into other beings, "the elusive selves | We never can obtain" (1999: 37). They wish the music to play on, as it soothes the "[...] ache somehow of living" (1999: 38).

"The Foreself" reminds the poet that he "had a self and life | Before this life and self" (1999: 42), and that there exist "mazes of I" (1999: 73). His very consciousness of being inhibits any individual agency: "Between me and my consciousness | Is an abyss" ("The Abyss") (1999: 77). Meaning is invisible, unknown, abstract, and hollow. The idea of deep identity of all things, the mysterious presence of God in all matter, however, leads the poet to affirm the infinite circularity and variety of existence: "One day, Time having ceased, | Our lives shall meet again" (1999: 85); "All is more strange than that | Small glimpse of it we get" (1999: 87). The poet enters a transcendent trance of prescience and presentiment: "A trembling sense of being | More than my sense can hold | A bird of feeling seeing | The great earth-hidden gold [...] Of the approaching dawn"; "I faint, I fade. I seem | Myself to be my dream" (1999: 88). And unwilling to give up his own conceit, he makes a final effort to force it into being: "And if this be not so, | Oh, God, make it now be!" (1999: 88). Yet he will reaffirm that life does not fit with living, and humanity requires soothing by the mad fiddler's tunes.

Terlinden further notes thematic similarities connecting “The Mad Fiddler” to the major heteronyms, positing a connection with both Reis and Caeiro as poets of existence and destiny, identifiable in the stoic inner freedom of the former and the natural process of seeing of the latter. These poems evidence a strong similarity in structure and design with later collections in the use of the poetic sequence, a recurring pattern that ties the 53 poems of “The Mad Fiddler” to the 35 *Sonnets* (written from 1910-12), the 49 poems of *O Guardador de Rebanhos*, and the 44 poems of *Mensagem*. These are each allegorical, intellectual journeys that dramatize philosophical concepts in symbolic scenarios in poems of diverse rhyme and meter. Terlinden specifies the themes as the suffering of living, solitude, the mystery of existence, the *além* [beyond], and poetic knowledge.

The poem’s anticipation of the metaphysics of Alberto Caeiro is unmistakable in claiming pre-existence of matter over form and positing the fundamental unity of all phenomena: “Before light was, light’s bright idea lit | God’s thought of it, | And, because through God’s thought light’s thought did pass, | Light ever was” (1999: 102). As will Caeiro, “The Mad Fiddler” presents these perceptions as challenges to common currents of Western metaphysics. Looking at a sunflower (“The Sunflower”), as would Caeiro, he sees a metaphysical synesthesia:

All things that shine are God’s eyes.  
 All things that move are God’s speech.  
 Every thing has all to teach  
 To our awakening surmise.

Green are God’s thoughts when they are leaves,  
 Yellow when sunflowers they are.

(PESSOA, 1999: 66)

The poet-philosopher can immediately perceive depth of being in the natural world without the need of inner meaning:

There was no difference between a tree  
 And an idea. Seeing a river be  
 And the exterior river were one thing.  
 The bird’s soul and the motion of its wing  
 Were an inextricable oneness made.

(PESSOA, 1999: 79)

Just as Caeiro wrote “Pensar em Deus é desobedecer a Deus” [“To think of God is to disobey God”] (PESSOA, 2016b: 40), the fiddler reduces theological defiance to tautology: “I shall not come when thou wilt call, | For when thou call’st I am with thee. | When I think of thee, within me | Thyself art, and thy thought self’s all” (1999: 75). The fiddler’s naturalist philosophy is more than an insight capable of

changing his ideas and place in the world; it is for the poet a revelation that is atemporal and transformational, a flash of greater understanding of the nature of things that exalts the mind and spirit. Caeiro is a teacher, whereas the fiddler exults in the eternal moment of the transforming idea. Entering into an ecstatic vision whereby "I was borne | To see, through mysteries, | How God everything is" (1999: 81) the fiddler is pure music, "[...] a lost tune, a mood | Of the finger-tips of God" (1999: 82). His moment of perception is both sufficient and divine for human limitations: "An hour in God shall be | Enough eternity" (1999: 88).

Pessoa's voluptuous reading of English poetry across time as an aesthetic ideal, his translation of its poetic language to give voice to the disappointment, despair, and solitude felt by Alexander Search are consonant with the highest aesthetic ideals of the love lyric that Fitzgerald imagined to exist in the impenetrable Persian of the *Rubáiyát*. In the case of Search, not one writer or style but multiple authors contributed to the adverse genre of his composite and variable English poetry. This variability is what scholars have called "immature."<sup>26</sup> One could say rather that the variable styles and forms of Search's early poetry are a dress rehearsal for Pessoa's heteronymism. The voluptuous decadence of the English poems as genre lies both in Search's translation into his own sentiments of diverse Englishes, for which the author had only an amateur interest at the time, and in his skepticism that anything could be known, that any perception of an absolute or ultimate reality could have a place in this world. Pessoa's "The Mad Fiddler" extends for another decade the esthetic and philosophic decadence of Search's existential quest ("The End"): "God knows. And an He knew not | And were not, what of it?" (1999: 88).

---

<sup>26</sup> Terlinden, for example, states that Search's poems "might be not as good as anything the mature poet wrote in Portuguese" and describes his English as overly influenced by the Romantics in its "dated rhetoric" and "stylistic and thematic imitation of the English Romantics" (1990: 137).

## Bibliography

- BOSCAGLIA, Fabrizio (2016). "Fernando Pessoa and Islam: an introductory overview with a critical edition of twelve documents." *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 9 (Special Issue: Orient and Orientalism), Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 151-190.
- CAMPOS, Augusto de (2015). "Uma descoberta: traduções de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 7, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 1-22.
- CAMPOS, Haroldo (1983). "Tradução, Ideologia e História." *Cadernos do MAM*, n.º 1, Rio de Janeiro, December, pp. 58-64.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2012). "Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa." Linguistics Department. University of Lisbon. Unpublished doctoral thesis.
- \_\_\_\_ (2009). "A Biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa na génese dos heterónimos: (Dispersão e catalogação 1935-2008); A arte da leitura (1898-1907)." *O Guardador de Papéis*, Jerónimo Pizarro, org. Second edition. Alfragide: Texto Editores, pp. 155-218.
- FERRARI, Patricio; PITTELLA-LEITE, Carlos (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., pp. 227-246.
- FISCHER, Claudia J. (2015). "Dryden, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning: Unpublished Translations by Fernando Pessoa." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., pp. 297-314.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012). "Auto-tradução e experimentação interlinguística na génese d'O *Marinheiro* de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 1-69.
- FITZGERALD, Edward (1977). *Edward FitzGerald, Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: a critical edition*. Edited by Christopher Decker. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- JACKSON, K. David (2010). *Adverse Genres in Fernando Pessoa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 Autores Fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da China. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2016b). *Obra Completa de Alberto Caetano*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Second edition. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition.
- \_\_\_\_ (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume XII.
- \_\_\_\_ (2008). *Rubaiyat*. Edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume I.
- \_\_\_\_ (2006). *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume VII.
- \_\_\_\_ (2002). *The Book of Disquiet*. Edited and Translated by Richard Zenith. London: Penguin. "Modern Classics."
- \_\_\_\_ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998). *Cartas entre Fernando Pessoa e os directores da presença*. Edition and Study by Enriço Martins. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional- Casa da Moeda. Collection "Estudos," volume II.

- \_\_\_\_ (1997). *Poemas Ingleses II. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume V, tome II.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized, translated, and annotated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- \_\_\_\_ (1982). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz and Teresa Sobral Cunha; organized by Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1974). *Poemas Ingleses*. Bilingual edition with a preface, translation, variants and notes by Jorge de Sena. Translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1967). *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria e Crítica Literárias*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2013). "From FitzGerald's *Omar* to Pessoa's *Rubaiyat*." *Fernando Pessoa's Modernity Without Frontiers: Influences, Dialogues and Responses*, edited by Mariana Gray de Castro. Woodbridge [Suffolk]: Tamesis, pp. 87-100.
- RECKERT, Stephen (1978). *Fernando Pessoa: Tempo, Solidão, Hermetismo*. Lisbon: Moraes.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa, Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas: os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Porto: Lello.
- TERLINDEN, Anne (1990). *Fernando Pessoa, The Bilingual Portuguese poet: a critical study of "The Mad Fiddler"*. Brussels: Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis.

# Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine —and the political Pessoa

Carlos Pittella\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Political poetry, English sonnets, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, Concentration camps, Anglo-Boer wars, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarchism, Conquest of Bread, 1905 Russian Revolution, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

## Abstract

Though Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet, we may be familiar with the political commentary explicit in some of his works. In four political sonnets dating from 1905 (but only fully published in 1995), the poet criticizes the mockery of Russia by British journalists, calls the colonization of Ireland and the Transvaal “a shame on England,” and lays a curse upon Joseph Chamberlain’s head for his involvement in the Anglo-Boer wars. Among Pessoa’s unpublished English poetry, there are drafts (in various stages of completion) of other political poems, written between 1905 and 1907, featuring Chamberlain and two other historical figures of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Kitchener and Kropotkine. By presenting the early political poems by Pessoa—both published and unpublished—this essay argues that they form a coherent *corpus*, which may be defined by the relationship between a political event and Pessoa’s reaction to it through a poem.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, poesia política, sonetos ingleses, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, campos de concentração, Guerra dos Bôeres, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarquismo, Conquista do Pão, Revolução Russa de 1905, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

## Resumo

Embora Fernando Pessoa não seja largamente conhecido como um poeta político, seus leitores talvez estejam familiarizados com o comentário político explícito em alguns dos seus escritos. Em quatro sonetos políticos escritos em 1905 (mas só publicados por completo em 1995), o poeta critica o escárnio da Rússia feito por jornalistas britânicos, chama a colonização da Irlanda e do Transvaal “a shame on England” (uma vergonha para a Inglaterra) e amaldiçoa Joseph Chamberlain por seu envolvimento nas Guerras dos Bôeres. Entre a poesia inglesa inédita de Pessoa, encontram-se rascunhos (em vários estágios de acabamento) de outros poemas políticos, escritos entre 1905 e 1907, referindo Chamberlain e outras duas personagens históricas do princípio do século XX: Kitchener e Kropotkine. Ao apresentar esses primeiros poemas políticos de Pessoa—tanto publicados como inéditos—este ensaio defende que tais textos formam um *corpus* coerente, definível pela relação entre um evento político e a reação de Pessoa a ele através de um poema.

---

\* Postdoctoral Research Associate at Brown University; affiliated with the Center for Theatre Studies at the University of Lisbon.

## 1. A Political Pessoa?

Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet.<sup>1</sup> This may be primarily due to the fact that a significant part of Pessoa's political works was only recently edited: though a handful of Pessoa's political writings were published during his lifetime<sup>2</sup> and two volumes edited in 1979 (PESSOA, 1979a & 1979b), the first critical editions<sup>3</sup> came out in 2011 and 2015, when José Barreto compiled Pessoa's texts on Freemasonry (PESSOA, 2011a), European fascism and the military dictatorship in Portugal (PESSOA, 2015a).

In one article, Barreto assessed the full scope of the political thought in Pessoa's poetry and prose, suggesting that even his own comprehensive editions didn't exhaust Pessoa's political writings:

Atento observador e pensador político que também foi, Fernando Pessoa legou à posteridade milhares de páginas inéditas contendo apontamentos, observações, ensaios e projectos de ensaios sobre a política do seu tempo, principalmente a portuguesa, ou sobre temas mais universais de "sociologia política" (assim lhe chamava).

(BARRETO, 2015: 189)

[A keen observer and political thinker, among other things, Fernando Pessoa bequeathed to posterity thousands of unpublished pages containing notes, observations, essays and projects of essays on the politics of his time, especially the Portuguese [politics], or about universal themes of "political sociology" (as he used to call it).]<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This text is based on a chapter of my doctoral thesis (PITTELLA, 2012) and on a communication (with the same title as this article) presented at the colloquium *A Poesia Inglesa de Fernando Pessoa – Tributo a Georg Rudolf Lind*, at the Fernando Pessoa House (3 July 2014). I thank Jerónimo Pizarro, José Barreto, Stephanie Leite and Patricio Ferrari for their advice in the preparation of this text.

<sup>2</sup> In 1917 Pessoa published "Ultimatum" under the heteronym Álvaro de Campos; half poetry, half prose, it couldn't be more explicitly political. Nevertheless, Campos is not primarily known as a political (fictitious) author. During his lifetime, Pessoa engaged in polemics that became politicized, such as defending homoeroticism in 1923 (cf. BARRETO, 2012a) and Freemasonry in 1935 (cf. BARRETO, 2011a), or attacking Mussolini in 1926 (cf. BARRETO, 2012b). Still, those writings were in prose, and, save for two exceptions, Pessoa's political poetry would only be known after his death. Exceptionally, Pessoa published the monarchic poem "À Memória do Presidente-Rei Sidónio Paes" [In Memory of the President-King Sidónio Paes] (PESSOA, 1920), and tried to publish the anti-Salazarist "Liberdade" [Freedom] in 1935, though it was initially censored and only published posthumously in 1937 (cf. PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 212-216).

<sup>3</sup> Barreto's 2015 critical edition includes mostly prose writings by Pessoa: 121 texts in Portuguese, 22 in English, and 7 in French; it also includes 22 poems (some fragmentary) in Portuguese (cf. PESSOA, 2015a). Depending on how one defines "political text," *Ibéria* and *A Língua Portuguesa* (PESSOA, 2012 & 1997b), among other Pessoaan works, could also be considered political.

<sup>4</sup> Unless mentioned otherwise, all translations are my own.

Among these unpublished pages, one may also find Pessoa's political English poems, still virtually unknown.<sup>5</sup> These writings are sometimes signed with the pen names Charles Robert Anon and Alexander Search; other times, they remained unattributed to any fictitious personalities, and could be attributed to the oronym, that is, Pessoa himself.

Even if we define "political poetry" in the strictest sense of verses directly and explicitly connected to propaganda for or against a political system,<sup>6</sup> numerous poems by Pessoa could be placed on both sides of the definition: on one hand, the poetry of *Mensagem* may very well be interpreted as patriotic-nationalistic, and a few of its poems were included in textbooks promoted by the Portuguese military dictatorship<sup>7</sup>; on the other hand, Pessoa wrote extensively against this same dictatorship, as attested by the compilation *Sobre o Fascismo* (PESSOA, 2015a), and left scattered poems directed to political figures of his time, such as Teófilo Braga<sup>8</sup> (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

I intend to show that numerous English poems by Pessoa, written between 1905 and 1907, may be read as reactions to specific political events. At this point I recall T.S. Eliot's admonition to readers regarding political poetry:

But before proceeding I want to dismiss one objection that may be raised. People sometimes are suspicious of any poetry that has a particular purpose: poetry in which the poet is advocating social, moral, political or religious views. And they are much more inclined to say that it isn't poetry when they dislike the particular views [...]. I should say that the question of whether the poet is using his poetry to advocate or attack a social attitude does not matter.

(ELIOT, 2009 [1943]: 6)

Why doesn't it matter? For Eliot, because poetry survives changes in popular opinion. For Pessoa studies, because a better knowledge of Pessoa's English poetry—including his political poems—would contribute to our understanding of his oeuvre as a whole.

---

<sup>5</sup> For the current state of Pessoa's English poetry as a whole see FERRARI and PITTELLA (2014).

<sup>6</sup> It is not a simple matter to define "political poetry"; David Orr's search for a definition is emblematic: "Is a political poem simply a poem with 'political' words in it, like 'Congress,' 'Dachau' or 'egalitarianism'? Or is it a poem that discusses the way people relate (or might relate) to each other? If that's the case, are love poems political? What about poems in dialect? Should we draw a firm line, and say that a political poem has to have some actual political effect? Should it attempt to persuade us in the way most normal political speeches do?" (ORR, 2012: 48-49).

<sup>7</sup> I thank José Barreto for informing me that the poems "Mar Português" and "O Mostrengo," both from *Mensagem*, have been used in textbooks during the Portuguese military dictatorship. As far as I know, the appropriation of *Mensagem* for the purposes of political propaganda is yet to be studied.

<sup>8</sup> Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) became the leader of the Provisional Government of Portugal on 6 October 1910, after the 5 October revolution, which saw the abdication of King Manuel II. Pessoa mocks Braga in the "Soneto de mal-dizer" attributed to Joaquim Moura Costa (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

## 2. State of the Art

What are the known English political poems by Pessoa?<sup>9</sup> In 1972, Georg Rudolf Lind revealed two long poems Pessoa wrote about the First World War: “Now are no Janus’ temple-doors thrown wide” and “Salute to the Sun’s Entry into Aries,” respectively dated 7 January 1915 and 9 March 1917 (LIND, 1972: 449-458). Pessoa would hardly refrain from commenting on a war that involved the entire Europe. This was not the first time, though, that the poet would react to political events in his English verses. In 1984, Hubert Jennings presented four sonnets that the young Pessoa, under the name of Charles Robert Anon, submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, a daily newspaper founded in 1852 and still published in Durban, South Africa.<sup>10</sup>

Igualmente reveladores do seu envolvimento são os poemas que Pessoa escreveu sobre temas políticos. Estes destinavam-se ainda ao *Natal Mercury*, mas não foram aceites por aquele prudente jornal. São quatro sonetos: Joseph Chamberlain (Fevereiro de 1905); To England, I & II (19 de Junho de 1905); Liberty (20 de Junho de 1905).

(JENNINGS, 1984: 95)

[Equally revealing of his involvement are the poems that Pessoa wrote about political themes. These were intended to the *Natal Mercury*, but were not accepted by that prudent newspaper. These are four sonnets: Joseph Chamberlain (February 1905); To England, I & II (19 June 1905); Liberty (20 June 1905).]

Those four sonnets are crucial to the understanding of Pessoa’s political poetry—and the influence of John Milton (1608-1674) is noteworthy:

The idea of expressing political views in sonnet form had not been done before Milton, and it was only with his example that such a precedent was set. In the thirty-three sonnets he [Milton] published in his lifetime, his comments on state policy as well as problems he personally underwent during Cromwell’s Commonwealth found a place in this poetic form for the first time [...]. One could say that the sonnets [Pessoa] sent to the South African review were Miltonic for Anon, both by virtue of the form adhered to (Italian sonnet: an octave followed by a sestet), and the reference to current political events. Pessoa/Anon explored the sonnet as a weapon, as a way of taking a political stance. It is likely that he used the pseudonym of Charles Robert Anon (an English name) in order to protect himself within a tightly knit community at a time when criticism of British interests would not have been welcome.

(FERRARI, 2015: 11-12)<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Henceforth referred to as the *corpus*.

<sup>10</sup> Pessoa’s father died when the poet was five years old, and his mother remarried the Portuguese consul in Durban. For biographical information of Pessoa in Durban, see JENNINGS (1984 and 1986).

<sup>11</sup> Ferrari also notes that, while living in Durban, Pessoa studied *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, and first read Robert Bridges’s *Milton’s Prosody* in 1904, during his last year of high school (cf. FERRARI, 2015: 7); both books are extant in Pessoa’s private library (for a full reference see the bibliography at the end of this article).

Jennings was the first to edit “To England II” (he also published two verses from “Liberty” and three from “Joseph Chamberlain”). After the *Natal Mercury* rejected the sonnets, Pessoa would copy the four pieces in neat handwriting and attribute them, not to Anon, but to Alexander Search—a fictitious author who would dominate Pessoa’s English literary production from 1906 to 1910 (cf. PESSOA, 2014: 227-248).

Jennings worked on Pessoa’s papers alongside Lind in Lisbon, in 1968 (cf. JENNINGS, 1979: 20 and BROWN, 2016: 151).<sup>12</sup> Lind’s transcriptions are now part of Pessoa’s literary estate at the National Library of Portugal (NLP), comprising a dossier with the call number<sup>13</sup> BNP/E3 “77-78B Annex.” Though Lind published multiple poems by Search as early as 1966, he never edited the four aforementioned sonnets. Thus, apart from the efforts by Jennings, these poems remained virtually unknown until the publication of Luísa Freire’s edition of Alexander Search’s poetry (PESSOA, 1995), shortly followed by the one prepared by João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a).

Perhaps the biggest contribution of Dionísio to our *corpus* lies in his meticulous transcription of several lists prepared by the poet. Some of these lists include titles naming political figures prominent in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: alongside “Joseph Chamberlain,” who merited the sonnet divulged by Lind & Jennings, we find “Kitchener” and “Kropotkine”—titles of two poems that remained unpublished. These lists offer, thus, a map to roam through Pessoa’s labyrinthine archive in search of manuscripts that would fit the intriguing titles enumerated: sometimes a list presents a clue, such as part of an *incipit*, or the mark “S” indicating a sonnet—narrowing the query.

In 2009, Jerónimo Pizarro edited a number of Pessoa’s notebooks, which included another relevant list featuring some titles of the same political poems (cf. PESSOA, 2009: 152-155). In 2015, Patricio Ferrari brought to my attention two more unpublished lists, one of them attributed to Charles Robert Anon [See ANNEX I]. Also in 2015, the poem “Steal, Steal!”—named on some of the lists—was published by Stefan Helgesson, transcribed by Ferrari (HELGESSION, 2015: 36-37).

Based on these publications and lists, what emerges is a coherent group of early English political poems, spanning from February 1905 to August 1907 (note that the World War I English poems by Pessoa are not included here, as their sociopolitical context would require a separate study).

---

<sup>12</sup> Jennings himself acknowledges the debt to Lind “for the transcription of the works of Alexander Search” (JENNINGS, 1986: 72).

<sup>13</sup> Pessoa’s estate was designated “Espólio 3” [Archive 3] at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* [National Library of Portugal]. Hence any call numbers from the archive will begin with the abbreviation BNP/E3.

TABLE A<sup>14</sup> presents this *corpus* of poems, in chronological order, together with the attributions by Pessoa (unpublished titles appear in bold).

[TABLE A]

POEM TITLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTION
Joseph Chamberlain	February 1905	Charles Robert Anon, later Alexander Search
To England I & II	19 June 1905	
Liberty	20 June 1905	
<b>Vicar of Bar</b>	c. 1905-1906	Charles Robert Anon
Steal, Steal!	July 1906	Unattributed (Fernando Pessoa)
<b>Kitchener</b>	July 1906	
<b>Vae Fortibus!</b> (Woe to the Strong)	July 1906	
<b>Kropotkine</b>	19 May 1907	
<b>Oh Miserable Slaves</b>	20 May 1907	

Pessoa’s fictitious authors are usually studied as separate literary entities; nevertheless, considering our *corpus*, one must ask: why would some poems transit from Anon to Search, while one (“Vicar of Bar”) remained with Anon? Why would other poems not be attributed at all and thus, by default, go to Pessoa himself?

One could hypothesize further: would the unattributed poems have also been given to Search, had Pessoa revised them, as he did with many early fragments? From reading these writings as a group, we encounter a legitimate corpus, in which Pessoa’s poetic personae were not totally independent or clearly defined.

Besides their floating authorship (among Pessoaan personae), these poems also share a thematic coherence, bringing to light—and commenting upon—a definite historic period. By focusing on the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (half spent by Pessoa in South Africa, half in Portugal), I will highlight references to Joseph Chamberlain, Herbert Kitchener, Piotr Kropotkine [Пётр Кропоткин], and to historical events connected to these personalities. By attempting to briefly recreate the sociopolitical context in which Pessoa’s texts were written, I intend to pinpoint events to which the poet could be reacting.

### 3. “Joseph Chamberlain” and “Vicar of Bar”

In our *corpus*, the earliest poem is “Joseph Chamberlain.” Written in February 1905, it is a malediction Pessoa directed at Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)—a very influential British politician at the time. Appointed Secretary of State for the

<sup>14</sup> Call numbers from Pessoa’s archive pertaining to the *corpus*, together with references to the publications made to-date, are presented in TABLE B of ANNEX II; known lists naming those poems, together with publications that first edited them, are presented in TABLE C of ANNEX II.

Colonies in 1895, Chamberlain was implicated in the botched Jameson Raid (1895) and in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

*Joseph Chamberlain*

Their blood on thy head, whom the Afric waste  
Saw struggling, puppets with unwillful hand,  
Brother and brother: their bought souls shall brand  
Thine own with horrors. Be thy name erased

5 From the full mouth of men; nor be there traced  
To thee one glory to thy parent land;  
But 'fore us, as 'fore God e'er do thou stand  
In that thy deed forevermore disgraced.

10 Where lie the sons and husbands, where those dear  
That thy curst craft hath lost? Their drops of blood,  
One by one fallen, and many a cadenced tear,

With triple justice weighted trebly dread,  
Shall each, rolled onward in a burning flood,  
Crush thy dark soul. Their blood be on thy head!

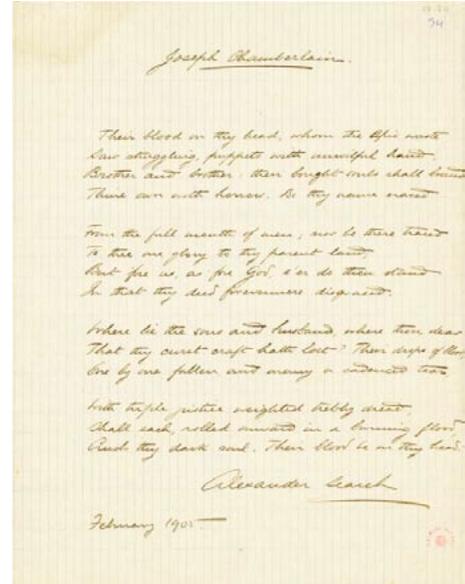


Fig. 1. "Joseph Chamberlain" [BNP/E3, 77-75]

Pessoa reveals a political preoccupation and insight surprising for a sixteen-year-old—a foreigner, living in South Africa and witnessing the development and aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War. The Boers were the descendants of Calvinist settlers who established themselves in South Africa in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Though officially a conflict between Boers and Englishmen, the war involved the entire country, killing more than 75,000 people.

Incidentally, the conflict united—against the British—both Boers and native South Africans, but it was so destructive to the local economy, that it ended up accentuating a segregation system that would give rise to *apartheid* in the 1940s. The conflict is infamously remembered as the first case of concentration camps in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, preceding the ones the Nazi regime would employ.

The British army adopted a scorched-earth strategy. Thousands of Boer farms were burned to ashes to destroy the food supply. The herds were led away or slaughtered on the spot. The military objective was to cripple the fighting men in the field. But the strategy fell hardest on the defenceless—the women and children whose homes the soldiers destroyed. [...] To house this impoverished horde, the British built a system of concentration camps. They were awful places: filthy, badly provisioned, and with only rudimentary medical facilities. Disease spread through the packed and weakened people, and took a dreadful toll. Some twenty-eight thousand Boer women and children, and at least twenty thousand black people, died in the camps.

(HART, 2016: 41)

In February 1905, when Pessoa's sonnet was first written, the concentration camps set up and operated by the British had already been exposed. Having visited several camps in 1901, British activist Emily Hobhouse<sup>15</sup> (1860-1926) wrote a report drawing attention to the humanitarian crisis in South Africa (HOBHOUSE, 1902)—a crisis so horrific, that the report would face general disbelief, as the activist would recount later in life:

My work in the Concentration Camps in South Africa made almost all my people look down upon me with scorn and derision. The press abused me, branded me a rebel, a liar, an enemy of my people, called me hysterical and even worse.

(HOBHOUSE, 1 May 1926; in RAATH, 1999: 33)

Hobhouse would return to South Africa in 1903 and 1905, promoting reconciliation and being attacked by the media—thus in the public sight at the time when Pessoa cursed Chamberlain as the master-puppeteer behind the bloodshed.

Pessoa's sonnet functions as a spell.<sup>16</sup> By employing incantatory repetition, it throws the weight of thousands of deaths upon the colonial policies of Joseph Chamberlain, a character generally respected in English history. Line 12 invokes the "triple" return of all ill-effects of Chamberlain's actions;<sup>17</sup> the first and last lines form a circle, with the sonnet concluding in the same way as it began. On his sonnet "On the Late Massacher in Piemont," Milton had also proffered a malediction, asking the "Lord" to "avenge thy slaughter'd Saints," the Waldensian Protestants of Piedmont, who were massacred in 1673. Milton employs an escalation of words with numerical roots ("redoubl'd," "triple" and "hunder'd-fold"), with a might that must have impressed the young Pessoa<sup>18</sup>: "Their moans |

---

<sup>15</sup> Emily's brother was Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864-1929), political theorist, sociologist and author of *Liberalism* (1911), a book extant in the library of Fernando Pessoa (CFP 3-32).

<sup>16</sup> One may find traces of the magical incantations of Keats and Poe in the poetry Pessoa attributed to Alexander Search. Note that, in 1903, when Pessoa won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, *The Poetic Works of John Keats* and *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe* were among the books the young Portuguese poet chose—and cherished—as part of his prize (cf. JENNINGS, 1984: 39).

<sup>17</sup> One could perhaps call this poem a "karmic" curse, for it invokes the law of inevitable reactions that would befall the doer of ill-intended actions. Pessoa would become acquainted with the law of *karma* through his Theosophical readings, which reclaimed the principle from Hinduism and Buddhism; in 1916, Pessoa would translate the book *Light on the Path and Karma* (COLLINS, 1912). While in Durban, the poet studied the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which included references to Eastern thought and the following passage about Plato, expounding a concept reminiscent of *karma*: "his [Plato's] clear vision of the laws of return, or reaction, which secure instant justice throughout the universe, instanced everywhere" (EMERSON, 1902: 163). I thank Duarte Drumond Braga for helping me trace the influence of the concept of *karma* on Pessoa's writings.

<sup>18</sup> Pessoa wrote elsewhere: "When Milton wrote a sonnet, he wrote as if he were to live or die by that sole sonnet. No sonnet should be written in any other spirit" (PESSOA, 1966: 204).



*To England.*

(When English journalists joked on Russia's disasters)

## I.

How long, oh Lord, shall war and strife be rolled  
On the God-breathing breast of slumbering man,  
Horrible nightmares in the doubtful span  
Of his sleep blind to heaven? As of old,

5 Shall we, more wise, in frantic joy behold  
The bloody fall of nation and of clan,  
And ever others' woes with rough glee scan,  
And war's dark names in Glory's charts inscribed?

10 We now that in vile joy our egoist fears  
Behold dispelled, one day shall mourn the more  
That blood of men erased them—bitter tears

Of desolated woe, as wept of yore  
(Yet not for the short space of ten long years)  
The Grecian archer on the Lemnian shore.

## II.

Our enemies are fallen; other hands  
Than ours have struck them, and our joy is great  
To know that now at length our fears abate  
From hurt and menace on great Eastern lands.

5 Bardling, scribbler and artist, servile bands,  
From covert sneer outstare their trembling hate,  
Laughing at misery, and woe, and fallen state,  
Armies of men whole-crushed on desolate strands.

10 The fallen lion every ass can kick,  
That in his life, shamed to unmotioned fright,  
His every move with eyes askance did trace.

Ill scorn beseems us, men for war and trick,  
Whose groaning nation poured her fullest might  
To take the freedom of a farmer race.

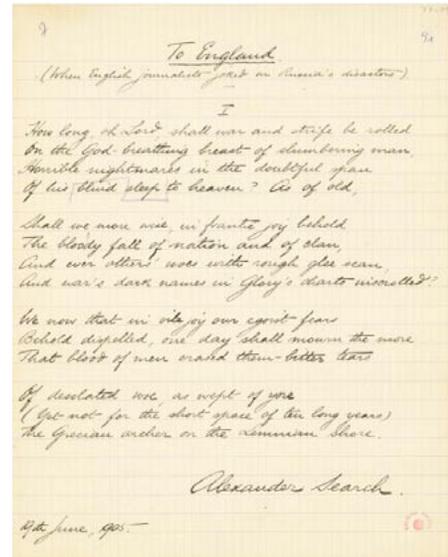


Fig. 3. "To England I" [BNP/E3, 77-79']

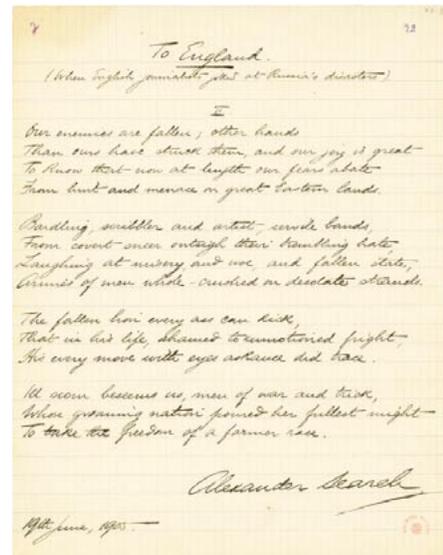


Fig. 4. "To England II" [BNP/E3, 77-80']

Since December 1904, Russia was in social turmoil, enduring a war with Japan (1904-1905) and a series of protests quashed by the forces of tsar Nicholas II—a period that would culminate in the Revolution of 1917. "The fallen lion" which "every ass can kick" evokes some of Aesop's fables (eg., "The Sick Lion"), with the animals symbolizing Russian dormancy and English boastfulness. The "farmer race," whose freedom was taken by England, stands for the Boers, whose name means, literally, "farmers" both in Dutch and in Afrikaans.

The Russo-Japanese War was declared on 10 February 1904, one day after the Battle of Port Arthur (8-9 February); though the Russians drove the Japanese forces from the battlefield and no warships were lost, there were 150 casualties on the Russian side (compared to 90 Japanese casualties), and the surprise attack in Port Arthur would later be compare to the 1941 assault on Pearl Harbor. This war would end with the infamous Battle of Tsushima, on 27-28 May 1905, a massacre in which Russia lost all its battleships and more than 4,000 men. Pessoa's two poems "To England" are written three weeks after the Russian humiliation.

The first sonnet ends with another malediction; differently from the spell directed to Chamberlain, this one proves to be prophetic, taking ten years to be fulfilled ("Yet not for the short space of ten long years"). Verily, a decade after the 1905 poem, Europe would be facing the first of two World Wars, soon having to swallow the necessity of an alliance with the Russians in order to defeat Nazism.

Closing the cycle of poems submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, "Liberty" is dated one day after the two sonnets "To England."

*Liberty*

(To G. N.)

Oh, sacred Liberty, dear mother of Fame!  
 What are men here that they should expel thee?  
 What right of theirs, save power, makes others be  
 The pawns, as if unfeeling, in their game?

5 Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame  
 On England and a blot! Oh, shall we see  
 For ever crushed and held who should be free  
 By human creatures without human name?

Wonder not then, dear friend, that here where men  
 10 Are far away I can well rest, and far  
 From where in lawful bodies, Christian-wise,  
 Beings of earth their fellows fold and pen;  
 Glad that the winds not yet enchainèd are  
 And billows yet are free to fall and rise.

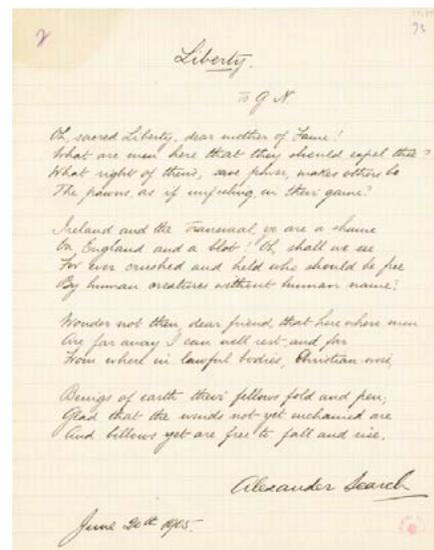


Fig. 5. "Liberty" [BNP/E3, 77-81]

Helgesson noted that, during the Anglo-Boer wars, "Irish volunteers had fought on the Boer side, identifying [...] with the nationalist David struggling against the imperialist British Goliath" and that "the lines 'Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame | On England and a blot!' convey thereby the damage wrought by the war on the image of the British Empire" (HELGESSION, 2015: 38).

"Liberty" is dedicated "To G.N.," the initials of Gaudencio Nabos, the director of *O Palrador (The Conversationalist)*, a journal created by Pessoa and staffed exclusively by his fictitious authors (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 180-181). According

to Pessoa, Nabos was bilingual and resided, primarily, in England; he suddenly started writing in Portuguese in 1908, after Pessoa returned to Portugal, carrying Nabos with him (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 182). “Liberty,” therefore, is a sonnet-report from a foreign correspondent in South Africa (Pessoa/Anon/Search) directed to two publications: the real *Natal Mercury* and the fictional *O Palrador*.

### 5. “Kitchener” and “the Strong” who “Steal”

In November 1901, Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, British local general in South Africa since December 1900, received a complaint cosigned by the State President and the State Secretary of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, who repeated “the request already made [...] that a Commission from our side, of whom at least one member will be a medical man, shall be allowed to visit the women’s camps to render a report” (in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 109). In his response, Kitchener places the responsibility for the camps with the State—not with himself, despite his status and the fact that the complain had been directed to him:

I observe from your Honour’s communication, which you have asked me to forward to Lord Salisbury, and which I have so forwarded, that you complain of the treatment of your women and children, and the camps which we have established for their reception.

Everything has been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed to provide for the well-being of the women and children, but as your Honour complains of that treatment, and must therefore be in a position to provide for them, I have the honour to inform you that all women and children at present in our camps who are willing to leave will be sent to the care of your Honour, and I shall be happy to be informed where you desire they shall be handed over to you.

(KITCHENER, 1 December 1901; in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 110)

Emily Hobhouse didn’t think that everything had “been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed.” Neither did Fernando Pessoa. Among the poet’s unpublished manuscripts, we find a draft titled “Kitchener.” Though incomplete, we know it to be a sonnet, because Pessoa includes the poem in two lists of sonnets he prepared (BNP/E3, 48C-8<sup>r</sup> and 153-63<sup>v</sup>); moreover, the list 48B-101<sup>r</sup> indicates that this poem should have “14” verses (as a traditional sonnet).

The poem “Kitchener” is preceded by an epigraph that echoes the theme of Émile Zola’s *Germinal*, which had been published in 1885. Though possibly inspired by Zola<sup>21</sup>, Pessoa was more likely reacting to the Bambatha Rebellion,<sup>22</sup> a

<sup>21</sup> Tough one-sided, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906* (BOSMAN, 1907) is a source of important information.

<sup>22</sup> Pessoa mentions Zola in a text that Lind & Prado Coelho conjectured to be from 1907: “How do we explain the taste of so many authors for subjects which are coarse, unpleasant, repugnant? How are we to explain the □ of Zola; how the ‘Black Cat’ of Edgar Allan Poe?” (PESSOA, 1966: 26).

Zulu revolt against British rule and taxation in Natal, which saw a series of guerilla attacks from February to April 1906, resulting in 4,000 Zulu dead, 7,000 imprisoned and 4,000 flogged. From the list 48B-101<sup>r</sup>, we know Pessoa dated his poem from "July 1906," just after the revolt was quelled by the British.

If we equalized strength[,] would they not  
tyrannise, overdo strength. Yes, as they are men  
rough, uncultivated (you yourselves made them so).  
Remember the Revolution!

Kitchener

Oh hireling son of tyranny & hate  
Salaried salesman of distress and death,  
[ ]  
[ ]  
5 [ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]  
Hadst thou no mother? Never sawst thou love?  
10 [ ]  
[ ]  
[ ] the power [ ] fell  
Thou layest faith in [ ]  
God and revenge and punishment and hell.

Fig. 6. "Kitchener" [BNP/E3, 49B<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>v</sup>]

The derogatory term "hireling," with which Pessoa opens this poem, is rather telling: it is the same word used by Milton to belittle ministers at the end of his sonnet "To the Lord Generall Cromwell": "Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw | Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw" (MILTON, 1983 [1694]: 30).

Kitchener was born in Ireland in 1850. He became Chief of Staff to Commander in Chief in 1899 and, in 1900, was quickly promoted from overall commander to local general in South Africa. Therefore, he was as involved as Chamberlain in the Anglo-Boer conflict. In 1902, Kitchener was appointed Commander in Chief in India. In June 1916, on the way to Russia to attend World War I negotiations, the cruiser HMS Hampshire, carrying Kitchener, sank in the Northern Sea after striking a German mine. Pessoa would react to Kitchener's demise through Alvaro de Campos's "Ultimatum," dated November 1917.

Tu organização britânica, com Kitchener no fundo  
do mar mesmo desde o principio da guerra!  
(It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight  
longer way to Berlin!)

Fig. 7. Detail of "Ultimatum" [PESSOA, 1917: 3.]

[Thou, British organization, with Kitchener at the bottom of the sea ever since the beginning of the war! | (*It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight longer way to Berlin!*)]<sup>23</sup>

Pessoa also made an astrological chart for Kitchener (see ANNEX III). On the verso of the “Kitchener” manuscript, there is another incomplete sonnet, which begins with the cautionary exclamation “Woe to the strong!”—an English rendition of the opening of verse 22, chapter V, of prophet Isaiah’s book in the Old Testament (“Woe to the strong ones of you that drink wine”).

Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear in the known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents.<sup>24</sup> The current *Vulgate* Bible displays the Latin phrase as “Vae qui potentes”; nevertheless, “Vae fortibus” is a more concise translation, present in 18<sup>th</sup> century editions of Isaiah’s book (*cf.* VITRINGA, 1715).

The epigraph to “Kitchener” seems to equally apply to this sonnet—and its opening warning may be seen as another malediction professed by Pessoa, this time directed, not to an individual, but to the entire England as a colonizer.

[*Vae Fortibus!*]

Woe to the strong! For when the weak shall make  
 Their frailty strength [ ] fire  
 Of their tremendous & unspoken ire  
 Not only [ ] thrones and altars shake  
 5 [ ] mire  
 Grew coarse and beast-like so when they shall wake  
 Beast-like shall be their vengeance [ ] they slake  
 Their thirst of blood in rape in torture dire  
 In myriad tortures. The more far ye leave  
 10 [ ] sink into the beast  
 The greater horror for yourselves ye weave  
 Force begets force & wrong is paid with wrong  
 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast  
 Of murder & of lust – Woe, to the strong.

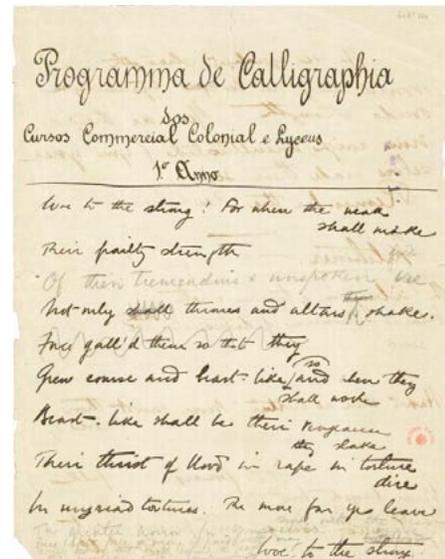


Fig. 8. “Vae Fortibus” [BNP/E3, 49B<sup>1</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>]

Also with an exclamation in its title, “Steal, Steal!” is a third political poem written in July 1906. If, in “Liberty,” Pessoa claimed “Ireland and Transvaal” were “a shame on England,” here the poet adds “Scotland” to the equation:

<sup>23</sup> This passage of the “Ultimatum” combines the 1912 British war song “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary” (by Jack Judge and Henry James “Harry” Williams) with the 1917 World War I song “It’s a Long Way to Berlin” (by Arthur Fields and Leon Flatow).

<sup>24</sup> These documents are NLP/A3, 48B-101<sup>r</sup>, 48C-8<sup>r</sup> and 153-63<sup>v</sup>—the last two listing only sonnets, and the first giving the date “July 1906” for “Vae Fortibus.”

[*Steal, Steal!*]

- Steal, steal, steal  
Wherefore are ye strong  
Steal, steal, steal  
The weak are ever wrong
- 5 Englishmen remember all  
The example your nation doth deal  
Scotland, Ireland, the Transvaal  
Many a land [ ]  
So steal, steal, steal!
- 10 Wherefore strength if not to oppress  
Wherefore might if not to make distress  
Wherefore [ ]  
So, men of England, continue your work  
And steal, steal, steal!

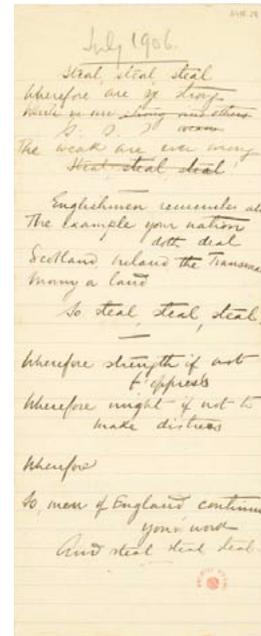


Fig. 9. “Steal, Steal!” [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>]

Helgesson, who first studied this poem, provides insightful commentary:

There was indeed little doubt, even on the British side, that the annexation of Transvaal had to do with anything other than economic interest. The conflict had been preceded by the infamous Jameson raid, a failed attempt in 1895 to take control of Johannesburg and the Transvaal. It had not directly involved British troops, but the scheme had been devised by a group of influential British politicians and capitalists (most prominent among them Cecil Rhodes) and was aimed at provoking an interstate conflict. We know today, of course, that not only was the raid carried out with the tacit blessing of Joseph Chamberlain—then British secretary of state for the colonies—but its ultimate outcome would be the outbreak of the war in October 1899.

(HELGESSION, 2015: 38)

## 6. “Kropotkine” and “Miserable Slaves”

Besides the pair “Kitchener” and “Vae Fortibus,” another duo of political sonnets appears in lists prepared by Pessoa: “Oh Miserable Slaves” and “Kropotkine,” written on two consecutive days (the manuscripts of these poems are dated 19 and 20 May 1907, though the lists curiously put both dates one day later, that is, 20 and 21 May 1907).

Piotr Kropotkine (1842-1921), born a Russian prince, was a geographer who explored glaciers in Siberia, Finland and Sweden, and a very influential philosopher of anarchism. Due to his activism, he spent several years in prison in Russia and then in France, eventually returning to Russia after the 1917 Revolution. One of Kropotkine’s most influential books, *The Conquest of Bread*, was

first published in French, in 1892, as *La Conquête du pain*; after being partially serialized in the London journal *Freedom* (between 1892 and 1894), it received an English edition in 1906, the year before Pessoa wrote his sonnet “Kropotkine,” adding the subtitle “C[onquista] del Pan”—which suggests that the poet got acquainted with Kropotkine’s book via one of the many Spanish editions published as early as 1893.<sup>25</sup>

Kropotkine      C[onquista] del Pan

Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have  
 Such things existence’ things to substitute!  
 Who sums not life into a flowering grave  
 Nor locks his good in fame & in repute.  
 5 Happy so firm to dream & to believe  
 That on the soil of earth good can take root  
 Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve  
 And Venus’ self was born a prostitute.  
 Happy incognisant to dream progress  
 10 Nor know in life a fermentation huge  
 Whose \*psychis is volition feeling thought  
 A vision changing like its shadowy bliss  
 That doth the sight with many forms deluge:  
 A plant a cell a leaf a body rot.

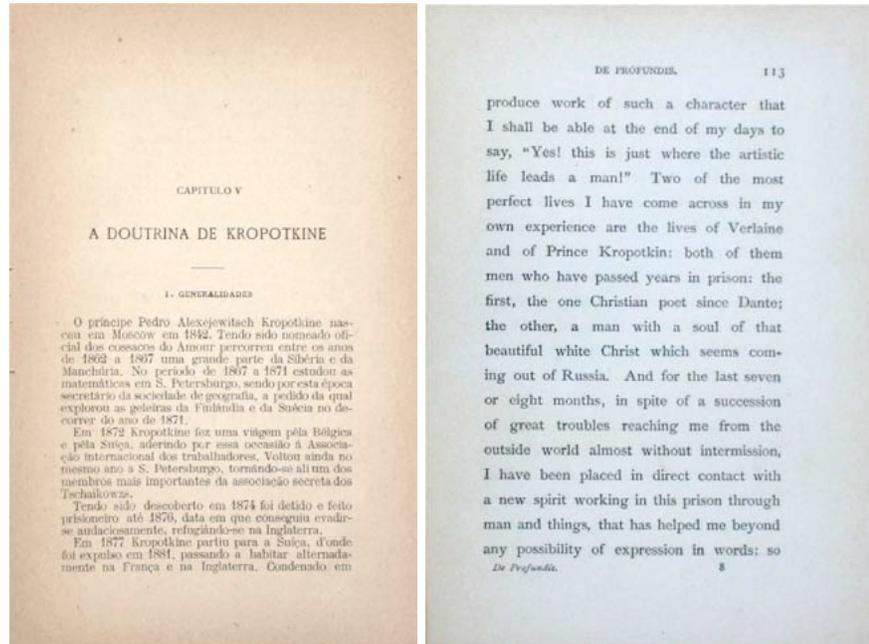
Handwritten manuscript of the first part of the sonnet "Kropotkine". The text is written in cursive on aged paper. At the top, it is titled "Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan" with the number "49A1-37" in the upper right corner. The text reads: "Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have / Such things existence' things to substitute! / Who sums not life into a flowering grave / Nor locks his good in fame & in repute. / Happy so firm to dream & to believe / That on the soil of earth good can take root / Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve / And Venus' self is born a prostitute." There is a small red circular stamp at the bottom left of the page.

Handwritten manuscript of the second part of the sonnet "Kropotkine". The text is written in cursive on aged paper. At the top, it is titled "Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan" with the number "49A1-38" in the upper right corner. The text reads: "Happy incognisant to dream progress / Nor know in life a fermentation huge / Whose psychis is volition feeling thought / A vision changing like its shadowy bliss / That doth the sight with many forms deluge: / A plant a cell a leaf a body rot." There is a small red circular stamp at the bottom left of the page.

Figs. 10 & 11. “Kropotkine” [BNP/E3, 49A1-37r & 38r]

Notwithstanding some editorial challenges (see *genetic notes on ANNEX IV*), here we have a complete unpublished sonnet by Pessoa, dedicated to the Russian anarchist. Kropotkine also appears in two books extant in Pessoa’s private library (though both volumes were published in 1908, and, thus, could not have influenced the 1907 sonnet): a whole chapter is dedicated to the anarchist doctrine of Kropotkine in *As Doutrinas Anarquistas* (ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85-118), and Oscar Wilde refers to “Prince Kropotkine” in *De Profundis* (WILDE, 1908: 113).

<sup>25</sup> In the beginnings of the twentieth century, “La Conquista del Pan” was among the five most read books by the Spanish proletariat. In a letter to Miguel de Unamuno, the editor Francisco Sempere mentions a total of 58,000 copies of the book already sold by 9 March 1909 (not counting three previous editions by publishing houses in Barcelona [Manucci, Presa, and Atlante]); cf. MINTZ, 2003: 8.



Figs. 12 & 13: References to Kropotkine in Pessoa's private library (ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85; WILDE, 1908: 113)

"Kropotkine" hints at a biblical passage: the formula "Happy" *plus designation* ("happy who can have," "Happy so firm," and "Happy incognisant") evokes the language of the "Beatitudes" from Jesus' "Sermon on the Mount"; thus, the poet equates the messages of salvation of Anarchism and Christianity.

In spite of concluding with the verb *to rot*, "Kropotkine" seems to paint an overall positive image of the Russian anarchist—even more so if we compare this sonnet with Pessoa's invectives targeting Kitchener and Chamberlain. This budding positivity is not sustained, though, in the incomplete poem "Oh Miserable Slaves," drafted on the verso of the document with the quartets of "Kropotkine."

[*Oh Miserable Slaves*]

Oh miserable slaves that no revolt  
Can kindle or impel to any use,  
Slaves that we are, that cannot will nor choose  
With mind & conscience under lock & bolt.

5 Slaves that no [ ] can redeem  
From this eternal tyranny divine  
Freemen & freedmen that a drop of wine  
Can make to sleep or injure in a dream!

So wholly slaves, so miserable slaves!

□

Oh miserable slaves that no revolt  
Can kindle or impel to any use,  
Slaves that we are, that cannot will nor choose  
With mind & conscience under lock & bolt.  
Slaves that no [ ] can redeem  
From this eternal tyranny divine  
Freemen & freedmen that a drop of wine  
Can make to sleep or injure in a dream!  
So wholly slaves, so miserable slaves!

Fig. 14. "Oh Miserable Slaves" [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>]

Being written on the verso of the same paper, it is reasonable to read “Oh Miserable Slaves” as a pessimistic response to Kropotkine’s dreams. There is, however, a contemporary political event to which Pessoa could be reacting: the process of dissolution of the Second State Duma of the Russian Empire. Merriam-Webster defines “duma” as “the principal legislative assembly in Russia from 1906 to 1917 and since 1993,” with the word meaning “council, thought.”

Initiated as a result of the 1905 revolution, the Duma was established by Tsar Nicholas II in his October Manifesto (Oct. 30, 1905), which promised that it would be a representative assembly and that its approval would be necessary for the enactment of legislation. [...]

Four Dumas met [...] They rarely enjoyed the confidence or the cooperation of the ministers or the emperor, who retained the right to rule by decree when the Duma was not in session.  
(ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA)

Aimed at restricting the rule of Tsar Nicholas II through the creation of a legislative assembly, the Duma faced serious limitations from the outset. If, on one hand, the creation of the Duma was seen as a major victory of the 1905 Russian Revolution, on the other hand its powers were always constrained, with the Tsar maintaining his sole authority to appoint/dismiss ministers.

The inauspicious beginnings of the Second Duma, in March 1907, included the collapse of the Duma chamber’s ceiling. Fortunately, the assembly was not in session at the time. The friction between government and the Second Duma quickly increased, with the first trying to dissolve the assembly at the first opportunity, which eventually happened in June—marking the end of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution—shortly after Pessoa drafted this poem.

While I can only suggest (and not prove) that the failures of the 1905 Russian Revolution were on Pessoa’s mind when he drafted “Oh Miserable Slaves,” this is the fourth sonnet in our *corpus* touching on Russia’s challenges (besides “To England I & II” and “Kropotkine”). Moreover, though the “miserable slaves” are not specified in the poem, Pessoa does equate the Russian people with slaves in an different (undated) text (the same Pessoa who had criticized English journalists for mocking Russia in the sonnets “To England”): “No caso da Rússia, povo passivo e com hábitos de escravo” [*In the case of Russia, a people which is passive and has the habits of a slave*] (PESSOA, 1979b: 112).

## 7. Final Note

The ten poems presented as our *corpus* should be taken as a mere sample of Pessoa’s English political poems, for at least two reasons: (1) Pessoa’s English poetic corpus has not been fully transcribed; what is more, there may well be poems still to be located in the archive (including texts which have been listed by

the poet, but which have not been found to date); (2) one can always expand the strict definition of *political poetry* used in this article, in order to include many more writings by Pessoa.

One example of published political piece not included here is “Napoleon” (BNP/E3, 79<sup>1</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>; PESSOA, 1997a: 293). The poem is titled after one more historical giant who, between 1905 and 1907, merited a sonnet by Pessoa—besides Chamberlain, Kitchener and Kropotkine. Differently from the other three, though, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was not alive when his dedicated poem was written; therefore, Pessoa could not have been reacting to contemporary events involving the French ruler (although he could well have been using Napoleon as a symbol to comment upon a current event, or reacting to a meaningful date, such as the anniversary of a battle—two hypotheses which could be investigated and perhaps defended given new evidence).

Moreover, Pessoa attributed “Napoleon” directly to Alexander Search (i.e., it was neither initially signed by Charles Robert Anon, nor remained unattributed); this last point suggests the transition to a different phase in Pessoa’s English poetry, which would soon be dominated by the signature of Search.

Before Search, there was Charles Robert Anon and, behind him, Fernando Pessoa—sometimes using a pseudonym<sup>26</sup> to protect himself when cursing political figures, other times leaving a text unsigned, as if the young poet were still unsure about his voice. Either way, by studying these early English political poems as a group, one recognizes a poet attentive to the world around him; a poet keenly reacting to current events through his preferred means of action; a political poet.

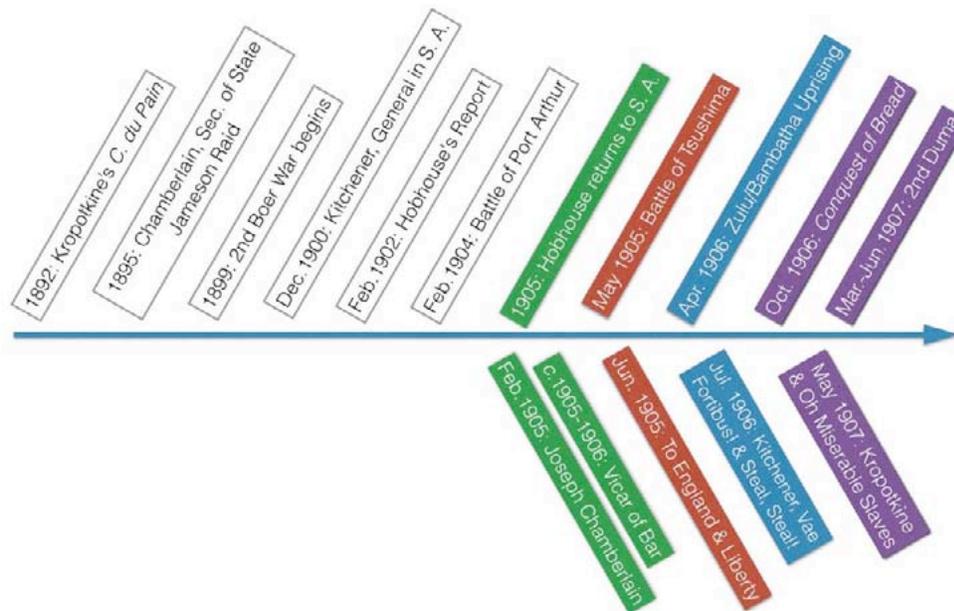
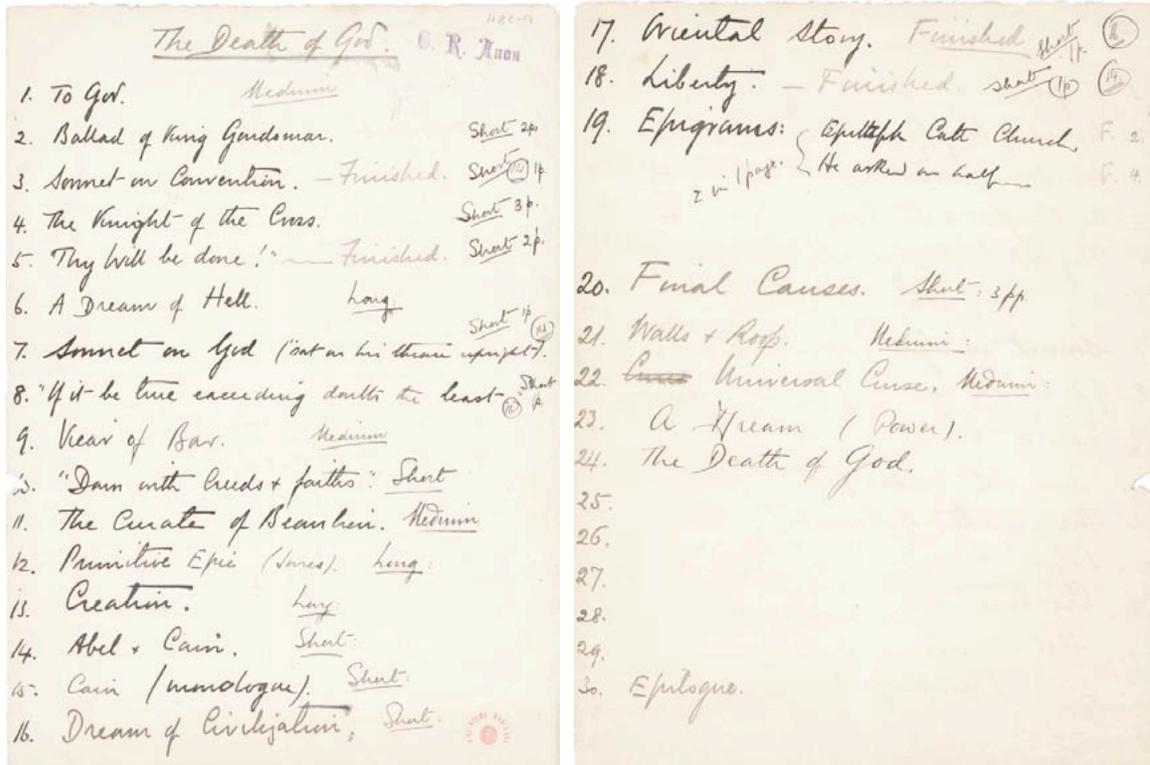


Fig. 15. Chronology of political events and Pessoa’s poems (not to scale)

<sup>26</sup> Pessoa used the term pseudonym until at least 1913. See the contribution by FERRARI and PITTELLA on Frederick Wyatt in this issue.

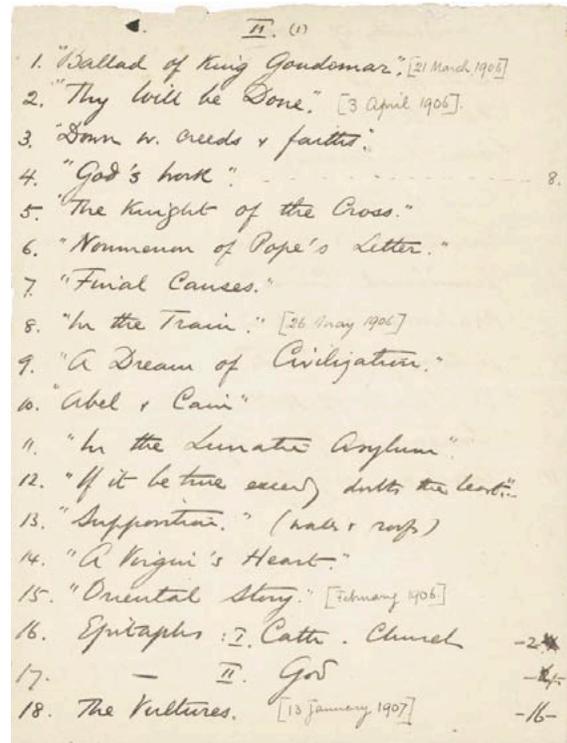
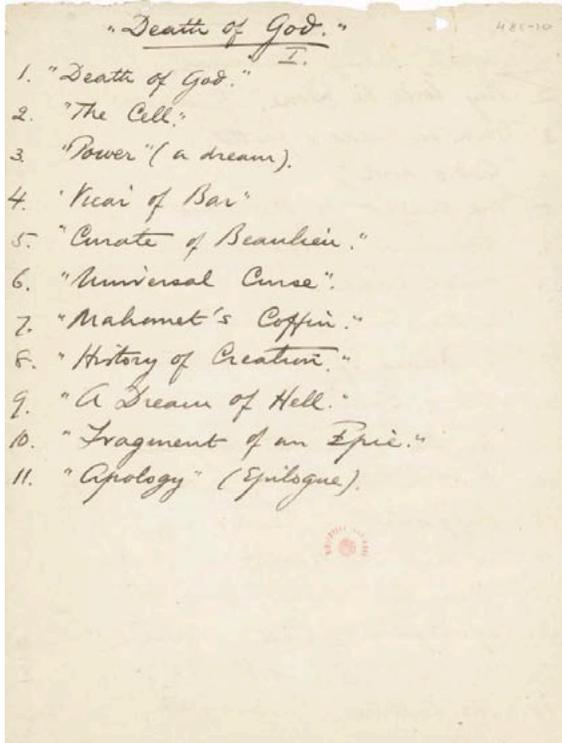
## Annex I: Unpublished Lists

**List I** [NLP/E3, 48C-9] "The Death of God." Unpublished. Written in black ink, with notes and the title in pencil. On the upper right side, in purple ink, there is the seal of "C. R. Anon." Datable to 3 April 1906 or later, for "Thy Will be done" is the poem in this list with the latest verified date (it appears on the 48C-10<sup>v</sup>, followed by the date "3 April 1906"). I thank Patricio Ferrari for the initial transcription of this list. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.

Figs. 16 & 17 [BNP/E3, 48C-9<sup>v</sup> & 48C-9<sup>v</sup>]



**List II** [BNP/E3, 48C-10] "Death of God." Unpublished. Written in black ink, with some dates added in pencil. Datable to 13 January 1907 or later, for "The Vultures" is the poem on this list with the latest indicated date. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this list to me. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.



Figs. 18 & 19 [BNP/E3, 48C-10<sup>r</sup> & 48C-10<sup>v</sup>]

[48C-10<sup>r</sup>]*"Death of God."*

## I.

1. "Death of God."
2. "The Cell."
3. "Power" (a dream).
4. "Vicar of Bar"
5. "Curate of Beaulieu."
6. "Universal Curse."
7. "Mahomet's Coffin."
8. "History of Creation."
9. "A Dream of Hell."
10. "Fragment of an Epic."
11. "Apology" (Epilogue).

[10<sup>v</sup>]

## II. (1)

1. "Ballad of King Gondomar." [21 March 1906]
2. "Thy Will be Done." [3 April 1906]
3. "Down w[ith] creeds & faiths."
4. "God's Work." ----- 8.
5. "The Knight of the Cross."
6. "Noumenon of Pope's Letter."
7. "Final Causes."
8. "In the Train." [26 May 1906]
9. "A Dream of Civilization."
10. "Abel & Cain"
11. "In the Lunatic Asylum."
12. "If it be true exceeding doubts the least..."
13. "Supposition." (walls & roofs)
14. "A Virgin's Heart."
15. "Oriental Story." [February 1906]
16. Epitaphs: I. Cath[olic] Church - 2. -
17. [Epitaphs:] II. God - 4. -
18. The Vultures. [13 January 1907] - 16 -

## NOTES

- 16 [← - 2. -] <\*4>  
 17 - <2>/4. \ -

## Annex II: Tables

[TABLE B] Poems transcribed, original manuscripts and publications.

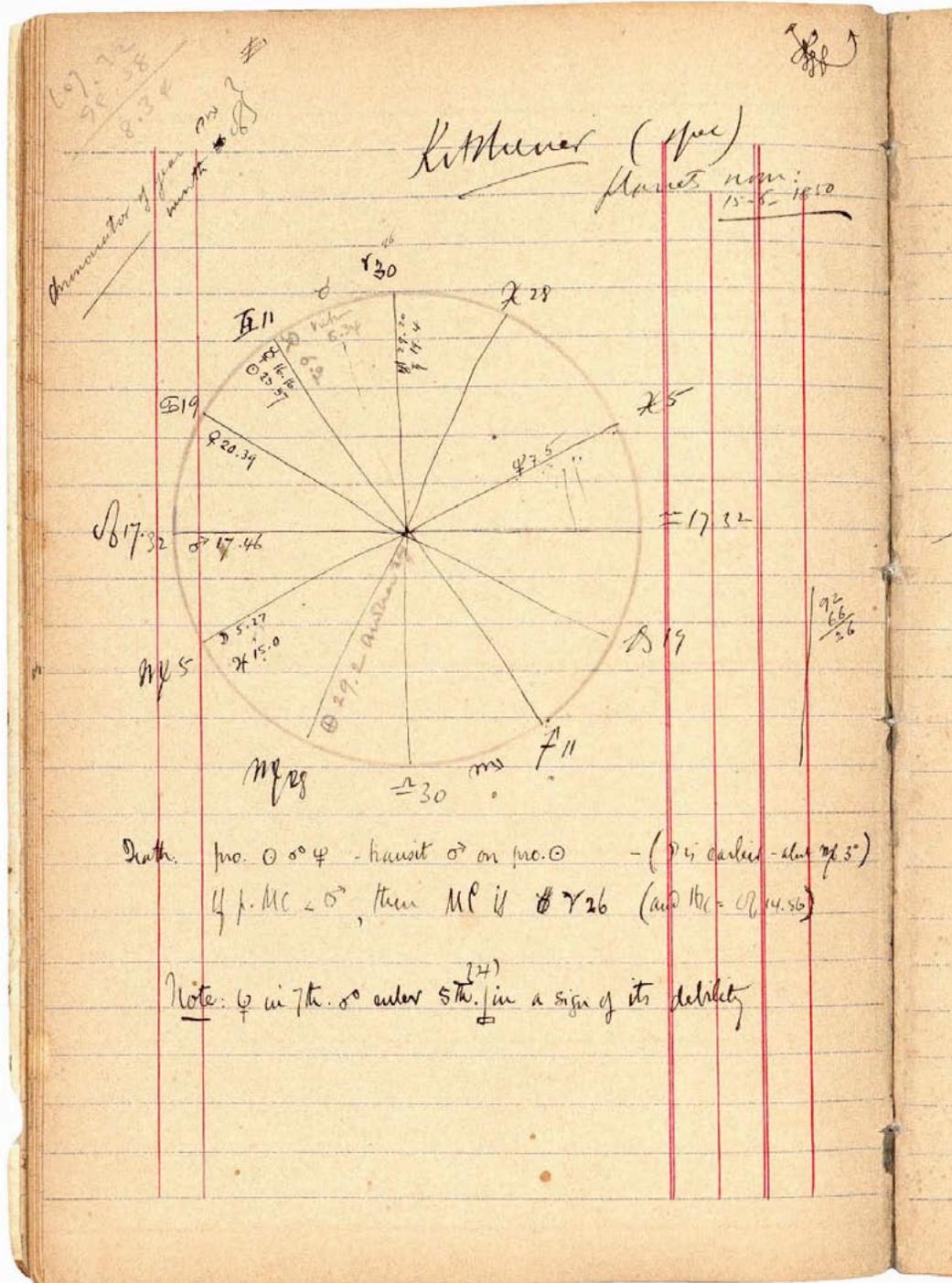
POEM TITLE	DOCUMENTS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS
Joseph Chamberlain	49B <sup>3</sup> -77 <sup>v</sup> , 77-75, 144N-7 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 48-50 & 1997a: 304
To England I & II	77-79 <sup>r</sup> , 77-80 <sup>r</sup>	JENNINGS, 1984: 95 (sonnet II); PESSOA, 1995: 52-54 & 1997a: 302-303
Liberty	77-81 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 54 & 1997a: 301
<b>Vicar of Bar</b>	49D <sup>1</sup> -75 <sup>v</sup>	Unpublished
Steal, Steal!	49A <sup>1</sup> -28 <sup>r</sup> , 49A <sup>1</sup> -28a <sup>r</sup>	HELGESSON, 2015: 36-37
<b>Kitchener</b>	49B <sup>1</sup> -100 <sup>v</sup>	Unpublished
<b>Vae Fortibus!</b>	49B <sup>1</sup> -100 <sup>r</sup>	Unpublished
<b>Kropotkine</b>	49A <sup>1</sup> -37 <sup>r</sup> , 49A <sup>1</sup> -38 <sup>r</sup>	Unpublished
<b>Oh Miserable Slaves</b>	49A <sup>1</sup> -37 <sup>v</sup>	Unpublished

[TABLE C] Poems transcribed, lists including them and publications of said lists.

POEM TITLE	LISTS INCLUDING POEMS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS OF LISTS (PESSOA)
Joseph Chamberlain	48B-101 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>v</sup>	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
To England I & II	48B-100 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>r</sup>	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
Liberty	48B-94 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-146 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>r</sup> 48C-9 <sup>v</sup>	1997a: 294, 305; 2009: 152; Unpublished
<b>Vicar of Bar</b>	48C-11 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-96 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-147 <sup>r</sup> , 153-66 <sup>r</sup> ; 48C-9 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-10 <sup>r</sup>	1997a: 249, 295, 306; 2009: 155; both unpublished
Steal, Steal!	48C-11 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-100 <sup>r</sup>	1997a: 250, 298;
<b>Kitchener</b>	48C-8 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-101 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>v</sup>	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
<b>Vae Fortibus!</b>	48C-8 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-101 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>v</sup>	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
<b>Kropotkine</b>	48C-8 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-100 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>r</sup>	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152
<b>Oh Miserable Slaves</b>	48C-8 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-100 <sup>r</sup> , 153-63 <sup>r</sup>	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152

Annex III: Astrological Chart for Kitchener

[BNP/E3, 144Y-16v] "Kitchener." Astrological chart published digitally by the National Library of Portugal, available at <http://purl.pt/13899> (accessed on 2 December 2016). Lined page of a notebook with two vertical red lines on the left margin and four on the right. Written in black ink, with the central circle drawn in pencil. Datable to 1917. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this chart to me, and Jerónimo Pizarro for dating it. This document was not included in PESSOA, 2011b.

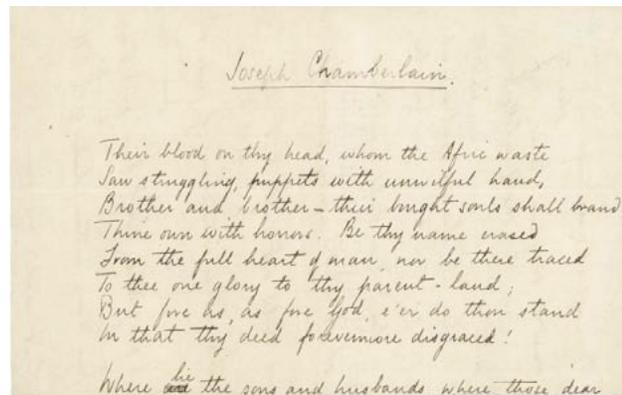
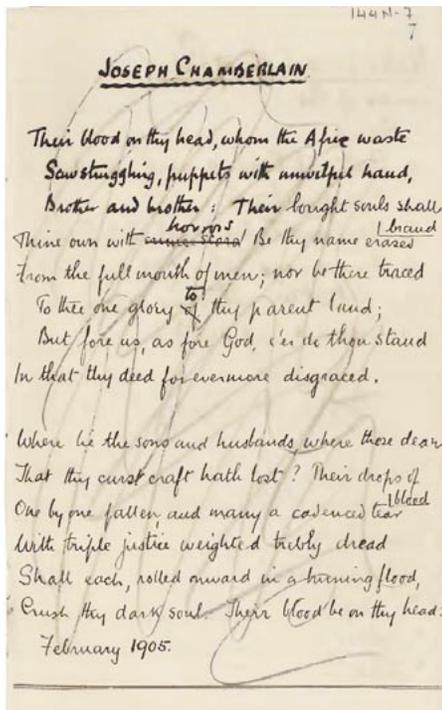


Annex IV: Genetic Notes of Poems Transcribed<sup>27</sup>

**Poem I** [BNP/E3, 144N-7<sup>r</sup>, 49B<sup>3</sup>-77<sup>v</sup> & 77-75<sup>r</sup>] “Joseph Chamberlain.” Three manuscripts, 144N-7 (A), 49B<sup>3</sup>-77<sup>v</sup> (B) and 77-75<sup>r</sup> (C), both dated “February 1905”; A is unsigned, written with two different types of black ink, with a few amendments and completely crossed out in pencil (with a letter “C” at the bottom of the document indicating “Copied”); B is a partial manuscript, presenting only the first nine lines of the poem (the other side of the document presents the poem of *incipit* “Thou askest sometimes in perplexity”); C is written with black ink on grid paper, with no amendments and bearing the signature of “Alexander Search”; although featuring the same sonnet, A is organized in one octet and one sestet, and B in two quartets and two tercets. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 304, 525-527).

## NOTES

- 1 A Afric B Afric C <a>/A \ fric
- 2 A : Their B — their C : their
- 4 A <crime-scars!> [↑ horrors] B horrors C horrors
- 5 A full mouth of men; B full heart of men, C full mouth of men;
- 6 A glory <of> [↑ to] thy parent land B glory to thy parent-land C glory to thy parent land
- 8 A disgraced. B disgraced! C disgraced.
- 9 A Where lie B Where <are> [↑ lie] C lie
- 10 A blood B nonexistent verse C blood,
- 11 A tear B nonexistent verse C tear,
- 12 A dread B nonexistent verse C dread,



Figs. 21 & 22. First two drafts (A & B) of “Joseph Chamberlain” [BNP/E3, 144N-7<sup>r</sup> & 49B<sup>3</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>]

<sup>27</sup> See ANNEX II for all lists from Pessoa’s archive including the poems transcribed, and for a complete list of previous publications of both poems and lists of our studied *corpus*.

**Poem II** [BNP/E3, 49D<sup>1</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>] “Vicar of Bar.” Unpublished manuscript. Datable to 1905-1906. Lined paper written in black ink. Unsigned. In five different lists (BNP/E3, 48B-96<sup>r</sup>, 48B-147<sup>r&v</sup>, 48C-10<sup>r</sup>, 48C-11<sup>r</sup> and 153-66<sup>r</sup>), this poem appears alongside the title “Curate of Beaulieu” (for which I could not locate a draft in Pessoa’s archive); the analogous construction of these two designations (clerical title + city) suggests two little known clergymen in small villages in England.

## NOTES

- 2       distrac(t) ] *the parentheses seem to indicate that the “t” should be muted, perhaps in an comical attempt to rhyme with “back” at the end of the first verse.*
- 3       sub<l>/tl\ e
- 10       with [↑ those] fleas
- 14       These are too horrible □ for the <day> [↓ Their too great horror our □ laugh [↓ doth mar] *the space initially left between “our” and “laugh” seems to have been filled by the addition of “doth mar” at the end of the verse.*

**Poem III** [BNP/E3, 77-79<sup>r</sup>] “To England I.” Manuscript. Dated “19<sup>th</sup> June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, with one intervention in purple pencil, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “\*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302-303, 525).

## NOTE

- 4       Of his [blind] ⇌ [sleep] *“this” instead of “his” in Dionísio’s edition (PESSOA, 1997a: 302).*

**Poem IV** [BNP/E3, 77-80<sup>r</sup>] “To England II.” Manuscript. Dated “19<sup>th</sup> June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “\*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 303, 525).

**Poem V** [BNP/E3, 77-81<sup>r</sup>] “Liberty”. Manuscript. Dated “June 20<sup>th</sup> 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “\*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302, 524).

**Poem VI** [BNP/E3, 49B<sup>1</sup>-100<sup>v</sup>] “Kitchener.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101<sup>r</sup>. Though incomplete, the draft of a sonnet, for its title appears on documents 48C-8<sup>r</sup> and 153-63<sup>v</sup> (both lists of sonnets) and on 48B-101<sup>r</sup> (with the indication that it should have 14 verses). Loose piece of paper, written in both black ink and pencil, not being clear which writing utensil was used first; if, at first sight, the pencil inscriptions could be seen as additions, upon further inspection they do not satisfactorily complete the blank spaces left among the fragmentary lines in black ink—thus raising the question of the writings in ink and pencil perhaps belonging to different texts (the pencil could have already been on the paper when the black ink was used). In pencil, we read:

Nor even have strength \*with t<h>/h\ee [            ] ]  
That such \*as [↑ &] those have made for mankind’s fear

On the right side of the title “Kitchener,” there are two illegible words—possibly the title of a separate poem which Pessoa didn’t get to draft (note the author draws a line as if creating two columns: on the left one, the draft of “Kitchener”; on the right, just the blank space in which the second poem could be written).

## NOTES

- [*epig.*] Would they not <\*the equ> tyrannise,  
 2 Salaried salesman of distress and woe [↑ death],  
 9 sawst ] *obsolete form of “sawest,” generally spelled “saw’st,” though Pessoa doesn’t use the apostrophe here.*

**Poem VII** [BNP/E3, 49B<sup>1</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>] “Woe to the Strong! [Vae Fortibus!]” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101<sup>r</sup>. Loose piece of paper with the handwritten header “Programma de Calligraphia | dos | Cursos Commercial Colonial e Lyceus | 1.º Anno”; a horizontal line separates the header from the poem. Written in black ink and in pencil, with some words also crossed-out in pencil. Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear as a title in known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents: BNP/E3, 48B-101<sup>r</sup>, 48C-8<sup>r</sup> and 153-63<sup>v</sup>—the last two of them listing only sonnets.

## NOTES

- 2 <fire>/fire\  
 3 <ire>/ire\  
 4 Not only <shall> thrones and altars [↑ <then>] shake  
 5 <Force of all’d them so that they> □ mire  
 6 Grew course and beast-like and [↑ so] when they shall wake  
 12 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast [→ <brutal feast>]

**Poem VIII** [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>] “Steal! Steal!” Manuscript. Dated “July 1906.” Lined paper written in black ink, with the title in pencil. On the contiguous document 49A<sup>1</sup>-28a<sup>r</sup>, there are three lines that, according to Helgesson, “could be either the continuation of this poem or the beginning of yet another unfinished piece” (HELGESSION, 2015: 44):

Murder and rapine hallows  
 How many a hero, were there no wars  
 Had ended in the gallows.

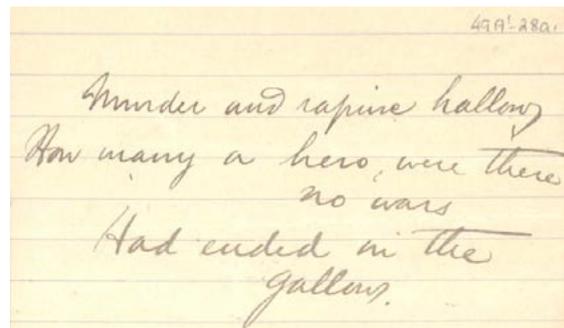


Fig. 23. [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-28a<sup>r</sup>; detail]

**Poem IX** [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-37<sup>r</sup> & 49A<sup>1</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>] “Kropotkine, C[onquista] del Pan.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “20 May 1907” (though the list 153-63<sup>r</sup> dates it “21 May 1907”). Two loose pieces of paper written in black ink with additions in pencil in verse 12. The poem was written on two papers of similar size (A and B). The title “Kropotkine” and the two first stanzas appear on document A (49A<sup>1</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>), and the tercets, followed by the date “20 May 1907,” on document B (49A<sup>1</sup>-

38<sup>r</sup>). On the verso of document A, one finds a text beginning with the words “Oh Miserable Slaves,” which I consider to be a different poem (with a different date). Two critical questions may be raised: (1) why not consider the verso of document A as the continuation of “Kropotkine”? and (2) why consider document B as the continuation of “Kropotkine,” instead of the continuation of the poem drafted on the verso of A? (1) Regarding the first question, the verso of A presents quartets. Following the eight initial verses of “Kropotkine” on the recto, one should look for six more verses (either two tercets, or one quartet and one couplet) to complete the poem (for we know it to be a sonnet, based on the lists left by Pessoa). (2) As to the second question, the verso of A seems to present nine complete lines, which, if supplemented by the six lines of B, would sum too many for a Miltonic sonnet; moreover, the first line on the verso of A is the incipit of a different poem listed by Pessoa in different documents, i.e., “Oh Miserable Slaves” (see call numbers of lists on ANNEX II); lastly, the tercets on B seem to complement the recto of A both in form (by reiterating formulae such as “Nor know” and “Happy” as verse-openings) and in content (by developing the idea of fermentation, which is connected to the “Pan/Bread” of Kropotkine’s book).

## NOTES

- 2 *Pessoa places an apostrophe at the end of the word “existence,” thus creating the possessive expression “existence’ things” (i.e., things of existence); note it is acceptable to omit “s” following an apostrophe in constructions such as “for conscience’ sake” (STRUNK and WHITE, 2005: 1) and that the word “existence” (as “conscience”) already ends in a phonetic “s.”*
- 7 Nor know [↑ that] joys
- 8 is turned [↓ was born]
- 9 to <think life> [↓ dream]
- 11 <feeling & will> [↑ volition feeling] thought ] *save for a transcription error, the poet seems to have employed, in this verse, the word “psychis,” which is the Latin ablative or dative plural of psyche, a curious choice, since English does not distinguish those declinations.*
- 13 That doth <eyes> [↑ the sight]
- 14 A plant, a worm, a brain, a body, rot. [↓ /a plant a cell a leaf a body rot/] *though the first variant presented commas, I opted to edit the final verse without commas, as it appears in the second variant; nevertheless, I capitalized the initial article of the last verse, following the standard used by Pessoa.*

**Poem X** [BNP/E3, 49A<sup>1</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>] “Oh Miserable Slaves.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “19 May 1907” (though the list 153-63<sup>r</sup> dates it “20 May 1907”). Loose piece of paper, written in black ink, except by the last verse, which was added in purple pencil.

## Bibliography

- AESOP (1997). "The Sick Lion" in *Aesop's Fables—Online Collection*. Edited by John R. Long. Web: [aesopfables.com/cgi/aesop1.cgi?srch&fabl/TheSickLion](http://aesopfables.com/cgi/aesop1.cgi?srch&fabl/TheSickLion) (accessed 14 November 2016).
- BARRETO, José (2015). "A Poesia Política de Fernando Pessoa" in *Abril—Journal of the Nucleus of Portuguese and African Literature Studies at UFF*, vol. 7, n.º 14, pp. 189-209.
- \_\_\_\_ (2013). "O nacionalismo liberal de Fernando Pessoa." *III Congresso Internacional Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon, 28-30 November. Web: [www.congressointernacionalfernandopessoa.com/comunicacoes/jose\\_barreto.pdf](http://www.congressointernacionalfernandopessoa.com/comunicacoes/jose_barreto.pdf) (accessed 30 Nov. 2016).
- \_\_\_\_ (2012a). "Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal contra a campanha moralizadora dos estudantes em 1923" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 2, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 240-270.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012b). "Mussolini é um louco: uma entrevista desconhecida de Fernando Pessoa com um antifascista italiano" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 225-252.
- \_\_\_\_ (2011a). "Fernando Pessoa em defesa da Maçonaria: A história do artigo que rompeu com o Estado Novo" in *Fernando Pessoa, Associações Secretas e outros escritos*. Lisbon: Ática, pp. 239-288.
- \_\_\_\_ (2011b). "Fernando Pessoa e Salazar: Sobre o pensamento político do escritor e a sua ruptura com o salazarismo" in *Pessoa—Revista de Ideias*, n.º 3, Lisbon, June, pp. 17-34.
- BOSMAN, Walter (1907). *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.; Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Johannesburg, East London, Stellenbosch, and Durban [Natal]: J. C. Juta and Co.
- BRIDGES, Robert (1901). *Milton's Prosody and Classical Metres in English Verse by William Johnson Stone*. Oxford: Henry Frowde [1<sup>st</sup> ed. of Bridges: 1889; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. of Stone: 1898] [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-641].
- BROWN, Susan (2016). "From Michael and Teca: two unpublished letters to Hubert Jennings" in *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoaan studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Edited by Carlos Pittella. Providence: Gávea-Brown, pp. 149-163.
- COLLINS, Mabel (1916). *Luz sobre o Caminho (e o Karma)*. Translated by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora.
- \_\_\_\_ (1912). *Light on the Path (and Karma)*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society [Fernando Pessoa House, 1-30].
- ELIOT, T. S. (2009). *On Poetry and Poets*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux [1<sup>st</sup> UK edition: Faber and Faber, 1943; 1<sup>st</sup> USA edition: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957].
- ELTZBACHER, Paul (1908). *As doutrinas anarquistas*. Translated Manoel Ribeiro. Lisbon: Guimarães & C.<sup>a</sup> [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-21].
- EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1902). *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essays, first and second series; Representative men; Society and solitude; English traits; The conduct of life; Letters and social aims; Poems; Miscellanies; Embracing nature; Addresses, and lectures*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-172].
- ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, THE EDITORS OF (1999) "Duma" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Web: [www.britannica.com/topic/Duma-Russian-assembly](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Duma-Russian-assembly) (accessed 21 November 2016).
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Pessoa and Borges: In the Margins of Milton" in *Variaciones Borges*, Daniel Balderston, ed., n.º 40, University of Pittsburgh, pp. 3-21.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando

- Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 227-246.
- HELGESSON, Stefan (2015). "Pessoa, Anon, and the Natal Colony—Retracing an Imperial Matrix" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 30-46.
- HOBHOUSE, Emily (1902). *The Brunt of the War—and where it fell*. London: Methuen & Co.
- HOBHOUSE, Leonard Trelawney (1911). *Liberalism*. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Henry Holt & Co.; Toronto: WM. Briggs; India: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-32].
- JENNINGS, Hubert Dudley (1986). *Fernando Pessoa in Durban*. Durban: Durban Corporation.
- \_\_\_\_ (1984). *Os Dois Exílios. Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida / Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos.
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London, New York: Frederic Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- LIND, Georg Rudolf (1972). "Fernando Pessoa perante a Primeira Guerra Mundial" in *Ocidente—Revista Portuguesa de Cultura*, vol. LXXXII, n.º 405, Lisbon, January, pp. 425-458.
- \_\_\_\_ (c. 1966) Dossier "BNP/E3, 77-78B Anexo" [unpublished dossier at Pessoa's literary estate at the National Library of Portugal, created c. 1966 but catalogued c. 1970]. Lisbon: National Library of Portugal.
- \_\_\_\_ (1966). "Die englische Jugenddichtung Fernando Pessoa" in *Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, compiled by Hans Flasche, vol. 6, Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 130-163.
- MERRIAM-WEBSTER (n/d). "Duma." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Web: [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/duma](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/duma) (accessed 21 November 2016).
- MILTON, John (1983). *Samson Agonistes and Shorter Poems*. Ed. A. E. Barker. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson (Crofts Classics) [reprint of the 1950 edition, with added bibliography].
- \_\_\_\_ (n/d) [pref. 1853]. *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. London: George Routledge and Sons [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-359].
- MINTZ, Frank (2003). "Vida y Obra de Kropotkin" in Piotr Kropotkin, *La Moral Anarquista*. Edited by Frank Mintz. Madrid: Catarata, pp. 7-92.
- ORR, David (2012). *Beautiful & Pointless: a Guide to Modern Poetry*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- PARES, Bernard (1907). *Russia and Reform*. London: Archibald Constable & Co.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2015a). *Sobre o Fascismo, a Ditadura Militar e Salazar*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china.
- \_\_\_\_ (2015b). *Álvaro de Campos—Obra Completa*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello; collaboration of Jorge Uribe and Filipa Freitas. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2013a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2013b). "Como se 'Eu' fluísse..." [eight sonnets by Fernando Pessoa]. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Carlos Pittella. *Granta Portugal*, n.º 1 (*O Eu*). Lisbon, Tinta-da-China, June, pp. 95-117.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012). *Ibéria—introdução a um imperialismo futuro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (2011a). *Associações Secretas e Outros Escritos*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (2011b). *Cartas Astrológicas*. Edited by Paulo Cardoso with the collaboration of Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Bertrand.
- \_\_\_\_ (2009). *Cadernos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998). *Obra em Prosa*. Organized by Cleonice Berardinelli. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar.

- \_\_\_\_ (1997a). *Poemas Ingleses. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Vol. V, tome 2.
- \_\_\_\_ (1997b) *A Língua Portuguesa*. Edited by Luísa Medeiros. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Incriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- \_\_\_\_ (1979a). *Sobre Portugal. Introdução ao Problema Nacional*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1979b). *Da República (1910-1935)*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1966). *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria Literárias*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1920). “À Memoria do Presidente[-Rei] Sidonio Paes” in *Acção*, n.º 4, year 2, Lisbon, 27 February, pp. 2-3.
- \_\_\_\_ (1917). “Ultimatum de Alvaro de Campos—Sensacionista” in *Portugal Futurista*, n.º 1 (*separata*). Edited by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Tipografia P. Monteiro.
- PITTELLA, Carlos [editor] (2016). *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Providence: Gávea-Brown.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012). *Pequenos Infinitos em Pessoa: uma aventura filológica-literária pelos sonetos de Fernando Pessoa* [doctoral thesis]. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio. Web: [www2.dbd.puc-rio.br/pergamum/biblioteca/php/mostrateses.php?open=1&arqtese=0813690\\_2012\\_Indice.html](http://www2.dbd.puc-rio.br/pergamum/biblioteca/php/mostrateses.php?open=1&arqtese=0813690_2012_Indice.html) (accessed 17 October 2016).
- PITTELLA, Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa Pode Mudar a Sua Vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa / Fernando Pessoa's Private Library*. Bilingual edition. Alfragide: D. Quixote.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays*. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-442].
- RAATH, Andries W. G. (1999). *The British Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: Reports on the Camps*. Bloemfontein: War Museum of the Boer Republics.
- STEVENS, David Harrison (1919). “The Order of Milton's Sonnets” in *Modern Philology*, vol. 17, n.º 1, The University of Chicago Press, May, pp. 25-33.
- STRUNK Jr., William and E. B. WHITE (2005). *The Elements of Style*. Illustrated by Maira Kalman. New York: The Penguin Press.
- VITRINGA, Campegius (1715). *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiæ*, vol. I. Herbornæ Nassavorum [Herborn]: Johan. Nicolai Andreae.
- WILDE, Oscar (1908). *De Profundis and The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-583].

# Pessoa's Wyatt

Stephen Merriam Foley\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Frederick Wyatt, English Poetry, Richard Tottel, Sonnets, Thomas Wyatt.

## Abstract

Pessoa's use of the early pseudonym Frederick Wyatt is a slant allusion to the English poet Sir Thomas Wyatt. In this brief study I review the figure of Thomas Wyatt, who occupies an uneasy place at the beginning of English poetry, and discuss possible connections with Pessoa's fictitious author.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Frederick Wyatt, Poesia Inglesa, Richard Tottel, Sonetos, Thomas Wyatt.

## Abstract

O uso do pseudônimo Frederick Wyatt por Fernando Pessoa é uma alusão oblíqua ao poeta inglês Sir Thomas Wyatt. Neste breve estudo, revejo a importância de Thomas Wyatt, que ocupa um lugar instável nos princípios da poesia Inglesa, e discuto as possíveis conexões com o autor fictício de Pessoa.

---

\* Department of English, Brown University.

Pessoa's use of the early pseudonym Frederick Wyatt is a slant allusion to the English poet Sir Thomas Wyatt,<sup>1</sup> who with Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, introduced Italianate and neoclassical forms into circulation in England and who thus occupies a position similar to Sá de Miranda, Garsilaso, and Boscán, poets of Wyatt's universe of experience: he was Henry VIII's preferred ambassador to Charles V, whom he followed on two embassies through France and the Iberian peninsula.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from being lyrics in a loose collection, from sharing some mundane markers like refrains, quatrains, the occasional reference to a beloved lady, a goddess, or the use of "thy" and "dost," the poetry of Frederick Wyatt and the poetry of Thomas Wyatt show little in common—except the surname, and the poet's surname is precisely what the preface to Pessoa's volume lays claims to: "He preferred the pseudonym ∴ [because] (he used to say) there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry" (PESSOA, 2016: 359).

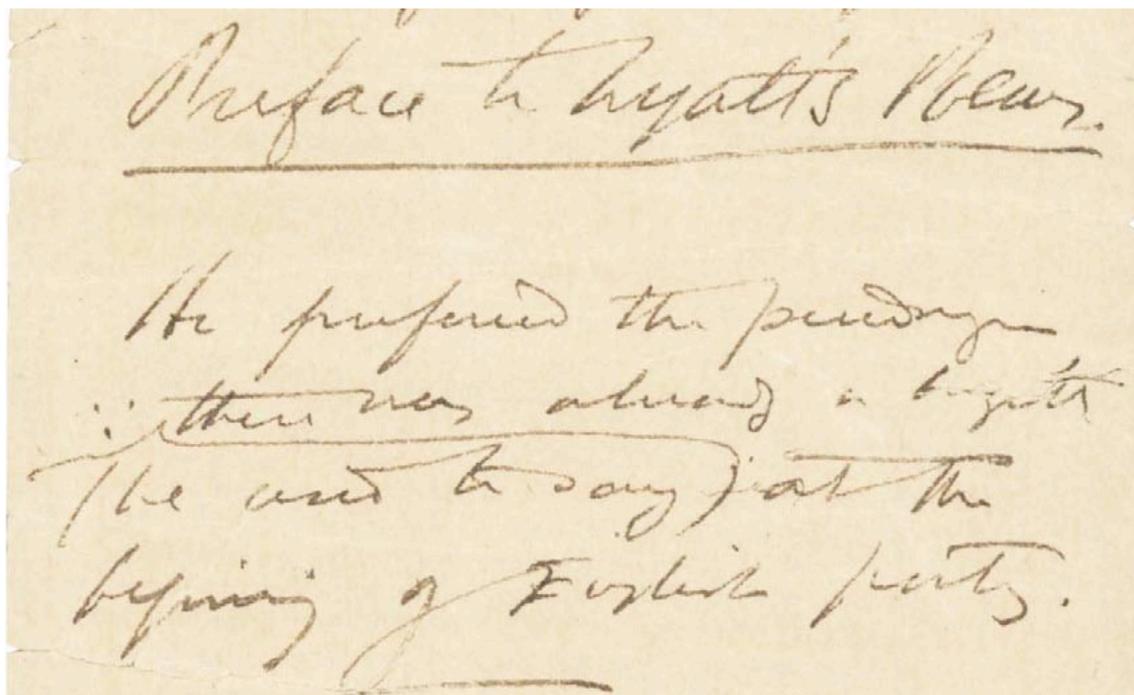


Fig. 1. "Preface to Wyatt's Poems." (BNP/E3, 14E-96; PESSOA, 2016: 359). Detail.

But the surname Wyatt occupies an uneasy place at the beginning of English poetry. Wyatt's poetry circulated in the risky venue of courtly manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: Pessoa created this fictitious English poet around 1913, a year before the invention of Alberto Caeiro, Álvaro de Campos, and Ricardo Reis—the heteronyms of the "drama-em-gente" [drama in people] as Pessoa himself referred to his imagined coterie in 1928 (PESSOA, 1928: 10). For a complete transcription of the writings attributed to Frederick Wyatt, see the contribution by Ferrari and Pittella in this issue. See also the introduction of Wyatt in PESSOA (2016: 359-370).

<sup>2</sup> For further biographical details of Thomas Wyatt, see FOLEY (1990).

exchange, where the occulting and exposure of identity was part of a guessing game of courtly intrigue. At the court of a royal monster, not even names rang true, and name-dropping had a way of catching up with the people. Of his Anna Boleyn—he would later almost lose his own life in the Tower, accused of being her lover—he composes the following anagram as a compliment:

What word is that, that changeth not,  
 Though it be turned and made in twaine:  
 It is mine Anna god it wot.  
 The only causer of my paine:

(in TOTTELL, 1557: 295)

Wyatt won a reputation as a poet and wit at the court of Henry VIII. Wyatt's own codex of poetry, now known as the Egerton manuscript, is the first personal manuscript collection to survive with the hand of an English author in it. But the conditions of courtly authorship were so open, collective, dialogic, shared, and contested, that then as now we are uncertain whether many of the poems attributed to him were "by" him.

The print miscellany of published by Richard Tottel in 1557—the *Songes and Sonettes* that brought this courtly oeuvres to young men on the make like Spenser and Shakespeare, mixes Wyatt's poetry with the poetry of Surrey, Grimald, Vaux, Norton, and even Chaucer, and it withholds Wyatt's names from the title page:

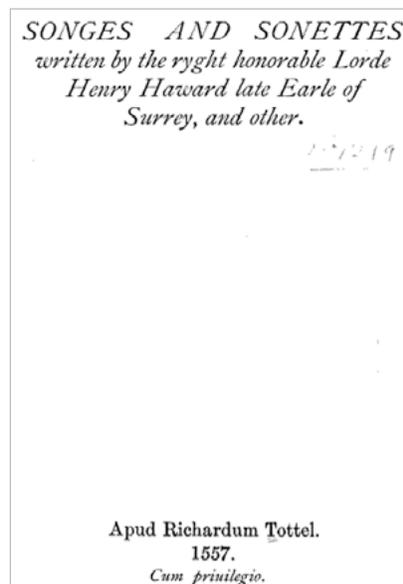


Fig. 2. Title page of Tottel's first edition. *Songes and Sonettes written by the right honorable Lord Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*, 1557.

The motive for suppressing Wyatt's name is not hard to surmise. Tottel published his anthology in 1557,<sup>3</sup> in the middle of the reign of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary. Wyatt himself was identified with the protestant cause, the Howard family with the conservative Catholics, and, scandalously, Wyatt's son, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, in the early months of 1554, just following the execution of Lady Jane Grey and the official accession of Mary, led rebel forces of some 4,000 men against the Crown in as part of a protestant conspiracy to prevent the Queen from marrying Philip of Spain. He was beheaded at the Tower in March 1554, and his family lost their land and titles—to be restored after Mary's death in 1558, when the new queen, Elizabeth, who had surely been party to Wyatt's rebellion, restored them.

Tottel's Miscellany not only suppresses historical names; it supplies factitious literary lives. In titles given by the editor, Wyatt's and Surrey's occasional verses are inserted into Petrarchan narratives of courtly love: "The lover for shamefastnesse hideth his desire within his faithfull hart" (1557: 44); "The lover confesseth him in love with Phillis" (1557: 48); "To his love from whom he hadd her gloves," (1557: 55) or take another case involving names, "The lovers sorrowfull state maketh him write sorrowfull songes, but Souch his love may change the same," (1557: 66) a poem in which the word "Souch" stands for the surname Zouche. For Surrey, it takes a single poem of compliment to a young cousin, Elizabeth Fitzgerald, and constructs a whole narrative of Petrarchan love based upon the pseudonym Surrey gives her, the faire Geraldine.

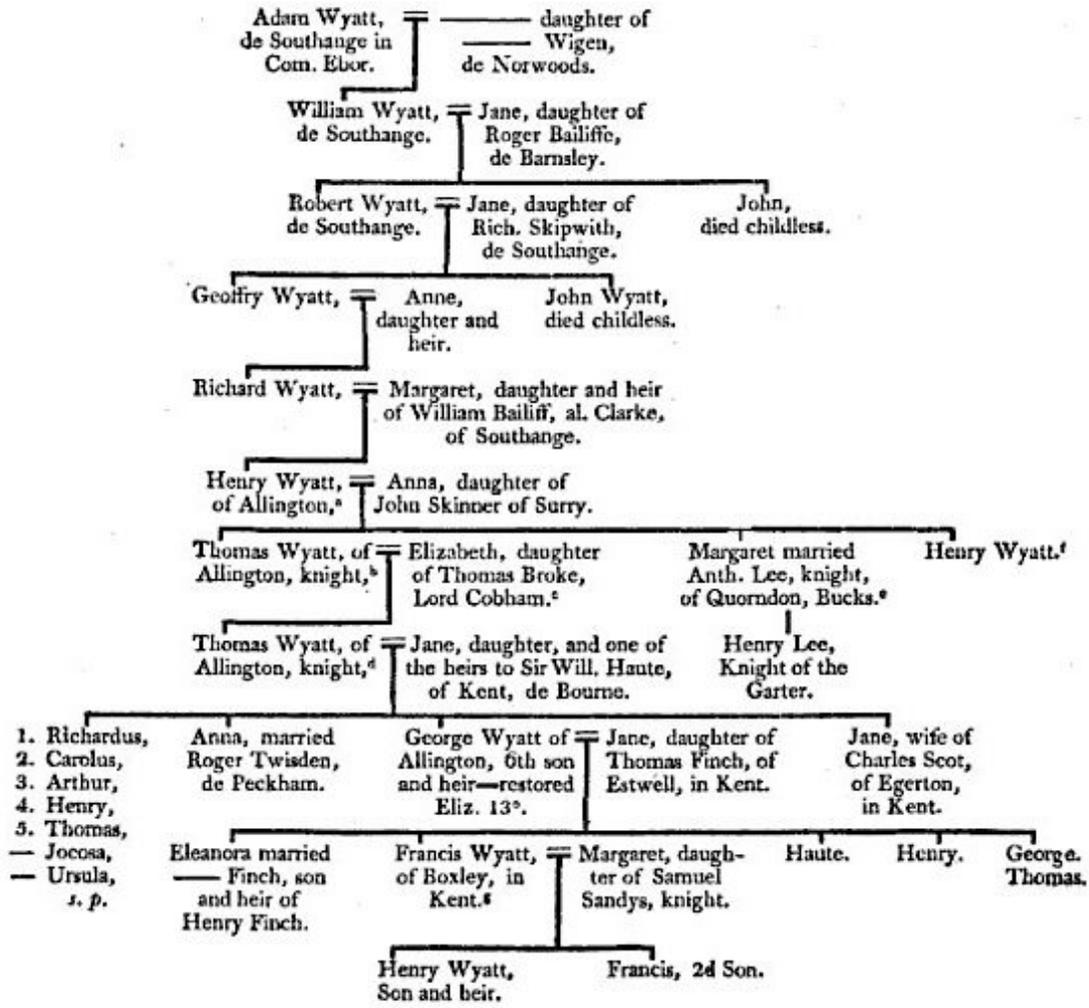
Name play is thus part of the literary story of Thomas Wyatt. Consider, for example, the scholarship reflected in the work of John and G.F. Nott in the 1812/1816 edition, which gives full play to the politics of the Wyatt names in its highly political "memoirs" and which includes a full genealogy, a tradition Pessoa parodies in chart of Wyatt family members (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 368-370) [Fig. 3].

---

<sup>3</sup> This anthology consisted of 271 poems, none of which had ever been printed before.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF WYATT.

Vincent, Kent, 116. p. 79.



<sup>a</sup> Knighted in the Tower, by Hen. VIII. at his Coronation.  
<sup>b</sup> Knighted at Westminster, xxvi<sup>o</sup>. Hen. VIII.  
<sup>c</sup> She married, after Sir Thomas Wyatt's death, Edward Warner, knight.  
<sup>d</sup> Knighted before the 1st of Edward VI: attainted A. 1<sup>o</sup>. M. and P.  
<sup>e</sup> Ancestor of the Earls of Litchfield.  
<sup>f</sup> This branch of the family settled afterwards in Essex.  
<sup>g</sup> Knighted at Windsor, 7th July, 1618.

To be placed before the Memoirs.

Fig 3. Pedigree of the Wyatt family in Songs and Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey (of Sir T. Wyatt, the elder, of uncertain authors, of N. Grimoald), 1812.

Another staple item of nineteenth century edition is the search for codes or cyphers. This is recalled in the reference to a cypher in one of the fragments Fernando Pessoa likely intended for the preface of "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt," and perhaps also in the vertical inscriptions on the manuscript title page, which recalls the anagrams favored in renaissance poetry (PESSOA, 2016: 359 and 363).<sup>4</sup>

Or, to take as an example of a text even closer to the moment of Frederick Wyatt, consider the widely circulated popular edition in Edward Arber's English Poets of 1900.

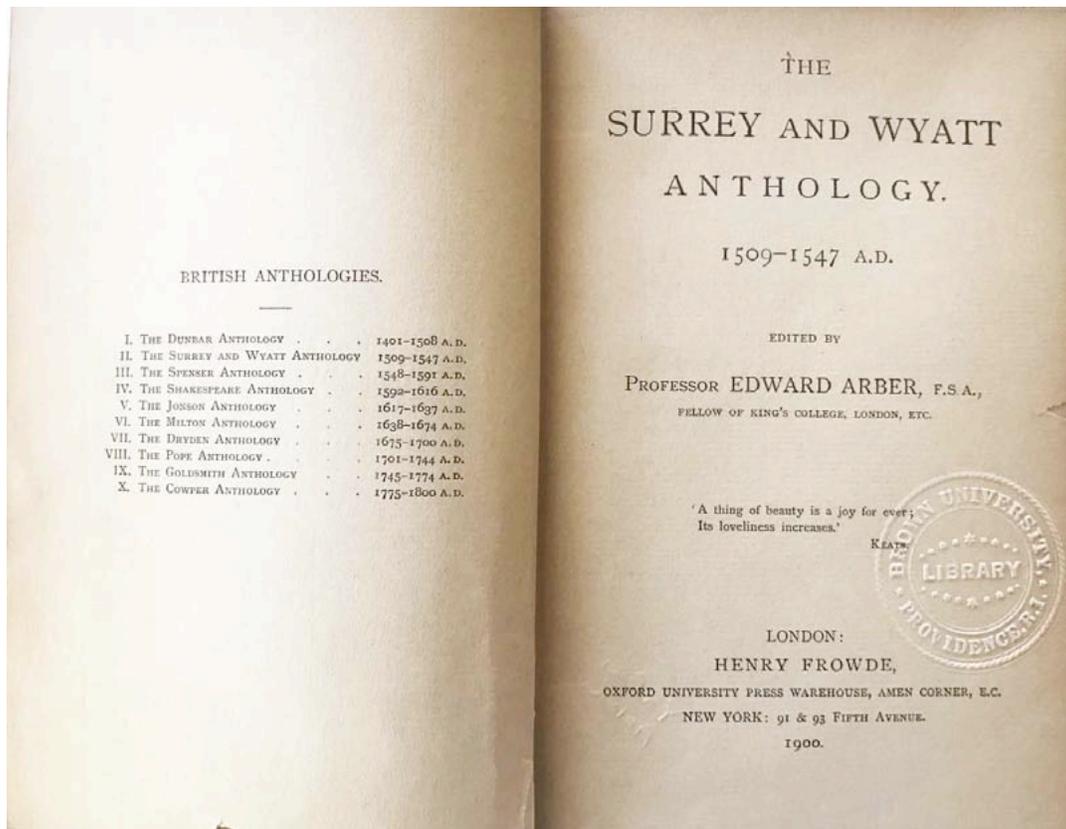


Fig 4. Title page of *The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology*, 1900.

Arber says of his own title to this "people's edition":

Strictly speaking, this Collection of our Poetry during the reign of HENRY VIII should be called *The WYATT and SURREY Anthology*, for Sir THOMAS WYATT the Elder was not only the nobler man and the nobler poet of the two: but it was he that brought the Sonnet Stanza, together with *Terza Rima* and Blank Verse, into England from Italy. It is however customary to say *SURREY and WYATT*, simply because the former was a Peer.

(ARBER, 1900: 1)

<sup>4</sup> For a complete transcription and reproduction of the reference and inscription, see "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt" presented by FERRARI and PITTELLA in the Document Section of this issue.

Arber is reflecting a change in taste, as English literature emerges as a canon, and he is drawing upon the work of a German scholar Edwal Flügel, teaching at the new Leland Stanford Junior University, to reflect a preference for the rugged lines of Wyatt over Surrey's polished verses, in part through restoring Wyatt's text from a study of the manuscripts in the context of courtly circulation.<sup>5</sup> We see the same modern Wyatt story in the work of a young American scholar, Frederick Morgan Padelford, which reached popular publication in *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* included in Flügel's *Belles-Lettres* series by D.C. Heath in Boston and London in 1907.

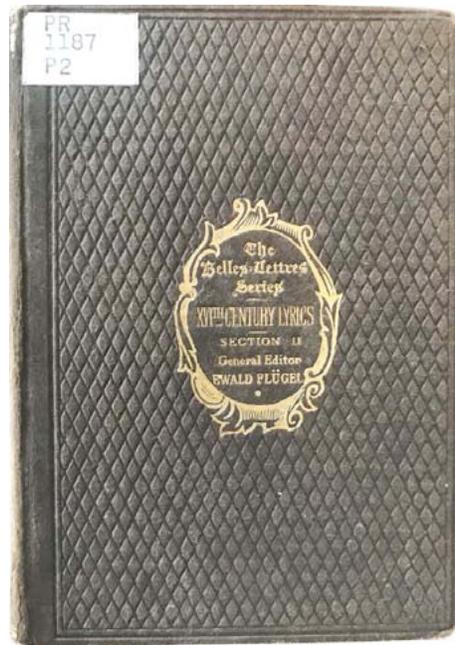


Fig 5. Front cover of the *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1907.

These popular volumes in the emerging history of English literature are Pessoa's Wyatt. Here Wyatt is reborn as a modern:

These poems are like monologues snatched from intense situations [...] and it is as if we were to enter the theatre at a moment when a situation is critical, and passionate utterance is at its height [...]. The language is direct, familiar, and unadorned; a case left to stand or fall by the bare truth of it [...]. He [Wyatt] has left a score or more of poems that, in real imagination, imagination in the sense in which Ruskin defined it, surpasses anything that Petrarch and his Italian imitators ever wrote.

(PADELDFORD, 1907: xlv-xlvi)

Such original modern verse is clearly not represented in the corpus left to us by

<sup>5</sup> Editor's note: for a detailed metrical analysis of Wyatt's and Surrey's realization of the line we term iambic pentameter, see DUFFELL (2008: 116-125 and 135-136).

Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt. As the fragment headed "Frederick Wyatt Cypher" above referred claims:

He was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature and especially of modern English poets. He never read anything by O[scar] Wilde, B[ernard] Shaw □ Even of the French poets he did not know the more recent ones. He knew Baudelaire, Rollinat ("Les Névroses") certainly. I do not think he had any knowledge of Verlaine.

(PESSOA, 2016: 363)

But Pessoa's introduction also perversely claims a paradoxical literary originality that is belied by his slavish sartorial imitation: "The more deeply original his style became, the more he consciously modelled his □, his manner of dressing, his habits... on Goethe, on Shelley, on □ on innumerable literary people, not all great." (BNP / E3, 14E-96<sup>†</sup>).<sup>6</sup>

As to the Christian name Frederick, no god fearing pope hating Spaniard fearing English aristocrat bears this name in at the court of Henry VIII. But it is the first name of the young American editor I just mentioned, Frederick Morgan Padelford.

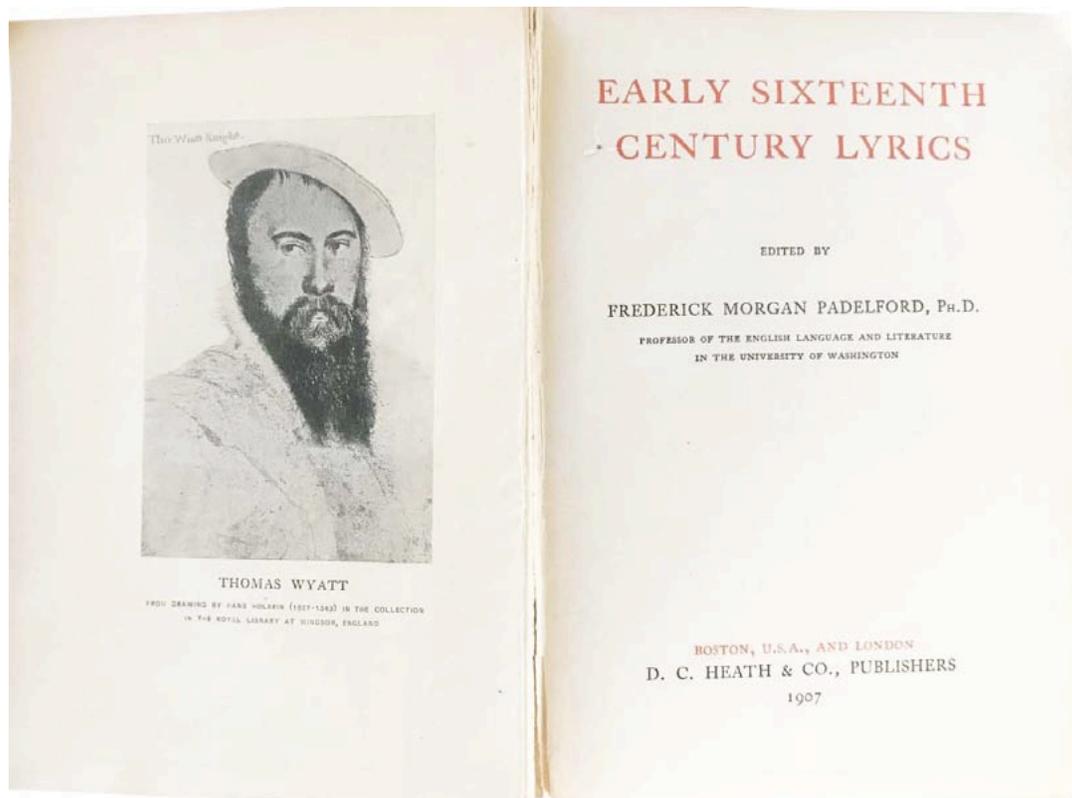


Fig 6. Title page of the *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1907.

Of the many other Wyatt family members whose signatures Pessoa forges (PESSOA,

<sup>6</sup> See note 4.

2016: 368-370), one, to my knowledge, has an historical persona: Sir Francis Wyatt,<sup>7</sup> Thomas Wyatt's great grandson, who served as the first governor of the Virginia colony in 1621 and as governor under royal charter granted to him in 1624 and again starting in 1639.

Just like with Thomas Wyatt, whose poems first appeared posthumously in Tottel's Miscellany, none of the poems attributed to Frederick Wyatt were published during Pessoa's lifetime.

---

<sup>7</sup> Editor's note: Pessoa's Francis Wyatt did not evolve into a fictitious author. In Pessoa's archive there exists one single signature trial bearing this name (PESSOA, 2016: 370).

## Bibliography

- ARBER, Edward (1900). *The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology, 1509-1547 A.D.* London, New York: H. Frowde.
- DUFFELL, Martin J. (2008). *A New History of English Metre*. London: Legenda.
- FOLEY, Stephen (1990). *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.
- PADEFORD, Frederick Morgan (ed.) (1907). *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co., publishers.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection." [1<sup>st</sup> edition 2013].
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1928). "Tabua Bibliográfica." *Presença*, Lisbon, n.º 17, p. 10.
- TOTTEL, Richard (ed.) (1557). *Songes and Sonettes Written By the Ryght Honorable Lord Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, Thomas Wyatt the Elder and others*. London.
- WYATT, Thomas *et alt.* (1812). *Songs and Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey (of Sir T. Wyatt, the elder, of uncertain authors, of N. Grimoald)*. Edited by J. Nott. Bristol.

# *The Mad Fiddler* in the context of Pessoa's Correspondence

Susan Margaret Brown\*

## Keywords

English Poetry, Fernando Pessoa, Literary Tradition, Modernism, *The Mad Fiddler*.

## Abstract

Among the hundreds of English poems written by Fernando Pessoa during his lifetime, the collection entitled *The Mad Fiddler* plays a vital role. In a manner unique to the circumstances of this particular body of poems, *The Mad Fiddler* sheds light on its own value while refracting light as well on various aspects of Pessoa's practice at the earliest stages of an emergent modernism. It is the surprising significance of these English poems for Pessoa himself in the light of his correspondence to British publishers and editors during the period 1912-1917 that will be the focus of this paper.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Modernismo, Poesia Inglesa, *The Mad Fiddler*, Tradição Literária.

## Resumo

Entre as centenas de poemas ingleses escritos por Fernando Pessoa durante a sua vida, a coleção intitulada *The Mad Fiddler* tem um papel crucial. De uma maneira única, relacionada às circunstâncias deste grupo particular de poemas, *The Mad Fiddler* lança luz sobre a sua própria importância, ao mesmo tempo em que refrata a luz sobre vários aspectos da escrita de Pessoa – tanto heteronímica em Português, quanto ortonímica em Inglês, nos estágios preliminares de um modernismo emergente nas primeiras duas décadas do século XX. Este ensaio enfoca a surpreendente significância destes poemas ingleses.

---

\* Community College of Rhode Island.

In a not so subtle allusion to Wallace Stevens, my first thought for a title was “Thirteen Ways of Looking at *The Mad Fiddler*.” Unquestionably there are many ways of engaging with its fifty-three poems, organized into eight sections, the title of each section referring to a stage in the quest for a mystical experience of Nothingness. Yet my goal here is emphatically not to study the poems themselves but rather to explore the nature of the significance that this extremely elusive and complex body of English poems held for Pessoa. In this pursuit, his English correspondence to editors and critics from 1912 to 1917 is an invaluable source, offering a surprisingly rich vantage point for apprehending his desire to be recognized as an English-Language poet.

To discern (and comment on) indications of that desire within the context of each letter under discussion will be the central focus of this paper. It is hoped that this closer look at the letters provides new insight into the evolution of Pessoa’s thinking about *The Mad Fiddler*, his initial persistent belief in it and the slow corrosive process that ultimately left him with a sense of defeat. The letters that I wish to examine are: (1) Letter to the Poetry Society (26 December 1912); (2) Letter to an English critic (Autumn, 1915); (3) Letter to John Lane (23 October 1915); (4) Letter to Harold Monro (August or September, possibly 1916); (5) Letter to an English editor (possibly 1916); (6) Letter to an English critic (possibly end 1916).

My starting point is Pessoa’s 1912 letter to the Poetry Society in London.<sup>1</sup> Even though Harold Monro is not mentioned by name, it is very likely that he would have been the one to receive it. I will comment on (1) 1912 (date of letter) as a crucial year for Pessoa; (2) reasons for writing the letter; (3) the allusion to “1898, more or less” (PESSOA, 2007: 54) as the originating moment of the present poetic movement in Portugal and the unstated reference to two works by Guerra Junqueiro—“Pátria” [Country] and “Oração à Luz” [Prayer to Light]; (4) the self-referencing in a long paragraph essentially paraphrasing his 1912 essay on the new Portuguese poetry; (5) his offer to send some of his English poems, along with an emphatic insistence that it is only for his “personal appreciation”; (6) passages of ambivalence and complexity in Pessoa’s tone of voice.

The importance of the letter’s date cannot be overstated, nor can its significance for an understanding of *The Mad Fiddler*. The 1912 publication in *Águia* of Pessoa’s three essays on the new Portuguese poetry in April, May,

---

<sup>1</sup> By 1912 what had originally been known as the Poetry Recital Society (founded in February 1909 by Galoway Kyle) had been renamed the Poetry Society and Harold Monro was one of its members. By late 1911 the Society had accepted Monro’s proposal to publish a monthly *Poetry Review*. Monro was editor of that review until sometime in 1913. At that point he went on to found a new journal, *Poetry and Drama*, which lasted less than two years (1913-1914). It was around this time that Monro set up his famous shop, The Poetry Bookshop, which lasted (died) in 1935, just as did Pessoa. See A. WALTON LITZ ET ALT. (2000: 60-61). For more on The Poetry Review, see GRANT (1967: 39-52); on the Poetry Recital Society, see GRANT (1967: 69-74).

September, November, and December marked his literary debut among the Iberian intellectuals and literati of the time.

Furthermore, Teixeira Pascoaes, editor of the journal (which was the mouthpiece, in turn, for the Portuguese Renaissance movement) was himself a well-respected poet known primarily for his leadership role within the mystical *saudosista* movement. In his essays on the newly emerging modernism in Portugal, Pessoa refers more than once to Pascoaes, particularly towards the end of his final essay where he seems to translate his mystical ideas and the *saudosistas* into self-aggrandizing and logical terms. Pascoaes' prediction, for example, of the imminent arrival of a messianic poetic figure capable of lifting Portugal to a higher, more ethereal level of civilization becomes, in Pessoa's system, the looming figure of (himself) the *Supra-Camões*. A subtle but important connection, in this sense, can be made with the overall direction of the poems as one organic whole within *The Mad Fiddler*. Even though the idea of a "mad fiddler" had not yet visibly surfaced in 1912—the first draft of a poem with that title is 18 August 1915—these "purely metaphysical and therefore religious ideas," inextricably woven into the very fabric of the fifty-three poems, were already evolving from the irrational notion (that Pessoa would attempt to define in rational terms) that spirit and matter must merge for there to be a real reality. In terms of significance for *The Mad Fiddler*, the last essay, "A nova poesia portuguesa no seu aspecto psicológico" [The new Portuguese Poetry from a Psychological Point of View] is crucial reading for an understanding of the new Portuguese poetry in terms of its "new religiosity," its characteristic ability to "seek an elsewhere in every thing," its transcendental pantheism, its origins in Spinoza and its capacity to see that "matter and spirit are unreal manifestations of God, [...] of the Transcended [...] of the illusion [...] of the dream of itself" (PESSOA, 2000: 36-67 [p. 59]).

The first stanza of the following poem, "Spell," one of *The Mad Fiddler* poems that already existed by 1912, may illustrate the new aesthetic, alluded to above, in the way it rises through the merging of opposites to build a new state, a new emotion:

O angel born too late  
 For fallen man to meet!  
 In what new sensual state  
 Could our twined lives feel sweet?

What new emotion must  
 I dream, to think thee mine?  
 What purity of lust?  
 O tendrilled as a vine  
 Around my caressed trust!  
 O dream-pressed spirit-wine!

(PESSOA, 1999: 35)

This poem, one of only two English poems to be published in Pessoa's lifetime, appeared in the May 1923 issue of *Contemporânea*. George Monteiro calls it Pessoa's "gesture of farewell to an English audience he never had" (MONTEIRO, 2000: 8).<sup>2</sup>

Pessoa writes to the Poetry Society in order to learn the "precise scope and purpose" of their organization, including the date of its foundation, any publications it has issued, the date since which the *Poetry Review* has existed, its "Manifesto" or "declaration of faith and works." (PESSOA, 2007: 52-53). His "special purpose" is to "obtain a nearer knowledge of such currents as must exist in the contemporary English poetry, and which are thrown out of daily evidence and, newspaper fame by the very extensive, very characteristic and very inferior novel-production of the international movement." His hope is to "obtain a channel of some sort through which to carry into some approach to internationality the extremely important and totally ignored movement represented, exclusively as yet, by contemporary Portuguese poetry." His allusion to Portuguese poetry creates a segue to a discussion of the new literary movement in Portugal, beginning with a reference to "1898, more or less" as the moment when the "totally ignored movement" was born. The movement is exceedingly productive, of the highest quality, and "astonishingly *new*," making a reference to "Pátria" and "Oração à Luz" by Guerra Junqueiro without ever mentioning his name or the works themselves. From time to time he reveals ever so slightly the complex web of ambivalent feelings roiling around inside of him and seemingly associated with feeling victimized as an "ununderstood" Portuguese poet who is part of a "totally ignored movement," writing with hopes of gaining some recognition from a major figure within the publishing world in London:

This may seem to you a calm and harmless species of insanity; but you will excuse the impertinence of all this explanation, considering that it is the irrepressible outburst of a man whose country, though at present standing foremost in the foremost activity of the mind (though perhaps in nothing else), is constantly, not only ignored, which were tolerable, but insulted and insultingly ununderstood by the totality of such people as constitute international literary, and other, opinion. I cannot expect you to attribute to anything but to enthusiasm and to a kind of literary Jingoism the position stated as being that of the two works mentioned above. But I can do no more than no more.

(PESSOA, 2007: 54-55)

We will hear this same tone of voice in other letters, each time giving the impression of an Álvaro de Campos whose flywheel is beginning to spin out of

---

<sup>2</sup> "Spell" (though its title was simply the first line of the poem at that time: "From the moonlight brink [...]") was written on 22 November 1912, a little less than a month before Pessoa would write his letter to the Poetry Society. In addition to "Spell," there are seven other poems that had been written by the end of 1912, and that would eventually become part of *The Mad Fiddler*: the first draft of "Monotony," 1910; "Suspense," 1911; "La Chercheuse," 1912; "To One Singing," 1912; "The Bridge," 1912; "A Summer Ecstasy," 1912; "The End," 1912.

control and will self-explode at any moment. His self-description echoes much of what he had previously written in his essay on the new Portuguese poet, the Supra-Camões. He states:

The state of mind of what is high and poetic in contemporary Portuguese souls being precisely similar to the Elizabethan state of mind [...], it is clear that a contemporary Portuguese, not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses, who should possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages, will, naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly, lapse, if he writes in English, into a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan, though, of course, with certain marked and essential differences. I am, as far as I can confess, in this position, and should you be in any way interested in having at your critical disposal the only tolerably sure element for an appreciation, not of the nature, but of the intensity and the quality of the contemporary poetic movement in Portugal, I could submit to you (not in any way for publishing, but for your personal appreciation) such English poems I may have written as can be more aptly held to be representative in the way mentioned.

(PESSOA, 2007:55-56)

This passage reminds us what Pessoa was trying to do in his more serious English work, like the sonnets, like *Antinuous*, and certainly like *The Mad Fiddler*. He was putting into practice what many of the moderns would be doing roughly ten years later;<sup>3</sup> namely, to revive the great metaphysical tradition of John Donne, Richard Crashaw, George Herbert, Andrew Marvell, George Vaughn and, to quote Pound out of context, to “make it new.” Viewing the poet in *The Mad Fiddler* as “a Donne raised to the Shelleyth power” (PESSOA, 1999: 12) implies that Pessoa had a metaphysical poet in mind, even if he wanted to merge that voice with the sensibility of a high romantic poet like Shelley.

The first thing to note in the letter to an English critic, dated October 1915<sup>4</sup> is its mention of *The Mad Fiddler*. It is not known how many poems were sent to this critic, but the letter he sent John Lane (very likely soon after this letter) contained sixteen poems, fifteen from *The Mad Fiddler* and the other a poem that begins, “Her fingers toyed absently with her rings” (PESSOA, 2007: 133-134). We can conjecture therefore that Pessoa may have sent the same sixteen poems in this letter of October 1915. The second paragraph is poignant in its description of his situation, his need for feedback. The tone has changed, the mask is off. It is worth quoting in full:

I am a Portuguese—thoroughly a Portuguese—but educated in an English Colony so that the two languages are equally familiar to me. I write in both, though I have only published,

<sup>3</sup> George Monteiro refers to Jorge de Sena’s comments on this matter (MONTEIRO, 2000: 9).

<sup>4</sup> Zenith tells us that the date of this letter is not absolutely certain, and that it could be 1914 or even as late as 1916 (PESSOA, 2007: 455).

and very little, in the less known one. For my Portuguese work I can find critics, though I am still persuaded I am the best one. In reference, however, to my English work, I do not see why I should not avail myself of the circumstance that competent critics exist to inflict upon [them] the request whose consequence I am making you undergo.

(PESSOA, 2007: 133-134)<sup>5</sup>

Pessoa stipulates the kind of criticism he needs in the next paragraph. His specific concern is: (1) do the poems possess originality; (2) can one ascribe quality to them; (3) what kind of acceptance would the poems have “at the hands of the English public” (PESSOA, 2007: 134). Seemingly simple questions yet they indicate a certain degree of uncertainty about his work in English. The sense of isolation and the need for feedback only increase over the next few years. Pessoa asks that he keep their communication confidential and ends his letter with his typical brand of absurdist humor: “I am quite aware that I have no right to intrude on your time which, as I am glad to be aware, is valuable. But our times are these passing times and I am casual enough to be brash enough to identify myself in this respect with the spirit of our epoch” (PESSOA, 2007: 134).

The letter to John Lane is dated 23 October 1915.<sup>6</sup> As said before, it is very likely that the poems sent to Lane are, with one exception, poems belonging to *The Mad Fiddler*. Pessoa's tone throughout this letter seems markedly different. No (heteronymic) urge to play a role takes over the writing. He wants nothing more than to adequately describe the fifteen poems (out of a total of thirty-four at this point) so that Lane can “rightly measure what probabilities attach to a publication of them” (PESSOA, 2007: 135). As in the other letters, however, the need for an outside opinion is paramount, and it is the first thing he broaches. He states that he

---

<sup>5</sup> In terms of *The Mad Fiddler* he has produced a corpus of thirty-four poems at this point, including the eight poems already mentioned. Here is a breakdown of what he wrote during the course of these three years, 1913-1914 and 1915. In 1913: “Fierce Dreams of Something Else”; “Sunset”; “The Butterfly”, “The Foreself”; “Ennui”; “The Lost Key”; “Inversion”; Sonnet”; “The King of Gaps”; “Rivers”; “The Ruined Cloister.” In 1914: “Nothing” (first version of “Emptiness”); “The Abyss” (sometime after 4 October 1914). Finally, in 1915, his most productive year of all: “Isis”; “Summer Moments”; “Elevation” (first version entitled “Fiat Lux”); “The Mad Fiddler”; “The Shining Pool”; “The Labyrinth”; “Song After Slumber” (other versions later the same year); “Mood”; “Awakening”; “Fever Garden”; “The Poem”; “Lycanthropy”; “The Loophole” (first version is found in the Isis poem).

<sup>6</sup> John Lane (1854-1925). Along with Charles Elkin Mathews, he founded The Bodley Head, a firm that originally dealt with antiquarian books in 1887. He later became known as a publisher of controversial texts. Interesting to ponder is whether Pessoa would have known that Lane published audacious, controversial material and, if so, whether he might have considered showing him his *Epithalamium* or *Antinous*. I say this because at one point in the letter he mentions, in a seemingly offhanded manner, that he has some longer poems in English but they are unprintable in a country with “an active morality.” He assumes they could not be of interest “so I do not think of mentioning them in this respect—that is to say, in respect of a possibility of their being published in England.” Yet he is asking!

cannot have any idea, objective or temporal, as to the value of the poems and he cannot therefore judge them properly. "You will be best judge of this," he begins, in the third paragraph, "and, seeing that you have extensively published modern English poetry, I send you these poems as a sort of inquiry whether you would be disposed to publish a book the substance of which is precisely on the lines which these poems represent." He refers to the short-lived late nineteenth century poet Ernest Dowson (1867-1900)<sup>7</sup> as a way of suggesting that his book would cover, like his, about 200 pages.

He assures Lane that the book would include no poem longer than the enclosed "Fiat Lux." Here is the first stanza of that poem:

Before light was, light's bright idea lit  
 God's thought of it,  
 And, because through God's thought light's thought did pass,  
 Light ever was,  
 And from beyond eternity became  
 The living flame  
 That trembles into life and reddens with  
 Our life's soul-width.

(PESSOA, 1999: 102; cf. 218)

This one eight-line stanza, with its rhyme scheme of AABBCDD and alternating short- and long-line stanzas gives some idea of the kind of poems Pessoa also included in *The Mad Fiddler*. His poems were increasingly abstract in content and experimental in terms of form. On one of the manuscripts of one of the many extant Table of Contents of *The Mad Fiddler* Pessoa had scribbled: "A Donne raised to the Shelleyeth power," referred above. This is, indeed, the poetic voice that Pessoa painstakingly worked to create for the poems—particularly the poems in the last few sections which, to a large extent, were poems written in 1915.

One section of the letter strikes me as particularly significant. Pessoa claims that "the chief merit" of his poems is their not belonging to any movement other than the sensationist movement (PESSOA, 2007: 136). He goes on to say that:

[...] these poems contain, here and there, certain eccentricities and peculiarities of expression: do not attribute these to the circumstances of my being a foreigner, nor indeed consider me a foreigner in your judgment of these poems. I practice the same thing, to a far higher degree, in Portuguese. If, however, you prefer to consider these modes of strangeness as the wild cats of the imagination, I hope you will let me lay claim to sowing them consciously.

(PESSOA, 2007: 136)

---

<sup>7</sup> Not to be confused with Edward Dowden, who appears on some of Pessoa's lists of people to send *The Mad Fiddler* to. See, for example (PESSOA, 1999: 15). Dowden's book on Shelley is in Pessoa's private library.

He then explains what these “modes of strangeness” are:

The fact is that these are forms of expression necessarily created by an extreme pantheistic attitude, which, as it breaks the limits of definite thought, so must violate the rules of logical meaning. The poems I am sending you (and others I have referred to) are, however, the mildest in this sense; I'll spare you reference to the poems which properly represent what I call the “sensationist attitude,” save that, to give you one idea of the thing meant, I add to the fifteen poems a sensations poem in English. This, as stated, does not belong to the book.

(PESSOA, 2007: 136-137)

It is significant that he calls it a book. And his explanation of how the pantheistic attitude effects the language and the forms of expression as it breaks the limits of definite thought and so, of necessity, must violate the rules of logic is highly significant—indeed, it is essential as a basis for judging *The Mad Fiddler*. This is the aesthetic behind the fifty-three poems and Pessoa seems correct in stating all this, as Master Caeiro might have stated it, had he been interested in trying to get his work published.

Unlike so often with Pessoa's letters—which either never get completed, never get sent or get sent but never get a response—the letter to John Lane elicited a response. In a diary entry 3 November 1915 Pessoa wrote “Rather good day; began w[ith] reception of J[ohn] Lanes's card (insignificant but agreeable)” (PESSOA, 2009: 328).

Three things stand out in the short letter to Harold Monroe (most likely written in August or September of 1916). Pessoa makes it very clear at the outset of the letter that he will incur the cost of publication if Monroe decides to publish it. In discussing what the book would entail, he refers to Richard Adlington's *Images* and F.S. Flint's *Cadences*, both small books of thirty-one pages. This alone shows a shift in Pessoa's thinking about his book of poems. Rather than suggest Ernest Dowson's two-hundred-page book, his thinking seems to be changing in terms of what a book of poems should entail, and he seems to be aligning himself more with the early modernist aesthetic of small publications. Clearly, Pessoa's choice of Flint and Adlington may have been influenced by Monroe's just having published both *Images* and *Cadences*.<sup>8</sup>

In a notebook annotation datable to January 1917 we read

---

<sup>8</sup> Pessoa owned copies of the two books of poems, each published in 1915. Pessoa wrote this note to himself a little after the time of his letter to Monroe, after he had seen the two books of poems and begun to rethink the organization of his own book of poems.

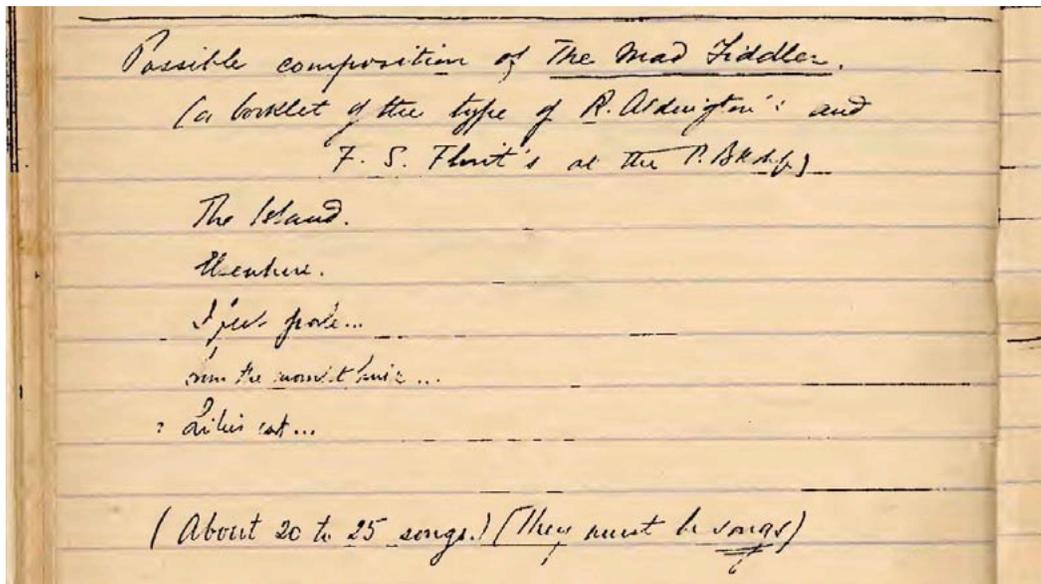


Fig. 1. Unpublished notebook annotations datable to January 1917  
 (BNP/E3, 144Y-32<sup>r</sup>). Detail.

Possible composition of *The Mad Fiddler*.

(a booklet of the type of R. Aldington's and F. S. Flint's at the P[oetry] B[oo]kshop)

The Island.<sup>9</sup>

Elsewhere.

I feel pale...

From the moonlit brink...

? Lilies cast...

(About 20 to 25 songs.) (They must be songs)

The last word "songs" is underlined two times. What these five poems have in common with each other is this: they show a range of meter and rhyme scheme, all contain a musical image, with the exception of "Spell," at that time still referred to

<sup>9</sup> Although it is not in Pessoa's private library, it is possible (I would argue very likely) that Pessoa was aware of the *Collected Poems* of Edmund Gosse, published in London by William Heinemann in 1911. This would explain a few things: (1) their great similarities in terms of an unusual range of poetic techniques and rhyme schemes and (2) the slightly disguised but nevertheless reappearance of the phrase "On viol and flute" (title of Gosse's first collection of poems) in the first two lines of "Island," the second poem in *The Mad Fiddler*: "Weep, violin and viol, | Low flute and fine bassoon" (PESSOA, 1999: 33). Edmund Gosse figures in one of the lists of authors and scholars Pessoa intended to send his English poems to. See list included in the Introductory Note to this Special Issue. There is a draft of a letter headed "Sir" that opens "I am sending you, with this letter, several typewritten pages of poems from which I should appreciate an opinion altogether frank and sincere" (BNP/E3, 114<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>; doc. referred in PESSOA, 2007: 455). On the top right corner of this document, Pessoa scribbles the names of the following men of letters: "[George] Saintsbury; [Edward] Dowden; [Theodore] Watts-Dunton; Stopford Brooke; Sir W[alter Alexander] Raleigh; Edmund Gosse."

as "From the moonlit brink [...]." A comparative study of *The Mad Fiddler* with these two Imagist books of poems would be well worth doing.

Pessoa's interest in writing Monro goes beyond his desire to see his *Mad Fiddler* book in print. He is hopeful as well that Monro will show an interest in the uniquely Portuguese form of modernism called Sensationism, and he therefore asks him "whether the public you have would be at all interested in a small anthology." (PESSOA, 2007: 150). He promises to send him a copy of the second issue of *Orpheu* along with a translation of his poem, "Slanting Rain" ("Chuva Obliqua" appeared in the second issue) so that he can get an idea of the movement.

It seems probable that the letter to an English Editor, dated as most likely 1916, is addressed to Harold Monro again, since Monro was known for being interested in "new" movements and that is what Pessoa intends to discuss with him. The most stunning part of the letter occurs in the description of transcendental pantheism, where the concept of the new poet is defined as a "William Blake inside the soul of Shelley" (PESSOA, 2007: 160). As he had previously done in his letter to the Poetry Society, he refers to "Prayer to Light" and "Pátria," this time attributing them to Guerra Junqueiro. He also mentions the "Elegy" of Pascoaes. He makes these references, as before, in order to identify the Portuguese roots of this uniquely Portuguese movement called Sensationsim. It is a long, highly theoretical and rationally presented account in which the main attitude of Sensationism is broken down into four separate principles, and the fourth of those principles is further broken down into the three principles of art. The letter ends on a very different note, a poetic note. Perhaps it was Pessoa's way of suggesting that a Portuguese sensationist, a genuine one, would always see the world in a poetic manner regardless of the particular medium.

Sadly, there is no evidence of a response from Monro. What we do have in the letter to an English critic, dated most likely the end of 1916,<sup>10</sup> is Pessoa's complaint that the typescript he is sending had just been rejected even though he, Pessoa, had offered to pay for the cost of publication. This letter, more than any other, reveals Pessoa's desperate need for feedback. I will quote one section to give a sense of his despondency:

The summary kind of rejection which the poems thus offered received, has led me to a very hesitating attitude towards them. Though I never conceived them to be good, I have never thought they would have been so deserving of an absolute contempt [...]. I am secluded and deprived of all kinds of relationships that might exert some criticism on what I write. I am neither so proud as to despise altogether an opinion other than my own, nor so humble as to accept it altogether [...]. I have no one on whom I can depend for an impartial criticism of what I write. It is difficult enough to obtain it for what I write in Portuguese,

---

<sup>10</sup> Zenith dates the letter end of 1916; Manuela Parreira da Silva dates it 1915.

and I live in Portugal; it is far more difficult to obtain it for anything written in English. Will you do me the favor of giving me your opinion?

(PESSOA, 2007: 166-167)

Months later the letter of 6 June 1917 arrives from Constable & Company Limited:

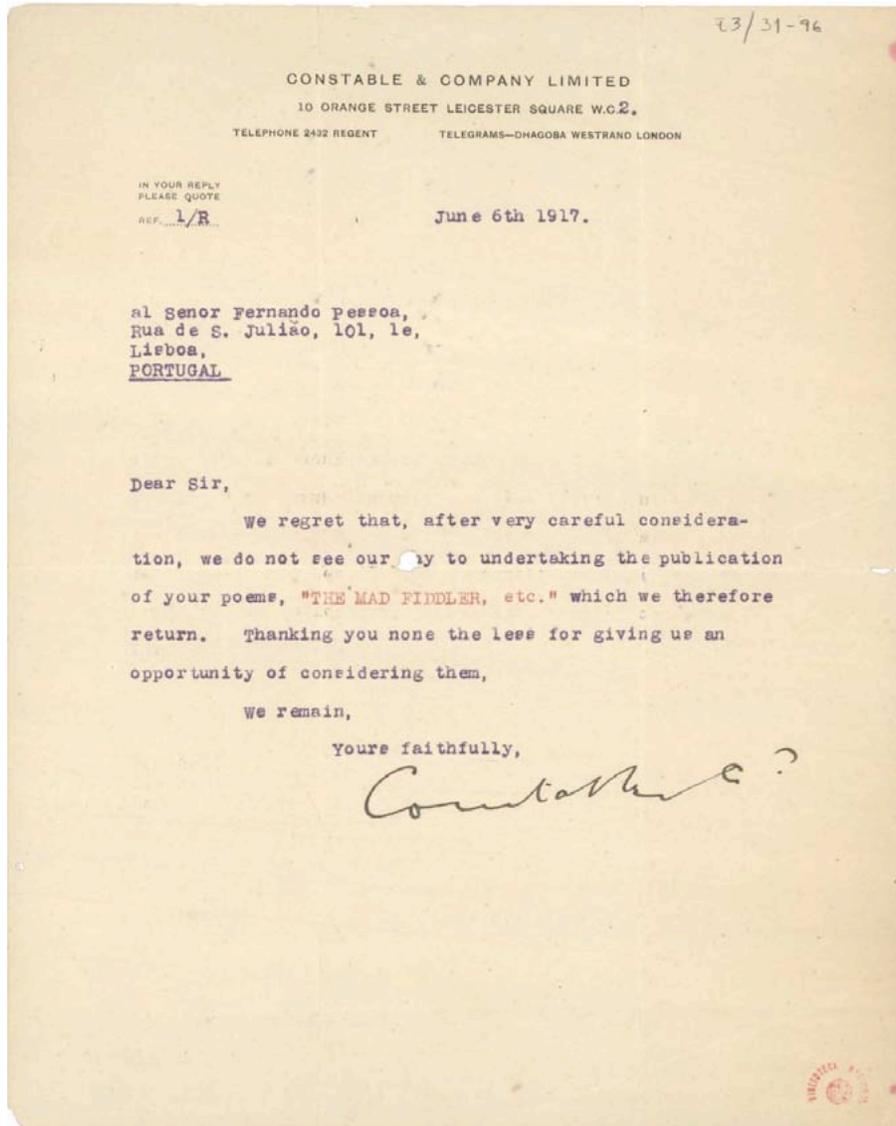


Fig. 2. Typescript rejection letter dated 6 June 1917.  
(BNP/E3, 31-96; PESSOA, 1999: 16).

In the summer of 1935 Pessoa's half-brother Luís Miguel and his wife visited Portugal on their honeymoon. During that visit they spent time with Pessoa. Later, after they had returned to England, Pessoa sent "Lhi" (Luís Miguel's nickname) a copy of his alcoholic or post-alcoholic poem called "D.T." In their ensuing correspondence Luís Miguel made himself available as a literary agent for his brother in the hopes of being able to help him become better known in England. In

one of his letters to Pessoa, he wrote: "The English market is tremendous and once you have become at all established you will find it immensely profitable." And he urged Pessoa to come visit him and his wife Eva. Apparently the idea pleased him, he thought about it, even thought seriously about such a trip a few times. But it didn't happen, and he died soon after, in the same year (MARTINS, 2008: 740-741).<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> This is a rough translation of part of the entry on Luís Miguel Rosa.

## Bibliography

- ALDINGTON, Richard (1915). *Images (1910-1915)*. London: The Poetry Book-shop. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-4].
- DOWDEN, Edward (1896). *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. London: Regan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 9-24].
- FLINT, Frank Stewart (1915). *Cadences*. London: The Poetry Book-shop. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-194].
- GOSSE, Edmund (1925). *Sir Edmund Gosse*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd. "The Augustan Books of Poetry edited by Edward Thompson." [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-230].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume X.
- \_\_\_\_ (2007). *Cartas*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. Essential Works of Fernando Pessoa.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition, Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (2000). *Crítica: Ensaios, Artigos, e Entrevistas*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- GRANT, Joy (1967). *Harold Monro and the Poetry Bookshop*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MARTINS, Fernando Cabral (ed.) (2008). *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português*. Lisbon: Caminho.
- MIRAGLIA, Gianluca (2007). "«É um dos pontos negros da biografia que não tive»: Reflexões acerca de um texto autobiográfico de Fernando Pessoa com uma digressão sobre um erro na *Ode Marítima* que as edições críticas não emendaram" in *Estudios Italianos Portugueses*, 2, 2007, pp. 325-339.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington [Kentucky]: University of Kentucky Press.
- WALTON LITZ A., Louis MENAND, and Lawrence RAINEY (eds.) (2000). *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, volume 7, Modernism and the New Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# Fernando Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler*: Sensationism in English

Patrícia Oliveira Silva\*

## Keywords

Blake, Neo-Paganism, Romanticism, Sensationism, (Transcendental) Pantheism, Shelley, Yeats.

## Abstract

Emphasizing Pessoa's dual cultural heritage, this essay traces the poet's exposure to English literature and culture from a young age, notably through schooling and directed readings during his formative years. Particular attention is paid to the impact of romantic poets from the pantheist lineage of Shelley and Blake on Pessoa's emergent poetics and poetry, as well as to the hitherto little-known details of his reception of Blake's poetry mediated through Yeats. These facets of their works surface in the transcendental pantheism expressed in the poems collected in *The Mad Fiddler*, an unpublished collection of English poems written between 1910 and 1917. A laboratory of the maturing process in Pessoa's poetry, I contend that this collection rehearses analogous aesthetic and philosophical ideas in his poetry in English to those he was developing in Portuguese, namely Sensationism and the Portuguese Neopaganism with which the heteronyms were associated, arguing through close readings of illustrative poems.

## Palavras-chave

Blake, Neo-Paganismo, Panteísmo (Transcendental), Romantismo, Sensacionismo, Shelley, Yeats.

## Resumo

Enfatizando a dupla herança cultural de Pessoa, este ensaio delinea a exposição do poeta à cultura e literatura inglesas desde uma tenra idade, nomeadamente por meio da escolaridade e leituras direccionadas nos seus anos formativos. Particular atenção será dada ao impacto de poetas românticos da linhagem panteísta de Shelley e Blake sobre a poesia e poética emergentes de Pessoa, bem como aos detalhes da sua até à data pouco conhecida receção da poesia de Blake por intermédio de Yeats. Estas facetas das suas obras estão patentes no panteísmo transcendental expresso nos poemas de *The Mad Fiddler*, uma coleção inédita de poemas ingleses escrita entre 1910 e 1917. Enquanto laboratório do processo de amadurecimento na poesia de Pessoa, defendo que esta coleção ensaia ideias estéticas e filosóficas na sua poesia em inglês que são análogas às que estava a desenvolver em português, nomeadamente o Sensacionismo e o Neopaganismo português ao qual os heterónimos estavam associados, argumentando por meio da análise de poemas ilustrativos.

---

\* Center of Social Studies, University of Coimbra & ILAS, Queen Mary, University of London (funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology under the POPH/FSE QREN programme).

Portuguese, unlike what is commonly held, “*não era a pátria de Pessoa*” [was not Pessoa’s homeland], claims Carlos Reis in “*Espaços da Língua Portuguesa ou os perigos da imagináutica*” (REIS, 2014: 10). The subtext to his remark is the famous statement “*A minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*” [My homeland is the Portuguese language], the truth value of which, as Reis notes, is circumscribed to the specific context of its enunciation by the semi-heteronym Bernardo Soares, the Lisbon bookkeeper, in *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*]. Conversely, the author Fernando Pessoa had a dual linguistic homeland, which encompassed both Portuguese and English, having lived in South Africa from school age and having had a formal education in the latter language. Therefore, Pessoa’s English cultural heritage needs to be taken into account when considering his works comprehensively, particularly the aspects of that heritage imparted by the Victorian education he received in the Durban High School. The English classics, which featured heavily in the syllabus, significantly influenced Pessoa’s English poetry, inspiring such works as *35 Sonnets* (1918), a collection of pseudo-Shakespearian sonnets, *Antinous* (1918, 1921), an elegy evocative of Milton’s “*Lycidas*,” and *Epithalamium* (1921), a celebratory piece in the manner of Donne’s “*Epithalamions*.” The fact that Pessoa self-published these works as chapbooks—the latter two as part of a series issued by Olisipo, the publishing house he founded in 1921—shows that (at that time, at least) he regarded himself as an Anglophone poet and, by inscribing it in an English lineage, sought to have his poetry acknowledged by the British publishing and cultural milieu.

### Influences and Sources

The Romantics were a particularly strong influence during Pessoa’s formative period both in the final years of his schooling in Durban, as he prepared for university-entry exams in English, and in the years immediately following his return to Lisbon in 1905, during which his reading diaries attest to voracious incursions into the sizeable private library of books in English he had brought with him from South Africa and which he continued to stock by placing regular orders with several British publishing houses.<sup>1</sup> The impact of writers like Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Wordsworth—identified as “*Influences*” in a bibliographical note Pessoa drafted in 1914 (PESSOA, 2003: 150)<sup>2</sup>—is most apparent in his early poems in

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of the books in English in Pessoa’s private library were part of the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize for best paper in English, which he received in the Matriculation Examination held by the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1903, attesting to his excellence in written English. For an introduction and full catalogue of Pessoa’s private library see PIZARRO, FERRARI and CARDIELLO (2010).

<sup>2</sup> The information in the bibliographical note is corroborated by Pessoa’s reading diaries from 1905 to 1907 (PESSOA, 2003: 22-54), in which the names of these authors and some of their works feature,

English, notably those written between 1904 and 1909 and attributed to Alexander Search, which were also indebted to Poe likewise mentioned in the note. The influence of the Romantics is also ostensible in *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of poems written between 1910 and 1917, which attests to Pessoa's reception of Victorian poets, like Tennyson, and the impact of influential readings of Symbolist and post-Symbolist poetry.<sup>3</sup> Yeats was the main English-language symbolist with whose works Pessoa became acquainted while he was writing *The Mad Fiddler*, through *A Selection from the Poetry of W.B. Yeats*, published by Tauchnitz in 1913 and extant in his library. Elsewhere, I argue that the fairy lore, incantatory rhythms, and dream-like quality of Yeats's 'Celtic Twilight' poetry collected in this anthology are emulated by some of the poems in *The Mad Fiddler*.<sup>4</sup> More importantly perhaps for the purposes of this essay, Yeats also mediated Pessoa's reception of Blake, as editor of the volume of his collected poems owned by Pessoa.<sup>5</sup>

Referring to Blake's first work, *Poetical Sketches*, in the introduction, Yeats claims that his "poems mark an epoch in English literature, for they were *the first opening of the long-sealed well of romantic poetry*," describing them as "*the true heralds of our modern poetry of nature and enthusiasm*" (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). Explaining his momentous assertion, he argues that "[t]here is in them no trace of mysticism, but phrases and figures of speech which were soon to pass from the metaphorical to the symbolic stage, and put on mystical significance, are very common" (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). The key word here is "symbolic," the epithet used to describe the transfiguring power of Blake's poetic language, capable of assigning "mystical significance" to its referents. The fact that Pessoa underlined the italicised statements in his copy of the book, jotting a line down the side of this passage and writing the abbreviation for *Nota Bene* alongside it, shows that they raised his interest. In effect, the introduction displays numerous reading marks—mostly underlined sentences and lines alongside the text—which suggest that Pessoa

---

as well as the fact that he had editions of their books dating from this period in his private library. Some of the authors listed by Pessoa are discussed in relation to his works by MONTEIRO (2000).

<sup>3</sup> In the aforementioned bibliographical note from 1914, Pessoa lists Baudelaire, the French Symbolists and Camilo Pessanha as significant influences he received between 1909 and 1911, and, subsequently, the Portuguese post-Symbolist Saudosistas between the years 1912-1913 (PESSOA, 2003: 150). Tennyson appears repeatedly in his reading diaries, alongside the Romantics.

<sup>4</sup> The hypothesis about Yeats's potential influence on Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler* is discussed in Chapter I of SILVA MCNEILL (2010).

<sup>5</sup> Pessoa's copy of the book, still housed in his private library, dates from 1905, which suggests that he acquired it before the Tauchnitz anthology of Yeats's poetry. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of an edition of Blake letters with a biographical sketch dated from 1906 in Pessoa's private library (also with reading marks), which attests to his interest in the poet around that time as part of a more generalised interest in the English Romantics. Pessoa's acquaintance with Yeats as editor of Blake likely instigated him to purchase a volume of his collected poetry.

found Yeats's impressionistic exposition of significant episodes in Blake's life and central concerns of his works engaging.

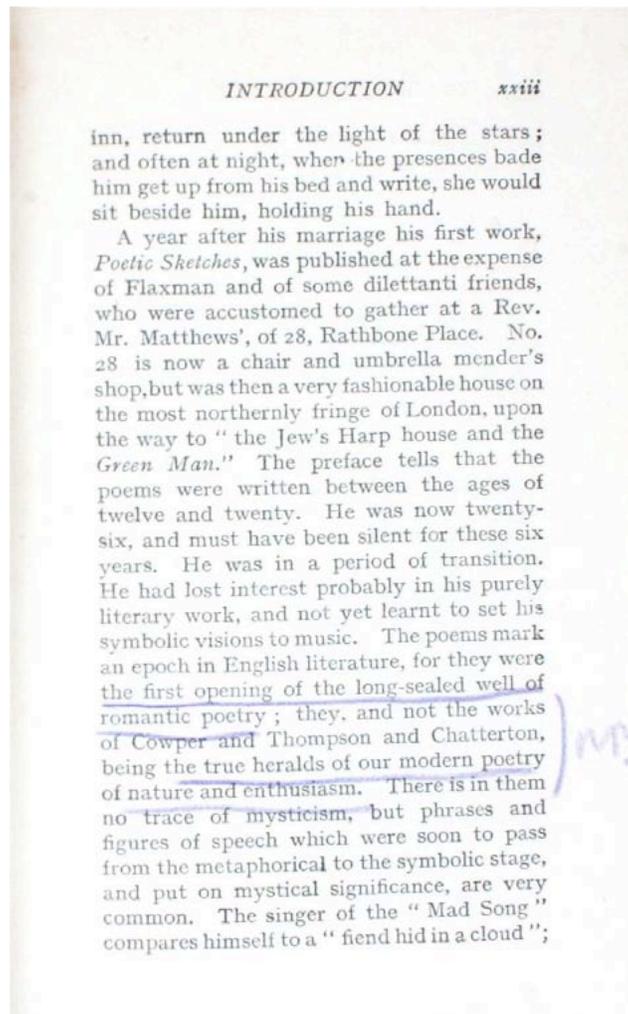


Fig. 1. Markings on p. xxiii of copy of *Poems of William Blake* in Pessoa's library.

As the excerpts quoted above show, Yeats presents Blake as a precursor of a romantic poetry of the symbolic imagination, carried on by the later romantics and leading up to what he calls the "modern poetry of nature and enthusiasm," including his own poetic output under this denomination. Much of the introduction is concerned with tracing the visionary quality of Blake's imagination—emphasizing the ability of the romantic poet to perceive the divine in the natural world and to convey its substance artistically—and with identifying some of the sources from which he drew inspiration for the mythological system of his Prophetic Books. In earlier essays published in *Ideas of Good and Evil* in 1900, Yeats uses the terms "symbolism" ("The Symbolism of Poetry") or "symbolic art" ("Symbolism in Painting") to describe the poetic and artistic works produced by Blake, drawing a poetic lineage from him to the Symbolists, who likewise "dwell upon the element of evocation, of suggestion" (YEATS, 1961: 146 and 155). In

"William Blake and the Imagination," also from the same volume, Yeats claims that Blake "learned from Jacob Boehme and from old alchemist writers that imagination was the first emanation of divinity," and from this concluded "that the imaginative arts were therefore the greatest of Divine revelations," for their ability to awaken 'the sympathy with all living things' (YEATS, 1961: 112). In "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," also from *Ideas of Good and Evil*, Yeats presents Shelley along similar lines, describing him as a "poet of essences," who expresses "the abundance and depth of Nature" by resorting to "ancient symbols," likewise derived from "the traditions of magic and of the magical philosophy" (YEATS, 1961: 78). Yeats's interpretation of the poetry of Blake and Shelley has close affinities with Pessoa's views put forward in the following passage from a drafted letter to an English publisher, enquiring about the potential interest in publishing and anthology of Portuguese 'sensationist' poetry:

Suppose English Romanticism had, instead of retrograding to the Tennysonian-Rosseti-Browning level, progressed right onward from Shelley, spiritualising his already spiritualistic pantheism. You would arrive at the conception of Nature (our transcendentalist pantheists are essentially poets of Nature) in which flesh and spirit are entirely mingled in something which transcends both. If you can conceive a William Blake put into the soul of Shelley and writing through that, you will perhaps have a nearer idea of what I mean.

(PESSOA, 1999a: I, 233)

In attempting to explain Portuguese "transcendentalist pantheism," to which the "sensationists" owe "the fact that in our poetry spirit and matter are interpenetrated and inter-transcended" (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 233), Pessoa traces the origins of the movement to a Romantic tradition that fused Shelley's "spiritualistic pantheism" with Blake's philosophical positioning.<sup>6</sup> Pessoa's genealogical reasoning resembles Yeats's in the introduction to his edition of Blake's poems, and his claims about Blake and Shelley are remarkably similar to Yeats's essays from *Ideas of Good and Evil* which—unless Pessoa had access to them through some as yet unidentified source—reveals strong affinities in their understanding of romantic poetry, undoubtedly originating in a shared literary heritage.<sup>7</sup> In effect, both poets display an analogous urgency to position their poetry within a long lasting, distinguish, and distinctive poetic lineage and seem to find just that in the "well of romantic poetry," as Yeats calls it in his introduction (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). Pessoa's reference to Blake in this context shows that he was aware, through the auspices of Yeats, of this poet's importance as a forerunner of a trend in modern

<sup>6</sup> Pessoa doesn't specify Blake's positioning in this passage, but elsewhere he calls it "espiritualismo simbolico" [symbolic spiritualism] (PESSOA, 2013: 19).

<sup>7</sup> In *Yeats and Pessoa: Parallel Poetic Styles* (2010), I argue that the poets' shared English literary heritage, particularly from the Romantics, accounts for many of the parallelisms between their poetry and poetics as a whole.

poetry which sought to transcend the dichotomies of body and soul, materialism and idealism, objectivity and subjectivity, and convey the complexities attendant on the perceiving subject resulting from the fluidity of modern external reality and the relativity of internal states of mind. The quotation above also reflects Pessoa's attempt to make new developments underway in Portuguese poetry, including in his own poetry in Portuguese and English, known to an international readership, about which more will be said further ahead.

### *The Mad Fiddler*

In a draft for a preface to *The Mad Fiddler*, Pessoa describes Shelley as “a man who felt Nature exceedingly, & every one who feels Nature exceedingly must feel pantheistically” (PESSOA, 1999b: 114). From this we gather that the “spiritualistic pantheism” which Pessoa identifies in the poetry of Shelley, Blake, and the Portuguese “transcendentalist pantheists” in the drafted letter to the English publisher quoted above constitutes the core aesthetic and philosophical principle underpinning the poems in this collection. Elsewhere, Pessoa terms this poetic stance in modern poetry as “transcendentalismo panteísta” [pantheist transcendentalism]—underscoring the difference in relation to that of the Romantics and of the “Portuguese transcendentalist pantheists” by reversing the order of the term—describing it in “A nova poesia portuguesa no seu aspecto psicológico” [The New Portuguese Poetry in its Psychological Aspect] as:

A espiritualização da Natureza e, ao mesmo tempo, a materialização do Espírito, a sua comunhão humilde no Todo, comunhão que é, já não puramente panteísta, mas, por essa citada espiritualização da Natureza, superpanteísta, dispersão do ser num exterior que não é Natureza, mas Alma.

(PESSOA, 1993: 57)

[The spiritualization of Nature and, at the same time, the materialization of Spirit, their subservient communion in the Whole, a communion which is no longer purely pantheist, but, due to the aforesaid spiritualization of Nature, has become super-pantheist, the dispersion of the being in an exterior plane which is not Nature, but Soul].

Taking his cue from Blake—who stated, “Man has no body distinct from his soul. For that called body is a portion of soul discerned by the five senses” in “Marriage of Heaven and Hell” (BLAKE, 1905: 178), another passage underlined by Pessoa in his copy of the *Poems*—Pessoa emphasises the supremacy of the spiritual element—the soul—in the process of synthesis of material and ethereal realities that constitutes pantheist transcendentalism. The following stanzas from “A Summer Ecstasy” and “Inversion” illustrate what Pessoa calls “the spiritualization of Nature”:

I saw the inner side  
 Of summer, earth and morn.  
 I heard the rivers glide  
*From Within.* I was borne  
 To see, through mysteries,  
 How God everything is.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 81; my emphasis)

Here in this wilderness  
 Each tree and stone fills me  
 With the sadness of a great glee.  
 God in His *altogetherness*  
 Is whole-part of each stone and tree.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 84; my emphasis)

The latter stanza recalls Yeats's observation quoted earlier that for Blake the creative imagination had a power of transfiguration that could awaken "the sympathy with all living things" (YEATS, 1961: 112). A belief which Yeats also partook in, as shown by the following stanza from "Into the Twilight" (1899), which featured in the Tauchnitz anthology that Pessoa owned:

Come, heart, where hill is heaped upon hill:  
 For there the mystical brotherhood  
 Of sun and moon and hollow and wood  
 And river and stream work out their will;

(YEATS, 1913: 114)

As in the Yeatsian stanza, the speakers of Pessoa's poems perceive a mystical unity between the natural elements they enumerate and the supernatural, signified by the word "God." Likewise, the reference to "mysteries" and "altogetherness" in Pessoa's stanzas is semantically close to Yeats's "mystical brotherhood," an expression that underscores the symbolic power of landscape to officiate the transition from the natural to the super-natural or sacred realm, revealing an analogous mysticism of Nature. The spiritual pantheism expressed in these stanzas is akin to that described by Blake in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "I saw no God, nor heard any, in a finite organical perception: but my senses discovered the infinite in everything" — underlined by Pessoa in his copy of Blake's works edited by Yeats (BLAKE, 1905: 183).

The "pantheist transcendentalism" in *The Mad Fiddler* also displays a visionary quality ostensible in "The Labyrinth," which portrays a vision wherein "each thing was linked into each other thing" and "the outward and the inward became one" (PESSOA, 1999b: 79), encapsulated in the stanza:

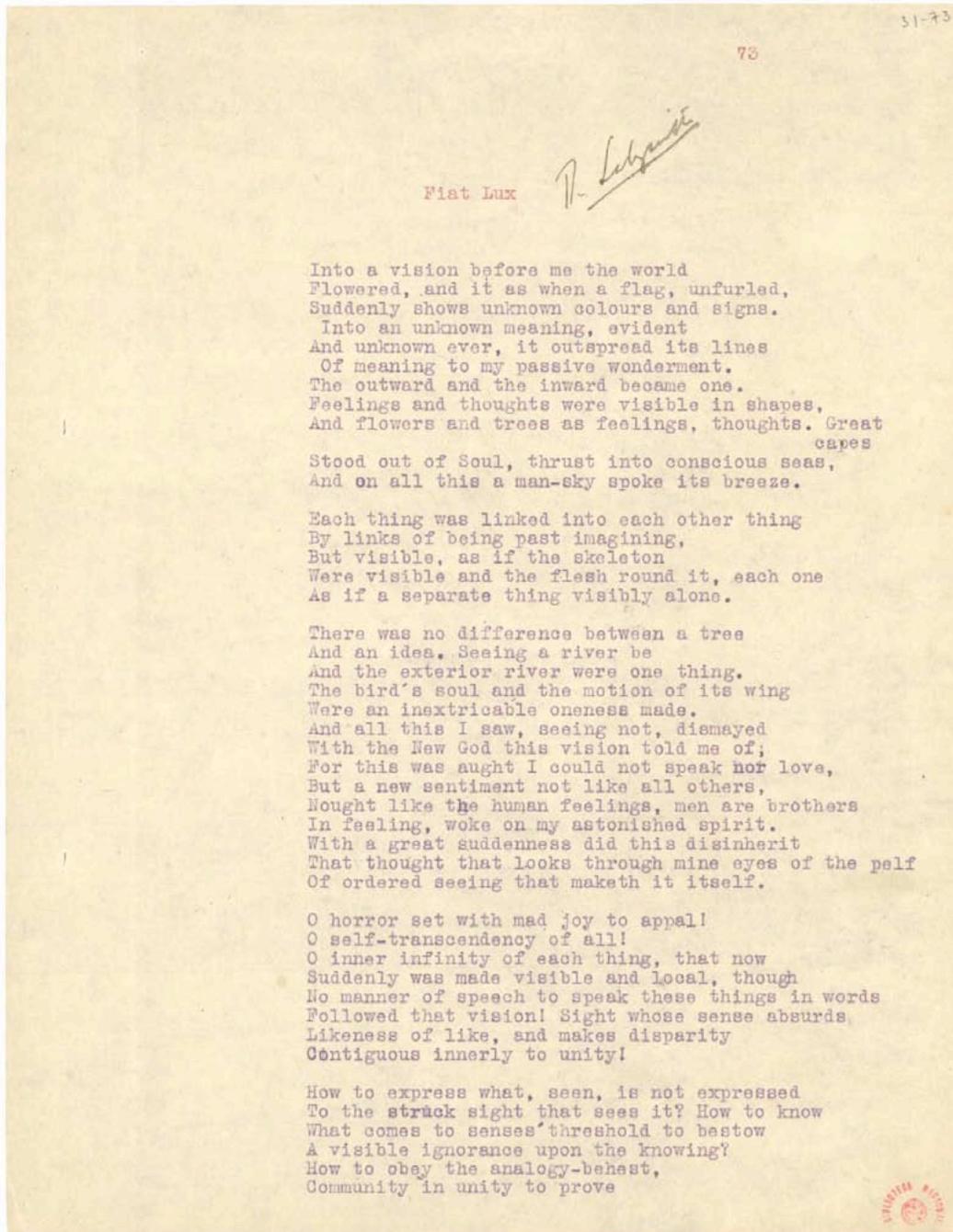


Fig. 2. Typescript of "Labyrinth" (BNP/E3, 31-73).

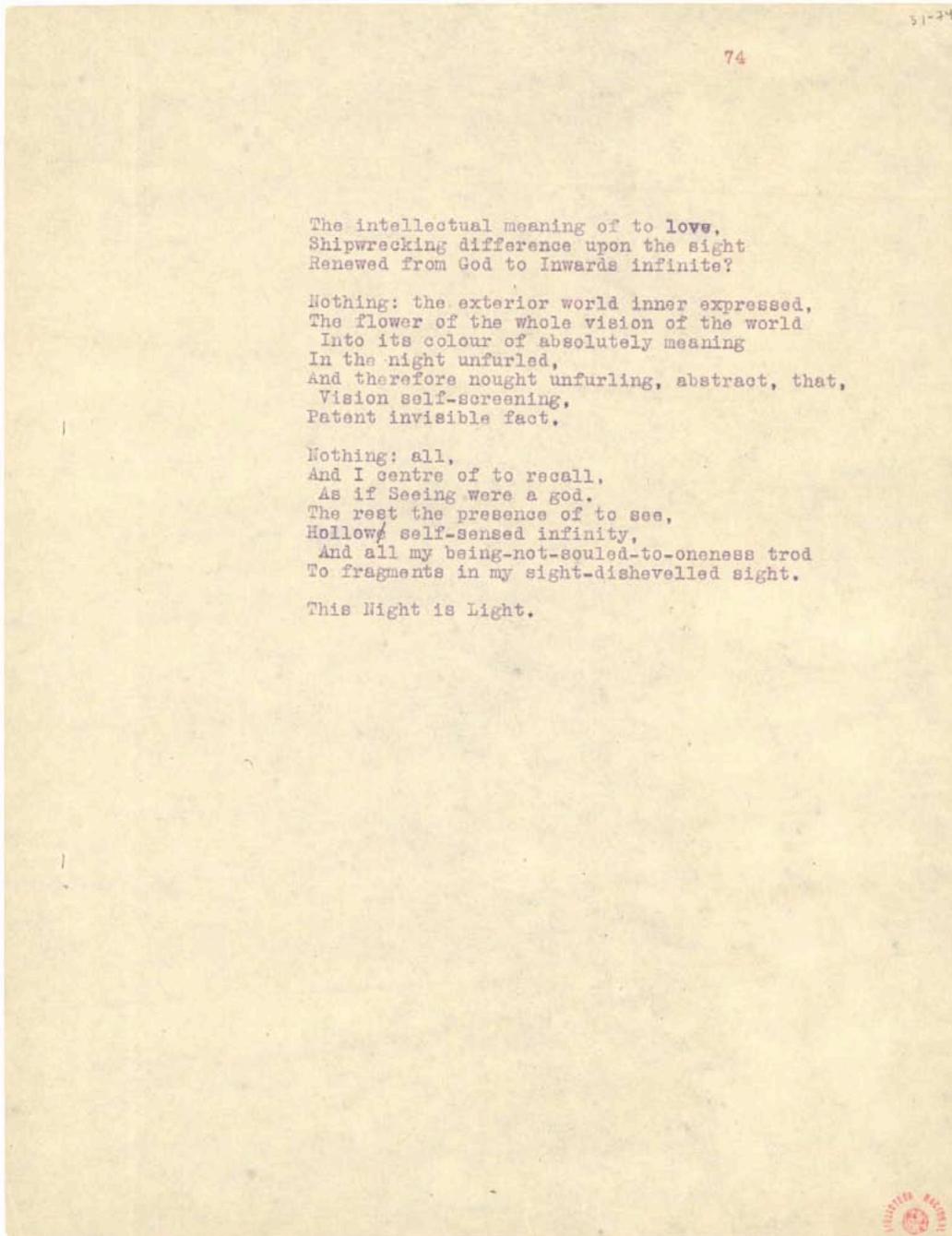


Fig. 3. Typescript of "Labyrinth" (cont.) (BNP/E3, 31-73<sup>v</sup>).

There was no difference between a tree  
 And an idea. Seeing a river be  
 And the exterior river were one thing.  
 The bird's soul and the motion of its wing  
 Were an inextricable oneness made.  
 And all this I saw, seeing not, dismayed  
 With the New God this vision told me of; [...]

(PESSOA, 1999b: 79)

The vision described in this excerpt is grounded in Swedenborg's law of correspondences, likely via Blake, culminating in the advent of a "New God," that is, a new form of religiosity. This poem exemplifies "the religiosity underlying these poems" which Pessoa highlights in the draft of a preface to *The Mad Fiddler* (PESSOA, 1999b: 117). In another fragment from a preface, Pessoa claims that "the intensest [*sic*] way to feel a sensation or an emotion is to feel it religiously and philosophically," adding that he "called this attitude Sensationism, but [...] if followed to its spiritual source, it might be called High Paganism" (PESSOA, 1999b: 114-115). In order to illustrate his claim, he compares the interchangeability between things and their ideal correspondents in transcendental pantheism, as depicted in a poem like "The Labyrinth," to pagan polytheism, stating "as, in the polytheistic system of misunderstanding the world, [...] each thing is eventually endowed with a transcendent personality [...] so, [...] each sensation has its philosophy & its religion & each object of sensation its transcendent body" (PESSOA, 1999b: 114-115). The link Pessoa establishes between Sensationism and High Paganism to explain the dominant religious and philosophical attitude in *The Mad Fiddler* has an equivalent counterpart in his Portuguese poetry between 1913 and 1917 with Sensacionismo and the Neopaganismo Português.

"Into a vision," a fragmentary poem which is a variation of "The Labyrinth," offers proof that Pessoa's neo-paganism was a bilingual phenomenon occurring both in his English and his Portuguese poetry. The speaker of the poem claims to have undergone a transformation that has made him "No pantheist, but pantheism Itself" (PESSOA, 1999b: 196), a line which closely resembles Álvaro de Campos's description of Alberto Caeiro in "Notas para a recordação do meu mestre Caeiro" [Notes for the Remembrance of my Master Caeiro]: "O meu mestre Caeiro não era pagão: era o paganismo" (PESSOA, 2014: 455) [My master Caeiro was not a pagan; he was paganism itself]. According to Campos, Caeiro embodies paganism through "consubstantiation" (PESSOA, 2014: 455), a term which also describes befittingly the transformation undergone by the speaker of "Into a vision" and is in agreement with the religiosity Pessoa assigns to the collection. Thus pantheism and paganism appear to function as complementary worldviews in Pessoa's aesthetic thought, the former drawing on the Romantic lineage hegemonic in Anglophone culture and the latter drinking in the classical tradition

hegemonic in Mediterranean cultures, proving that he was experimenting with comparable poetic stances across his two languages and cultures.

### Sensationism

The mention of Sensationism in a preface to *The Mad Fiddler* from 1917 about poems written mostly before that year shows that its expression in English was concomitant with the development of this aesthetic in his Portuguese poetry. In that fragment of the preface Pessoa describes the “religious and philosophical” attitude underpinning *The Mad Fiddler* as “to feel Nature exceedingly” (PESSOA, 1999b: 114) which echoes Álvaro de Campos’s line “Sentir tudo excessivamente” [to feel everything excessively] in “Afinal a melhor maneira de viajar é sentir” (PESSOA, 2014: 164), which came to encapsulate Sensationism. Although Campos’s turn of phrase ostensibly has a more encompassing sense in its choice of the term “everything” as opposed to “Nature,” this is in keeping with the pantheist type of sensationism conveyed in the English collection. In a fragment from another preface to *The Mad Fiddler*, Pessoa claims, “Some of [the] poems seem to be based on a Christian and mystical philosophy; others on a pantheistic conception of the world; others, still, on what may be best described as a transcendentalist attitude” (PESSOA, 1999b: 40). His summary of the types of mysticism found in the collection not only illustrates the thematic diversity of the collection, but also reveals a syncretic tendency characteristic of the Sensationist aesthetic.

However, the expression of Sensationism in Pessoa’s English and Portuguese poetry is not confined to philosophical stances, but encompasses stylistic issues, which surface when Pessoa compares Sensationism across linguistic and cultural conventions. The poet made several attempts to publish *The Mad Fiddler* in Britain. His collected correspondence includes drafts of letters concerning this collection of poems to at least three different publishers, including John Lane—whose 1915 edition of *The Poems of Ernest Dowson* Pessoa claims to know and uses as reference for the type of edition he sought—and Harold Monro, whose 1915 editions of Richard Aldington’s *Images* and F. S. Flint’s *Cadences* he refers to in a similar manner. Tellingly, in the letter to John Lane, dated from 23 October 1915, Pessoa dissuades the English publisher from attributing “certain eccentricities and peculiarities of expression” in the “book of English poems” (fifteen in total, as mentioned in the letter) enclosed to the fact that their author is “a foreigner” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 175). Instead, argues Pessoa, he should regard them “as forms of expression necessarily created by an extreme pantheistic attitude, which as it breaks the limits of definite thought, so must violate the rules of logical meaning” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176). Therefore, according to Pessoa, the “strangeness” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176) of their English does not derive from lack of proficiency in the language but constitutes a deliberate stylistic choice in concurrence with a new aesthetic, which Pessoa refers to

as “the Portuguese ‘sensationist’ movement” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 175) that requires a different form of expression. Indeed, according to Anna Terlinden, the most accomplished poems of *The Mad Fiddler* convey the novelty of the pantheistic aesthetic through ‘the semantic and syntactic shocks between words so that their symbolic meaning is increased by a breaking of their usual meaning’, in a manner which is evocative of Mallarmé’s practices (TERLINDEN, 1990: 168). In the said letter, Pessoa claims to “practice the same thing, to a far higher degree, in Portuguese” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176), establishing a common denominator between *The Mad Fiddler* and the contemporary “*Chuva Oblíqua*” (1915), which he encloses in an English translation as “*Slanting Rain*” with the letter to Harold Monro (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193) and, likely, with the letter to Lane, although he does not mention it by name, referring to it as “a sensationist poem in English” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176).

Pessoa’s observation implies that his contemporary Portuguese poetry displayed an even greater degree of lexical and syntactic oddity than the poetry in English collected in *The Mad Fiddler*, which he claims to be “the nearest, I have, in English, to a conventional standard of poetry” in his undated letter to Monro (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193). This is confirmed by the comparison of contemporary poems which address the modern theme of the dissociated self in the two languages. In “*Summer Moments*,” from *The Mad Fiddler*, the speaker describes an idyllic scene that encompasses a “golden day” with “glad horizons,” “happy hills” and “fields,” opposing to this pleasant external scenery his tempestuous interior landscape—a “lone shore | Struck by the sea” (PESSOA, 1999b: 93). In the first part of the poem, Nature is endowed with a regenerative quality, which has a soothing effect on the speaker of the poem:

‘Tis very little, I know,  
 But it is happiness,  
 And the hours are but few  
 That we can really bless.

They are hours like this, freed  
 From belonging to thought,  
 When we have nought to heed  
 Save a breeze that is nought.

Let me therefore, breathe in  
 Into my memory  
 This hour, and may it begin  
 Again whenever I see

My heart grow heavy and hot,  
 My thoughts grow close and late.  
 O soft breeze, fan my thought!  
 O calmness, brush my fate!

(PESSOA, 1999b: 98)

The subject's emergence from his prostration into an ecstatic state of bliss and his relish at the prospect of his future retrieval of this emotion through memory recall Wordsworth's definition of poetry as originating in "emotion recollected in tranquillity" (WORDSWORTH and COLERIDGE, [1798] 2007: 82).

In part II of "Summer Moments," the speaker compares his elated state of mind to childhood, likewise following in the Wordsworth's wake:

I am again  
The child I was,  
Having no pain  
More than the grass.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 95)

The simile reinforces the association between the subject and the natural world, basing the identification between child and grass upon their unconsciousness as an essential pre-requisite for internal harmony and happiness.

In the letter to Harold Monro, Pessoa mentions "Chuva Oblíqua" [Slanting Rain] (1914), claiming to enclose a translation of the poem to substantiate his claim that his Portuguese poetry is more advanced than that of the English Imagists (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193). Contemporary to a great number of the poems in *The Mad Fiddler*, "Chuva Oblíqua" addresses the same theme as "Summer Moments," displaying similar imagery. The parallelism is evident in the opening scene of the poem, which intersects a dreamt sombre seaport with a real sunny countryside landscape. These images re-enact the same dichotomies of earth-water, light-shadow as the English poem. However, they are expanded further through the intersection of different planes in each of the six parts into which "Chuva Obliqua" is divided. Thus, the opposition between the bright exterior plane of the countryside and the sombre internal port in the first part is inverted into the contrast between the artificially lit interior space of a church and the darkness outside it in part II, only to be reversed again through the contrasting dark abyss of the Pyramids and an outdoor boat procession on the Nile in part III, culminating in the climactic fusion of day and night vistas in parts V and VI. According to Yvette Centeno, "Em 'Chuva Obliqua' a intersecção parece ser o esforço de um eu para a Totalidade, realizando-se a partir dos fragmentos de si que intersecciona e até por vezes funde em transitória união" [in "Chuva Obliqua" the intersection appears to be the effort of a subject towards the Totality through the fragments of itself that it intersects and sometimes even fuses in transitory union] (CENTENO, 1978: 111).

In part VI, the transient union of the fragmented self is sought in childhood memories, as it had been in 'Summer Moments'. Yet, the recollection of childhood in "Chuva Obliqua" only affords a fleeting moment of comfort and is summarily overturned by the absurd logic and the surreal imagery at the end of the poem:

Lembra-me a minha infância, aquele dia  
 Em que eu brincava ao pé de um muro de quintal  
 Atirando-lhe com uma bola que tinha dum lado  
 O deslizar dum cão verde, e do outro lado  
 Um cavalo azul a correr com um jockey amarelo...

[...]

Atiro-a de encontro à minha infância e ela  
 Atravessa e o teatro todo que está aos meus pés  
 A brincar com um jockey amarelo e um cão verde  
 E um cavalo azul que aparece por cima do muro  
 Do meu quintal... E a música atira com bolas  
 À minha infância... E o muro do quintal é feito de gestos  
 De batuta e rotações confusas de cães verdes  
 E cavalos azuis e jockeys amarelos...

(PESSOA, 1998a: 17)

[It reminds me of my childhood, of a day  
 I spent playing in my backyard, throwing a ball  
 Against the wall ... On the one side of the ball  
 Sailed a green dog, on the other side,  
 A yellow jockey was riding a blue horse ...  
 I throw it at my childhood, and it  
 Passes through the whole theatre that's at my feet  
 Playing with a yellow jockey and a green dog  
 And a blue horse that pops out over the wall  
 Of my backyard ... And the music throws balls  
 At my childhood ... And the wall is made of baton  
 Movements and wildly whirling green dogs,  
 Blue horses and yellow jockeys ...]

(PESSOA, 1998b: 223)

The denouement of the poem reflects the impossibility of re-integration and the speaker's permanent fractured selfhood, which is reflected stylistically on its jagged, fragmentary imagery and diction, characteristic of Intersectionism, a temporary *ism* devised by Pessoa as the compositional process of Sensationism. In "Chuva Obliqua," Pessoa adopts the de-constructivist logic of Cubism to represent the modern dissociated self who is unable to retrieve his lost sense of internal wholeness and unity with the external world, countering the generally pantheist bias of the Romantically inspired "Summer Moments," which favoured a unitary conception of the subject and the world.

This notwithstanding, certain poems in *The Mad Fiddler* depart from the pervading transcendental pantheism towards the more modern *topos* of the dissociated self and display a symbolist diction which shows the influence of Baudelaire and the French Symbolists, notably in the section entitled "Fever-Garden." Among these, "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings," a poem likely

dating from 1916, subtitled “A Sensationist Poem” and with the notation “impression” in another typescript variant (PESSOA, 1999b: 172-173), displays a vague diction, pregnant with suggestion, which closely resembles the second part of “Impressões do Crepúsculo” [Impressions of the Crepuscule] and, particularly, “Hora Absurda,” [Absurd Hour] both from 1913 and emblematic of Paulismo—a temporary *ism* devised by Pessoa to describe a transitional post-symbolist aesthetic, subsequently subsumed into Sensationism:

Her Fingers Toyed Absently with her Rings

There are fallen angels in the way you look  
 And great bridges over silent streams at your smile.  
 Your gestures are a lonely princess dreaming over a book  
 At a window over a lake, on some distant isle.

If I were to stretch my hand and touch yours that would be  
 Dawn behind the turrets of a city in some East.  
 The words hidden in my gesture would be moonlight on the sea  
 Of your being something in my soul like gaiety in a feast.

Let your silence tell me of the numberless dreams that are you.  
 Let *the drooping of your eyelids* prolong landscapes far away.  
 The *jets of water* return on the listening of being untrue  
 And this is the flower I pluck, with a sound, from what you unsay.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 63-64)

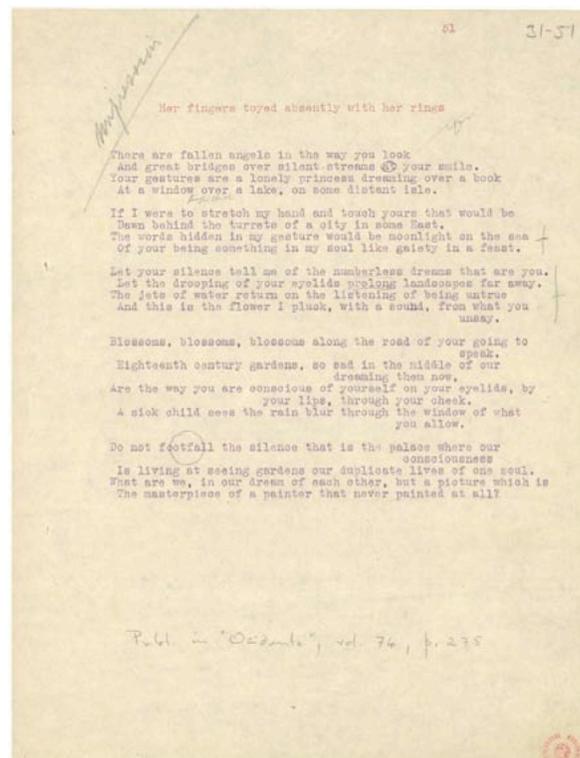


Fig. 4. Typescript of “Her Fingers Toyed Absently with her Rings” (BNP/E3, 31-51<sup>r</sup>).

As this excerpt shows, the imagery of the poem displays the *topoi* of princesses, towers, bridges, lakes and isles which recurred in symbolist and post-symbolist poems across various languages, including Paulismo. The figure of the princess could draw specifically on João Cabral do Nascimento's *As Três Princesas Mortas num Palácio em Ruínas* [*The Three Dead Princesses in a Palace in Ruins*] (1916), which Pessoa praised as Sensationist in the review he published that year in the magazine *Exílio*. In turn the "jets of water" in the third stanza could bear some resonance from a *topos* particularly dear to Mallarmé, and "the drooping of [the woman's] eyelids" is a distinctly yeatsian turn of phrase which features repeatedly in poems from *The Wind among the Reeds* which Pessoa would have read in the Tauchnitz anthology he owned. Therefore, "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings" constitutes at once an instance of reception of Symbolism and Pessoa's deliberate rendering of the aesthetic of Paulismo in English. Undoubtedly reassured by Yeats's poetry of the "Celtic Twilight" period (the extent of his knowledge of the Irish poet's work) and that of the Imagists like Flint and Aldington, he thought the language and Anglophone culture could accommodate better than the Mediterranean avant-garde frolics of Cubism and Futurism.

The analysis of poems and para-textual materials from *The Mad Fiddler* in the course of this essay corroborates Terlinden's claim that this collection is "a kind of 'English microcosm' of Pessoa's aesthetic theory" (TERLINDEN, 1990: 218). In effect, this collection appears to have functioned as a writing laboratory which accompanied the maturing process in Pessoa's poetry and allowed him to experiment with different poetic traditions and lineages across different languages and cultures and in relation to his own evolving aesthetics in the crucial years immediately preceding and following the creation of the heteronyms and his leading involvement in the Portuguese avant-garde of *Orpheu* and other magazines. Additionally, *The Mad Fiddler* rehearses analogous aesthetic and philosophical ideas in his poetry in English to those Pessoa was developing in Portuguese, and indeed became the English face or expression of Sensationism, understood in the broadest most plural sense encapsulated in Pessoa's remark, "The sensationist movement [...] represents the final synthesis. It gathers into one organic whole [...] the several threads of modern movements, extracting honey from all the flowers that have blossomed in the gardens of European fancy," significantly capped by the statement that the various movements "have their remote origin, through Whitman, in no less a person than William Blake" (PESSOA, 2009: 159).

## Bibliography

- BLAKE, William (1905). *Poems of William Blake*. Edited by W. B. Yeats. London: George Routledge and Sons. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44].
- CENTENO, Yvette K. (1978). "Fragmentação e totalidade em 'Chuva Obliqua,' de Fernando Pessoa." *Fernando Pessoa: tempo, solidão, hermetismo*. Edited by Stephen Reckert and Yvette K. Centeno. Lisboa: Moraes Editores, pp. 103-124.
- MCNEILL, Patrícia Silva (2010). *Yeats and Pessoa: Parallel Poetic Styles*. Oxford: Legenda.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and António Cardiel. Lisbon: Tinta da China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."
- \_\_\_\_ (2013). *Apreciações Literárias de Fernando Pessoa*. Edited by Pauly Ellen Bothe. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda. Critican Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Collection "Studies."
- \_\_\_\_ (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume X.
- \_\_\_\_ (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Translations by Manuela Rocha. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999a). *Correspondência*. Edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. 2 vols.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999b). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998a). *Ficções do Interlúdio: 1914-1935*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998b). *Fernando Pessoa & Co.: Selected Poemas*. Edited and translated by Richard Zenith. New York: Grove Press.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO. *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa.. Bilingual edition*. Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2010. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House
- REIS, Carlos (2014). "Espaços da Língua Portuguesa ou os perigos da imagináutica." *Pelos Mares da Língua Portuguesa 2*. Edited by António Manuel Ferreira and Maria Fernanda Brasete. Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro Editora, pp. 9-20.
- TERLINDEN, Anne (1990). *Fernando Pessoa: The Bilingual Portuguese Poet: a critical study of The Mad Fiddler*. Bruxelles: Publications des Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis.
- WORDSWORTH, William and Samuel Taylor COLERIDGE (2007). *Lyrical Ballads*. Edited by Michael Mason. Preface by John Mullan. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Harlow: Pearson Education. [1<sup>st</sup> edition in 1798; London: J. A. Arch].
- YEATS, W. B. (1961). *Essays and Introductions*. New York: Macmillan.
- \_\_\_\_ (1913). *A Selection from the Poetry of W. B. Yeats*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-591].

# Pessoa's Antinous

J. D. Reed\*

## Keywords

Antinous, English poetry, Decadent poetry, Modernism, Fernando Pessoa.

## Abstract

Pessoa's *Antinous* follows a tradition of poems on mythological dying-god figures mourned by their divine lovers, transferring the tropes of that tradition to the Roman emperor Hadrian and his lover, who had been appropriated by fin-de-siècle literary homoeroticism.

## Palavras-chave

Antinous, Poesia inglesa, Decadentismo, Modernismo, Fernando Pessoa.

## Resumo

O *Antinous* (*Antínoo*) de Fernando Pessoa segue uma tradição de poemas sobre deuses mitológicos moribundos sendo lamentados por seus amantes divinos. Pessoa transfere os artifícios dessa tradição para duas personagens, o imperador romano Adriano e seu amante, o qual tinha sido apropriado pelo homoerotismo literário do fim do século XIX.

---

\* Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature, Brown University.

## I.

For the student of Classical reception, Pessoa's *Antinous* (1918), with its picture of the Roman emperor Hadrian's grief for his dead boyfriend, caps a roster of nineteenth-century English poems inspired by "dying god" figures, Greek mythological characters like Adonis, beloved by a powerful deity, lost objects of beauty.<sup>1</sup> Examples are Shelley's "Adonais," his elegy on Keats under the guise of an Adonis-figure; Keats's own "Endymion," particularly the Adonis section; Swinburne's take on the Tannhäuser legend, "Laus Veneris," with its heated eroticism and hopeless roster of the vampiric Venus' cast-off lovers. The "Epitaph on Adonis" of the ancient Greek poet Bion of Smyrna (late second century B.C.E.) lies in the background, as it does for those poems, too; more generally felt is the tradition of the "pastoral lament" from Theocritus' "Idyll 1" through the anonymous "Epitaph for Bion" (a principal influence on Shelley) to Milton's "Lycidas." The echoes I hear—both surface echoes and those in the underlying poetics—are perhaps products of my own filters (which, to be sure, screen out as much as they screen in), but I hope to show that that literary background is an apt one.

Antinous became a subject for homoerotic English literature in this period, as Waters documents for the later nineteenth century, focusing on one particular use of his image<sup>2</sup>:

The decadent Antinous, like the Mona Lisa, whom Pater eulogized in his influential *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), was revered as an enigma; writers avoided dispelling his mystery [...] with historical reconstruction. His silences, his subjection to the fantasies in which the emperor chose to involve him, were inscribed into the decadent sadomasochistic plot, redefined as tokens of power rather than of subjection.

(WATERS, 1995: 217)

Like mythological "dying gods," Antinous is beloved, beautiful, and lost. He is a paradigmatic dead lover, a supreme paragon of the quiescent figure in which David Halperin is inclined to see a kind of extreme of the very qualities that incite desire:

There's no lover like a dead lover [...]. What men value in sleeping, dying, or dead lovers is their turning aside from the subjects who desire them [...]. In turning away from us, the dead lover enacts the ruses of erotic desire itself, mimicking the characteristic unfindability

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Patricio Ferrari for the opportunity to speak and write on this poem. I use the text and line numbers as printed in the critical edition (PESSOA, 1993: 41-50). On Pessoa's English literary output in general see FERRARI and PIZARRO, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> On Antinous as a subject of "Uranian" and allied literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see also KOPELSON (1994:26-8), MADER (2005: 387-388).

of the erotic object, its simultaneous immanence in and transcendence of its material medium, its tendency to recede from the lover in his every attempt to possess it.

(HALPERIN, 2006: 8 and 17)

Pessoa's *Antinous* even before death—before the poem begins—was always turned away, enticingly remote even within the grasp of his royal lover, as at lines 79-81 (the lines that serve as the cue to Hadrian's necrophiliac kissing and fondling of the corpse): "Beautiful was my love, yet melancholy. | He had that art, that makes love captive wholly, | Of being slowly sad among lust's rages." (PESSOA, 1993: 43).

The conventional response to such figures was most famously enacted by the poet Tennyson, stopping in front of a bust of Antinous in the British Museum alongside the young Edmund Gosse, then a curator there, who quoted the poet in his memoir: "Ah, this is the inscrutable Bithynian!" There was a pause, and then he added, gazing into the eyes of the bust: "If we knew what he knew, we should understand the ancient world." (GOSSE, 1912: 134). It is telling that Tennyson expressed his desire in terms of knowledge, and that he expressed its object in terms of the sum of "the ancient world." Antinous, as Tennyson says, was a young man from Bithynia, a province of the linguistically and culturally Greek eastern half of the Roman empire, whose relationship with the notably philhellene emperor Hadrian could be made neatly to fit the paradigm of "Greek love" between an older man and an ephebe (see DOVER, 1989). He was probably not yet 20 when he died. On a state journey through the eastern empire with Hadrian and his entourage, he fell into (or jumped into, or was pushed into) the Nile—we are no closer to the precise facts than were the ancient sources at our disposal.<sup>3</sup> Hadrian gave him divine honors and mystery rites, as well as a distinctive position in imperial iconography. He is best known to us from his extensively preserved cult portraiture, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries found its way from the ancient Roman provinces to public and private collections in the cities of the emerging European empires, and which documents a striking adaptability to the various cultural discourses available—a "multiple and mutable imagery"<sup>4</sup>—despite the constancy of his unmistakable visage. He appears as a Classical Athenian athletic victor in contrapposto; as an Egyptian pharaoh with the accoutrements adopted by Ptolemaic and Roman rulers of Egypt (the persona melds ancient Egyptian and Roman royal power through a coalescence of Osiris—with whom persons drowned in the Nile were traditionally associated—with the

<sup>3</sup> On Antinous generally see LAMBERT (1986); for more recent treatments, with references to earlier scholarship, see VOUT (2007: 52-135), JONES (2010: 74-83), RENBERG (2010). On the English reception of Antinous see also VOUT in INGELHEART (2015: 232-51).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cadario's title: "molteplici e mutevoli immagini" (2012). On his portraiture generally see MEYER (1991), VOUT (cit. n. 3), SAPELLI RAGNI (2012).

monarch Hadrian himself); as various gods both Greek and Roman: Dionysus, Vertumnus, Attis, Apollo. The Greek Dionysus and Egyptian Osiris were identified since the time of Herodotus (2.42.2); both had to do with mystery rites—like those of Antinous—that promised a better life after death. The tantalizing distance of the beloved, exacerbated by his death, with the statues making him permanently a presence just out of reach, recalls Tennyson's response to the British Museum bust. Antinous' combination of assertive pecs and inward-turning visage makes him a model of the ephebe preserved; the transience of youth and beauty are made transcendent, and transcendent in many forms: an image of late antique divine syncretism, bringing the different cultures of the empire together in accordance with long-tested modes of assimilation.

In antiquity, as in modernity, he is easily analogized to mythological beloved, dying youths like Adonis, Hyacinthus, and Narcissus. For example, a now fragmentary poem composed a century and a half after his death says,

O Narcissus, I revere your reflected beauty;  
I shed a tear for Hyacinthus, who [suffered] the cruel discus;  
I pity your hunting of the wild beast, [Adonis.]  
Yet the meadow of Antinous and his lovely [new flower  
has no need to envy] the pool, the fatal discus, or [the hunt].<sup>5</sup>

In this mythopoeia the flower was evidently created by the moon goddess from the blood of a lion killed by Antinous during a royal hunt (which recalls the less successful hunts of Adonis and Attis); the concern of the Moon over it recalls her love for Endymion, everlastingly asleep. Central to Pessoa's reception of dying-god literature could be considered lines 32-33: "Antinous is dead, is dead forever, | Is dead forever and all loves lament," (1993: 41) with its close echo of Bion of Smyrna's *Epitaph on Adonis*: "I mourn Adonis: fair Adonis is dead; | fair Adonis is dead, the Loves mourn in reply."<sup>6</sup> Pessoa continues by assimilating the grieving emperor and the recurrently grieving love goddess (34-37): "Venus herself, that was Adonis' lover, | Seeing him, that newly lived, now dead again, | Lends her old grief's renewal to be blent | With Hadrian's pain" (1993: 42).<sup>7</sup> Antinous was introduced (2-3) with "The boy lay dead | On the low couch," (1993: 41) recalling lines that articulate Bion's narrative: "fair Adonis lies [dead]" (7) and "gorgeous Adonis lies on crimson-dyed sheets" (79)<sup>8</sup>—the latter phrase referring to the couch

<sup>5</sup> P.Oxy. 4352 fr. 5.ii.3-7, edited and commented on by J. R. Rea in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXIII (1996: 1-17). LIVREA (1999) suggests an attribution to Soterichus of Oasis. For the myth of Antinous' flower see also PANCRATES in ATHENAEUS 15.677d-f.

<sup>6</sup> αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν, "ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις." / "ᾠλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις," ἐπαιιάζουσιν Ἐρωτες. For text and commentary on Bion see REED (1997).

<sup>7</sup> On the mythological analogies see SABINE (2007: 156-157 with n. 37).

<sup>8</sup> κείται καλὸς Ἄδωνις and κέκλιται ἄβροδ Ἄδωνις.

he and Aphrodite used to share (71-72), like the “memoried bed” on which the naked Antinous lies in Pessoa’s poem (67).

The reader may miss any trace here of the “anthropological” reading of dying gods, the interpretation developed in the nineteenth century by scholars like Creuzer, Mannhardt, and Frazer (REED, 2000: 322 n. 16), culminating in Frazer’s *Golden Bough* and its elaboration of a common myth of a “dying and rising god,” symbolizing the fruitfulness of the crops and farmlands and the cycles of the seasons, “the spectacle of the great changes which annually pass over the face of the earth” (FRAZER, 1914: 3), used to allegorical effect in the evocations of those myths by such Modernist poets as Eliot in *The Wasteland* and Pound in *Canto 47*, with the seasons a metaphor for the ups and downs of human culture. Perhaps there is a hint of this meaning in the rain that begins Pessoa’s poem, which (lines 7-8) “fell like a sick affright | Of Nature at her work in killing him” (1993: 41): the pathetic fallacy (a trope endemic to pastoral lament and its descendants) recalls a conscious-stricken deity (though less like Venus over Adonis than Apollo over Hyacinthus); there is a displacement of Hadrian’s own feelings.

Rather, as Waters suggests by her epithet “decadent,” in tone and treatment of its subject Pessoa’s *Antinous* is Romantic or post-Romantic, Late Victorian, Aesthetic, fin-de-siècle, though it is dated 1915, first self-published in 1918, and reworked for the 1921 edition: squarely within the formative years of English Modernism.<sup>9</sup> The poem eerily evokes the poetry of 1890s. Take the Antinous stanzas from Oscar Wilde’s “The Sphinx,” cited by Sena (PESSOA, 1974: 65) as anticipating Pessoa’s tone of “ardência esteticista” (the speaker addresses a tabletop Sphinx):

Sing to me of that odorous  
 Green eve when crouching by the marge  
 You heard from Adrian’s gilded barge  
 The laughter of Antinous,  
  
 And lapped the stream, and fed your drouth,  
 And watched with hot and hungry stare  
 The ivory body of that rare  
 Young slave with his pomegranate mouth.

(WILDE, 1989: 542)<sup>10</sup>

The end of Pessoa’s poem, with its withdrawal of viewpoint onto the spent king, the haloed moon, and an unidentified swooning voice in the courtyard, leaves an impression of Wilde’s *Salomé*. Pessoa’s opening—

---

<sup>9</sup> See WEIR (1996) as Decadence as transitional between Romanticism and Modernism.

<sup>10</sup> First published in 1894.

The rain outside was cold in Hadrian's soul.

The boy lay dead  
 On the low couch, on whose denuded whole,  
 To Hadrian's eyes, whose sorrow was a dread,  
 The shadowy light of Death's eclipse was shed.

(PESSOA, 1993: 41)

—is more restrained than the address to Venus in Harold Acton's 1890s-style adaptation of Bion's *Epitaph on Adonis*: "O Cypris violet-stoled, O wrapped in purple woof | Arise and beat your azure-veined breasts! | Small jewelled nipples, bleed!" (ACTON, 1925: 9). But the ensuing suggestive, but unmistakable, recollections of reciprocal homoerotic frenzy are in the Decadent spirit, and (*mutatis mutandis*) we're always hearing the same lush blend—characteristic of English imitators of Symbolisme, the poets of *The Yellow Book* published by John Lane (with whom, twenty years after that literary phenomenon, Pessoa was in touch about publishing *Antinous*<sup>11</sup>)—of the language of Shelley's *Adonais*—or, better, Keats himself—distilled through Swinburne and fused, in Pessoa's hands (and not without leaving a suspicion of parodistic excess), with the Elizabethan extravagance and wordplay that features also in his *Epithalamium* and sonnets (e.g., *Antinous* line 20: "O tongue which, counter-tongued, made the blood bold!") (see RODITTI, 1962: 381). The poem impersonates poetry of the pre-war height of British imperialism and of its Elizabethan inception.

Tennyson's searching gaze into the British Museum Antinous' eyes has its fictional response across the Channel in Jean Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas* (1901, after serialization in 1899), whose titular hero finds a key instantiation (among many) of his obsession for a "chose bleue et verte," a "certaine transparence glauque" ["a blue and green something," "a certain glaucous translucency"], in the Louvre bust of Antinous: "Avec quelle mollesse et quelle chaleur à la fois savante et profonde ses longs yeux de mort se reposaient sur moi!" ["With what tenderness and what warmth both canny and profound his far-reaching eyes of death rested upon me!"]. This is presumably the Mondragone bust, whose eyeless sockets seem to the protagonist to require filling with emeralds. Du Plessis diagnoses Phocas's "eye-obsession" as the sign of a labile, distinctly turn-of-the-century eroticism (2002: 71). The eyes of Pessoa's Antinous are "half-diffidently bold" [l. 14], "now [...] too closed and now too looking" [l. 146]: he, too, is a teasingly elusive subject, a ready surface for projection of response to oneself, whether dead or alive.

Valuable historical studies of our poem's eroticism by Monteiro (2007) and Klobucka (2013) note that Pessoa's alterations between the 1918 and 1921 versions of the poem tend to reduce the negative evaluation of (homo)sexuality: "all his

<sup>11</sup> See *Fernando Pessoa: Correspondência 1905-1922*, edited by Parreira da Silva (PESSOA, 1999: 175).

vices' art is now with Death," for example, becomes "all his arts and toys are now with Death" (line 51) (1993: 42); "Love wanders through the memories of his vice" becomes "Love through the memories of his love doth roam" (line 165) (1993: 45). In those three years Pessoa seems to retreat—perhaps not so much from a negative stance toward homosexuality as from the late Romantic delight in "sin," which survives in such lines as 19 "O fingers skilled in things not to be told!" (barely changed from 1918's "[...] not to be named")—that abjection or recuperation summed up in Alfred Douglas's "I am the love that dare not speak its name," a Decadent valorization of shame, disease, malformation—that is, of *difference* under the various metaphors that difference receives from society.

## II.

The first line heralds Pessoa's performance of late Romantic affectations: "The rain outside was cold in Hadrian's soul" —a customization of Verlaine's "il pleure dans mon coeur | comme il pleut sur la ville," ["It weeps in my heart | As it rains on the town,"] with its correspondence between inner and outer worlds.<sup>12</sup> Why the emphasis on rain here and elsewhere in the poem, which is necessarily set in Egypt? Every conscientious Classicist knows from Herodotus (2.22.3) that rain is quite foreign to Egypt, which for moisture depends rather on the Nile (Antinous' killer). This is more London, Paris, or Berlin. The poem perverts a certain idealization of the Mediterranean: Aldrich (1993) entertainingly documents how the region, whose warmth and light were held conducive to sensuality and freedom from social inhibitions as well as from heavy clothing, was central to the homoerotic fantasies of northern Europeans for two centuries. John Addington Symonds's poem "The Lotos-Garland of Antinous" (in *Many Moods*, London, 1878, pp. 120-134) rather emphasizes the torrid setting of the Bithynian's demise, "With many a fringed mile of sultry palm | Shimmering in noonday sunlight" —Waters (1995: 208) rightly compares to that poem's tableaux the work of contemporary painters, like Alma Tadema, equally adept in recovering ancient and inventing Oriental scenes in sybaritic detail. Similar is Hugh McCulloch, Jr.'s "Antinous" (*The Harvard Monthly* 11, 1890, p. 72): "[...] this land, where thirst and famine burn | Death's incense"; or the vision described in the anonymous pornographic novel *Teleny*: "I saw a barren land, the sun-lit sands of Egypt, wet by the sluggish Nile; where Adrian stood wailing, forlorn, disconsolate for he had lost for ever the lad he loved so well." (1893).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Editor's note: Pessoa's French poem "La pluie bat la fenêtre..." ["The rain beats against the window..."] dated 9 February 1914, echoes Verlaine's famous lines (see PESSOA, 2014: 97 & 331).

<sup>13</sup> Quotation from INGLEHEART (2015: 149). On *Teleny*'s use of the Antinous story see INGLEHEART (2015: 149-51).

Pessoa's imagery participates conceptually in a northward *translatio imperii*. The erotic object Antinous as slave, as provincial, as Easterner coincides with European colonial concerns at this moment—even, or even especially, in 1915 and the following years. A node of Classicism and colonialism also concludes the stanza from lines 85-95, where “a memory of lust revives and takes” [l. 86] Hadrian's “senses by the hand,” [l. 87] and:

A creeping love-wise and invisible hand  
At every body-entrance to his lust  
Whispers caresses which flit off yet just  
Remain enough to bleed his last nerve's strand,  
O sweet and cruel Parthian fugitives!

(PESSOA, 1993: 43)

Again like Shelley's *Adonais*—with its personified dreams, loves, splendors, and echoes—personified whispered caresses, themselves barely existent, act upon the mourner<sup>14</sup>; but in this case they delude and taunt him, they are both sweet and cruel “Parthian fugitives,” like the cavalrymen of the Parthian Empire who, Roman poets frequently remind us, are “fierce in flight,” shooting arrows back at their adversaries even as they strategically retreat.<sup>15</sup> The caresses imagined by Hadrian combine Cupid's notorious arrow-shots with those of the enemies of Rome. To some extent the trope is ornamental, but it is easily connected with Hadrian's own contendings with the Parthian Empire, Rome's great rival for control over the eastern coastlands of the Mediterranean (objects of European Orientalist desire since the nineteenth century)—some provinces of which Hadrian himself found it prudent to yield back to the Parthian sphere, after their direct control by Rome in the previous reign. Love and empire employ the same strategy against an “Other” who acts while in retreat.

The poem's second half, in fact, is about the emperor's therapeutic strategies after both memory and necrophilia fail him, as it moves (in yet another trope adopted from Bion) between narratorial exposition, including injunctions to the mourner, and Hadrian's own monologue, his unfolding determination of how to commemorate Antinous and preserve their love, his choice of how to let the dead boy go. At about the halfway mark (line 179) he declares that he will make an everlasting statue; at line 204 he falters, lamenting, “Yet oh that this were needed not” and that Antinous were still alive in his multifarious sensuousness: a rose, a garland, a flame. But he promptly resolves anew to find an enduring form for love, a turn the poem attributes to “the gods” [line 225]. “All that thou art now is thyself

---

<sup>14</sup> A post-Decadent engagement with Shelley's *Adonais* is also evident in the war poetry of Pessoa's contemporary, Wilfred Owen; see REED 2006.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. VIRGIL, *Georgics* 3.31; HORACE, *Odes* 1.19.11, 2.13.17.

and I," he says in line 306, apparently struggling to adapt from Shelley a neo-Platonic sublimation (1993: 49):

Our dual presence has its unity  
 In that perfection of body which my love,  
 By loving it, became, and did from life  
 Raise into godness, calm above the strife  
 Of times, and changing passions far above.

(PESSOA, 1993: 49)

After all, he says at line 226, "Thy death has given me a higher lust— | A flesh-lust raging for eternity." (1993: 47). Hadrian's vision is of the future, posterity's memory of the two of them together (cf. 28-29 "He weeps and knows that every future age | Is looking on him out of the to-be") (1993: 41). To achieve this everlasting perfection in material, Hadrian focuses on the statues of Antinous that he intends to set up; the ancient portraiture becomes the poem's telos. "Yet thy true deathless statue I shall build," he meditated just above (289-293),

Will be no stone thing, but that same regret  
 By which our love's eternity is willed.  
 One side of that is thou, as gods see thee  
 Now, and the other, here, thy memory.

(PESSOA, 1993: 48)

"There is a kind of reverse Pygmalion myth in operation here," as noted by Waters (1995: 211) (cf. 218). "I shall to marble carry this regret | That in my heart like a great star is set" [lines 315-316] (PESSOA, 1993: 49)—in this image of Hadrian's concretization of his feelings one might hear the "great star" that "early drooped in the western sky in the night" in Whitman's elegy on Lincoln, emblemizing grief by metonymy, along with lilacs and ever-returning spring—perhaps also the audacity of Tennyson's Ulysses: "to follow knowledge like a sinking star | unto the utmost bounds of human thought." Hadrian's "regret" does not sink like a star and go away; it sinks into his heart and potentially abides—and so reminds me, too, of Bion's *Epitaph on Adonis*, where the goddess hopes to suck Adonis' spirit into her, down to the liver, and keep his love there united with hers, in that Greek poem's maddest and most fervent refusal to sublimate (lines 45-50). In Pessoa's subtext is the new star, observed by Hadrian, that Antinous was said to have become and that (like statues and flowers) made him eternal.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cassius Dio 69.11.4. The star recurs in poetry on Antinous. A sonnet by Ernest Raynaud ends with an image of Hadrian making Antinous "un astre au ciel bleu," ["a star in the blue sky"] conceiving that he saw "tes yeux s'ouvrir dans les étoiles!" ["your eyes opening in the stars!"]. Reginald Shepherd, eternizing in a way not alien to Pessoa's Hadrian, imagines Antinous as "a star to wish upon two thousand years from you" [...] "the star I can't make out [...]" (SHEPHERD, 1996: 75-76).

Hadrian's turn to consolation and even hope—the correlative to Shelley's *Adonais* 361 "He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he"<sup>17</sup>—comes at line 236: "Love, love, my love! Thou art already a god," (PESSOA, 1993: 47) and fully embraces Platonic sublimation: "a sight, to me allowed | [...] | A vision of the real things beyond | Our life-imprisoned life, our sense-bound sense" [lines 238-243] (1993: 47). He seems to have found his way back from Decadent materialism to an earlier style of English Romanticism, to a "subtler sense" [line 251]—but the materiality of the statue complicates things, and a Romantic claim of the imagination over physical reality makes some concession to that reality [lines 277-280]:

Therefore when now thy memory I bid  
Become a god where gods are, I but move  
To death's high column's top the shape it took  
And set it there for vision of all love.

(PESSOA, 1993: 48)

And so in the rest of his monologue Hadrian attempts a synthetic conception of the "true deathless statue" as "no stone thing, but that same regret | By which our love's eternity is willed" [lines 289-291] (1993: 48); marble will embody for all future ages, in posterity's responses to it, the dialectic of love and loss that now constitutes Antinous to him.

The poem's late Romantic tensions between material and immaterial forms of preservation—degrees of presence—are subtended by those between the one and the many. Antinous' posthumous portraiture, as we saw, was polymorphous, teeming with many divine and human shapes and costumes; so too Pessoa's Antinous in life, variously costumed to mimic the various Greco-Roman gods worshiped in marble or chryselephantine [lines 155-160]:

Now was he Venus, white out of the seas;  
And now was he Apollo, young and golden;  
Now as Jove sate he in mock judgement over  
The presence at his feet of his slaved lover;  
Now was he an acted rite, by one beholden,  
In ever-repositioned mysteries.

(PESSOA, 1993: 45)

But "now he is something anyone can be," the poem says with fin-de-siècle disdain, in a "stark negation of the thing it is" [lines 161-162]. Hadrian oddly (given the archaeological record) speaks about one statue, and even makes it

---

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MILTON, *Lycidas* 165 "Weep no more, woful Shepherds weep no more." The trope ultimately descends, through a long line of early modern pastoral laments, from the double lament in VIRGIL, *Eclogue* 5.

represent Antinous' divine status "calm above the strife | of times, and changing passions" [ll. 310-11, quoted above]. The emperor attempts a Shelleyan, Platonic misreading<sup>18</sup> of Antinous' many personae—a strategy for controlling his own love and grief? It has its correlative in the (military) reduction of many peoples to one, and indeed Hadrian sometimes seems to be projecting his own imperial rule far into the future in the form of this statue he desiderates, willing a negation of the Roman empire's diffraction into its European and Ottoman heirs as he wills a reduction of Antinous' polymorphousness into unity (or into a duality that includes both of them). In antiquity finding the essence behind the many faces, the reality behind the many masks (in this case beauty and the love beauty engenders), is a late imperial theological mode, finally satisfied (it would seem) by monotheism; in literature I think of Isis in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Book 11, who appears to Lucius in her Egyptian form—or rather universal form—to tell him who she really is despite the many names that she's been given and that she authoritatively recites to him. The "Orphic" hymns of (perhaps) Hadrian's own period are largely exuberant catalogues of different names and epithets of their divine addressees, finding a cumulative truth though multiplicity. Frazer, too, in his anthropology of dying and rising gods (which takes its cues from the syncretistic thought of late antiquity and has its matrix in the expansive explorations of the British empire) certainly wants to find the underlying essence behind many appearances. But again, Pessoa's poem offers no Frazerian certainties.

The poem's surrounding rain, "cold in Hadrian's soul," recurring at critical points in the narrative (lines 1, 7, 24, 48, 65, 171, and 342), stirring his mind in memory and desire, supposedly setting off some action on his part (including the idea for the statue at line 171), makes ambiguous his relation to the exterior world and ironizes this version of Romantic transcendence in a way that approaches Decadence as much as it does Modernism. Sabine, diagnosing the poem's "ecstatic dissolution of subjectivity achieved through sensuously promiscuous interaction with external phenomena" (2007: 150), connects its intersubjectivity and tensions between singleness and multiplicity to Pessoa's own protean persona. He is discussing in particular the encyclopedic string of recollected or attempted sensual acts at the bier in the poem's first half, a kaleidoscope of lust implicitly assimilating physical to intellectual possession. In its comprehensiveness it may vaguely recall scientific efforts like Krafft-Ebing's famous *Psychopathia Sexualis*, but in literature it is juster to compare the exhaustive inventory of pleasures available throughout

---

<sup>18</sup> Cf. SHELLEY, "Adonais: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats": "The One remains, the many change and pass; | [...] | Life, like a dome of many-colour'd glass, | Stains the white radiance of Eternity, | Until Death tramples it to fragments." (LII, lines 460-464). Pessoa's Hadrian promises that "This picture of our love [...] | [...] will loom white out the past" (lines 199-200) (PESSOA, 1993: 46).

Venus' domain in Aubrey Beardsley's unfinished account of the Tannhäuser legend, *Under the Hill*,<sup>19</sup> whose all-encompassing variety is Decadent in the style of Huysman's *A Rebours* or Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas*. Hadrian would seem to reverse the dialectic that is Havelock Ellis' structural definition of Decadence: "a further development of a classic style, a further specialisation, the homogeneous ... having become heterogeneous" (1915: 175): an antithetical recourse to the monistic white light of the Classical—or at least the Platonic—is not out of character for what we know of the historical emperor's tastes. But *Antinous* does not finally resolve the question of the one and the many, which is real and which is image. The prosopopoeia here, the play with the faces on the surface of things and probing of their independent existence, also continues in this poem—published under Pessoa's own name—a long tradition that Hadrian himself would have recognized.

---

<sup>19</sup> First published in a bowdlerized version in *The Savoy* in January and April 1896; privately published in 1907 by Leonard Smithers as *The Story of Venus and Tannhäuser* (London).



Figs. 1 & 2. Statue of Antinous, reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE). Delphi Archaeological Museum. Photos by Carlos Pittella (18 December 2014).

## Bibliography

- ACTON, Harold (1925). *An Indian Ass*. London: Duckworth.
- ALDRICH, Robert (1993). *The Seduction of the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- CADARIO, Matteo (2012). "Le molteplici e mutevoli immagini di Antinoo." *Antinoo. Il fascino della bellezza*. Edited by Marina Sapelli Ragni. Milan: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Lazio, pp. 64-77.
- DOVER, Kenneth J. (1989). *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1978].
- DU PLESSIS, Michael (2002). "Unspeakable Writing: Jean Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas*." *French Forum*, 27, 2, pp. 65-98.
- ELLIS, Havelock (1915). *Affirmations*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1898].
- FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo PIZARRO (guest eds.) (2015). *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer). North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth.
- FRAZER, James (1914). *The Golden Bough*. Pt. 4: "Adonis Attis Osiris." vol. 1. London. Macmillan. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1906].
- GOSSE, Edmund (1912). *Portraits and Sketches*. London: William Heinemann.
- HALPERIN, David M. (2006). "The Best Lover." B. Dufallo and P. McCracken, eds., *Dead Lovers: Erotic Bonds and the Study of Premodern Europe*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press, pp. 8-21.
- INGLEHEART, Jennifer (2015). "Putting the Roman back into Romance: The Subversive Case of the Anonymous *Teleny*." *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 144-75.
- JONES, Christopher (2010). *New Heroes in Antiquity: From Achilles to Antinoos*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- KLOBUCKA, Anna M. (2013). "Fernando Pessoa ativista queer: Uma releitura do 'Antinous.'" Unpublished paper. Web: [www.academia.edu/5592763/Fernando\\_Pessoa\\_ativista\\_queer\\_Uma\\_releitura\\_de\\_Antinous](http://www.academia.edu/5592763/Fernando_Pessoa_ativista_queer_Uma_releitura_de_Antinous) (accessed 18 November 2016).
- KOPELSON, Kevin. 1994. *Love's Litany: The Writing of Modern Homoeroticism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- LAMBERT, Royston (1984). *Beloved and God: the Story of Hadrian and Antinous*. New York: Viking.

- LIVREA, Enrico (1999). "Chi è l'autore di P. Oxy. 4352?" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 125, pp. 69-73.
- MADER, D. H. (2005). "The Greek Mirror: The Uranians and Their Use of Greece." *Journal of Homosexuality*, 49, 3-4, pp. 377-420.
- MEYER, Hugo (1991). *Antinoos: Die archaologischen Denkmaler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten*. Munich: W. Fink.
- MONTEIRO, George (2007). "Fernando Pessoa, He Had His Nerve." *Embodying Pessoa: Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Edited by Anne M. Klobucka and Mark Sabine. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 125-148.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999). *Fernando Pessoa: Correspondência 1905-1922*. Edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, vol. V, tome I.
- \_\_\_\_ (1974). *Obras completas de Fernando Pessoa. Poemas Ingleses*. Edited by Jorge de Sena. Lisbon: Edições Ática. vol. 11.
- RAYNAUD, Ernest (1888). *Chairs profanes*. Paris: Léon Vanier.
- REED, J. D. (2000). "Arsinoe's Adonis and the Poetics of Ptolemaic Imperialism." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 130, pp. 319-351.
- \_\_\_\_ (2006). "Wilfred Owen's Adonis." Basil Dufallo and Peggy McCracken, eds., *Dead Lovers: Erotic Bonds and the Study of Premodern Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 39-56.
- \_\_\_\_ (1997). *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RENBURG, Gil H. (2010). "Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous (SHA *Hadr.* 14.7); with an Appendix on the So-Called Antinoeion at Hadrian's Villa and Rome's Monte Pincio Obelisk." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 55, pp. 159-98.
- RODITI, Edouard (1962). "Fernando Pessoa, Outsider Among English Poets." *The Literary Review*, 6, pp. 372-85.
- SABINE, Mark (2007). "'Ever-Repositioned Mysteries': Homosexuality and Heteronymy in 'Antinous.'" *Embodying Pessoa: Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Edited by Anne M. Klobucka and Mark Sabine. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 149-77.
- SAPPELLI RAGNI, Marina, ed. (2012). *Antinoo. Il fascino della bellezza*. Milan: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Lazio.
- SHEPHERD, Reginald (1996). *Angel, Interrupted*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- VOUT, Carolyn (2007). *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WATERS, Sarah (1995). "'The Most Famous Fairy in History': Antinous and Homosexual Fantasy." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 6, pp. 194-230.
- WILDE, Oscar (1989). *Oscar Wilde*. Edited by Isobel Murray. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WEIR, David (1996). *Decadence and the Making of Modernism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

# Notes on Pessoa, *Inscriptions*, and the *Greek Anthology*

Kenneth Haynes\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Epigram, English Poetry, *Greek Anthology*, *Inscriptions*.

## Abstract

The *Greek Anthology*, in the edition and translation of William Roger Paton, was the model for the genre, mood, title, and often the style of Fernando Pessoa's *Inscriptions* (1921). Pessoa left considerable marginalia in his copy of Paton's translation, which indicate the poems he was particularly drawn to, mainly the epitaphic poems of the seventh book of the Anthology. In imitating these poems, Pessoa was participating in a widespread Victorian and Edwardian practice, which a few Anglo-American modernists also continued.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Epigrama, Poesia Inglesa, *Antologia Grega*, *Inscriptions*.

## Resumo

A *Greek Anthology* (*Antologia Grega*), editada e traduzida por William Roger Paton, serviu de modelo em gênero, tom, título e, frequentemente, estilo para a obra *Inscriptions* (1921) de Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa deixou uma considerável margem em sua cópia da tradução de Paton, indicando os poemas que mais lhe chamaram a atenção, principalmente os epitáfios do sétimo livro da Antologia. Ao imitar estes poemas, Pessoa tomava parte em uma difundida prática vitoriana e eduardiana, que alguns modernistas Anglo-Americanos também continuaram.

---

\* Brown University. Department of Comparative Literature and Classics.

The *Greek Anthology*, in the edition and translation of William Roger Paton,<sup>1</sup> left a direct imprint on Pessoa's published poetry in three instances, all within the decade of the 1920s: first, it was the model for the genre, mood, title, and often the style of *Inscriptions* (PESSOA, 1921), which consists of fourteen English epigrams and which is undersigned with the place and date "Lisbon, 1920"; second, unsigned translations of eight poems from the Anthology were published in *Athena* n.º 2 in 1924;<sup>2</sup> and thirdly, it is mentioned in the poem "P-Há" by Álvaro de Campos, dated "2-12-1929," (PESSOA, 2014: 21 and 73) where the speaker, feeling at a loss, decides to write his epitaph and refers ironically to the *Greek Anthology*.<sup>3</sup> As we would expect, the Anthology also influenced Pessoa's poetry indirectly, especially in the case of the heroic 'epitaphs' of *Mensagem* [Message] (1934) and in the Horatian voice of Ricardo Reis<sup>4</sup> (cf. PESSOA, 2016b).

The *Greek Anthology* is a very large collection, comprised of more than four thousand epigrams, mainly composed in elegiac couplets, and written over more than a millennium. It is divided into fifteen books, arranged by subject; an additional sixteenth book was added to it in the process of a complex textual history. Among the most famous books of the *Greek Anthology* are the fifth book (erotic poetry), the sixth book (votive or dedicatory poems), and the seventh book (epitaphs and poems on death). These three books contain the originals of the eight poems that Pessoa translated into Portuguese in 1924. The seventh book, epitaphs or sepulchral epigrams, is the model for *Inscriptions*. The books are not always as sharply divided by theme as their titles would suggest, however, and some of the epigrams from earlier books, as well as some of the admonitory epigrams from book 10 and the satirical epigrams from book 11, are also consistent with the mood of *Inscriptions*.

---

<sup>1</sup> The five volumes that comprise this edition of the *Greek Anthology* are extant in Pessoa's Private Library (PATON, 1916-1918; Fernando Pessoa House, 8-235); cf. PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010: 251).

<sup>2</sup> "Da Anthologia Grega," *Athena* n.º 2, November 1924, p. 50. The eight poems translated correspond to 5.34, 5.80, 5.81, 6.1, 7.16, 7.20, 7.441, and 7.469. Around the same time, Pessoa translated eleven additional epigrams: 5.11, 21, 51, 67, 77, 78; 6.7; 7.33, 84, 144, 348. Cf. SARAIVA (1996: 190-195).

<sup>3</sup> "Quero escrever o meu epitaphio: Alvaro de Campos jaz | Aqui, o resto a Anthologia Grega traz...." (PESSOA, 2014: 237) ["I want to write my epitaph: Alvaro de Campos lies | Here, the rest the Greek Anthology brings..."]. Imitating the Greek Anthology was a notorious pastime for writers who lacked inspiration. I believe that the lack of inspiration is the point of the irony in the context of this poem, rather than an oblique allusion to homosexuality (cf. CASTRO, 2013: 151).

<sup>4</sup> Horace's odes regularly draw on the Greek Anthology as models for mood and form. On the relation of some of the poems in *Mensagem* to the Anthology, see George MONTEIRO (2000: 8) quoting Jorge de Sena and discussing in particular "Epitáfio de Bartolomeu Dias" ["Epitaph of Bartolomeu Dias"].

In European literature, it is not generally possible to isolate the influence of the *Greek Anthology* from the influence of other ancient sources.<sup>5</sup> A given epigram may, for example, be present in the *Greek Anthology* in several versions; it may also have been quoted by other ancient Greek writers, or translated and adapted by a Latin one; and its themes and motifs may have been taken up by later lyric poets. Pessoa's epigrams do not always refer to a specific source in the *Anthology*, and sometimes echo Horace and perhaps Martial as much as they do Greek epigram: this has been the case with lyric poetry since the Renaissance.<sup>6</sup>

Western writers on poetics were often uncertain about the nature of the epigrams found in the *Anthology*; arguments focused on their length, meter, mood, genre, and relation to other genres. In particular, critics argued over the relevance of the historical origin of epigrams in inscriptions, that is, as writing attached to an external object, such as a tombstone. Pessoa, by entitling his English poems "Inscriptions," makes it clear that he is concerned with the epigram in this etymological sense, and above all as epitaphs.<sup>7</sup>

In the nineteenth century, Hellenistic poetry came into its own as a distinct object of critical attention, in particular with the essays by John North and Sainte-Beuve on Greek epigram. In England it had a particularly strong appeal, as Victorian literature shared with Hellenistic literature a feeling for having come after a major creative period. Both therefore sought to exploit the untapped potential of small forms; self-consciously foregrounded artificiality in sophisticated appeals to nature and to naive loves, often with a pensive or wistful tone; and elaborated sexual desire within strict conventions. Later in the century, the same-sex erotic epigrams, including some from the notorious Book 12 (on pederastic love), were explored and translated by writers including William Johnson Cory and John Addington Symonds, but until Wilde's trial this interest was easily overlooked in the concern of maintaining normal sexual hypocrisy. All educated gentlemen were comfortable and familiar with the *Anthology*. In particular, the late Victorian edition and translation by J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (1890, with many subsequent editions), was popular and influential. Translating Greek epigrams, and for that matter composing them, was an almost universal pastime for a certain class of men in England until the Second World War.

---

<sup>5</sup> I draw here and in the following paragraph on my "Modern Reception of Greek Epigram" (HAYNES, 2007: 565-583).

<sup>6</sup> See Pessoa's epigram on Martial in FERRARI and PITTELLA (2016: 216, n. 2).

<sup>7</sup> Pessoa's interest in epitaphs can be found as early as in the poetry of Charles Robert Anon, one of the first English fictitious authors he created while still in South Africa. For a description of Anon as well as some of his writings, see PESSOA (2016a: 139-156); an example of an epitaph attributed to this early English fictitious author can be found in PESSOA (2015: 17).

For instance, the *Athenaeum* published more than a dozen translations of epigrams from the Anthology in the year that Pessoa's book of English poems was noticed in it; George Monteiro has drawn attention to those translations, speculating that Pessoa may have intended his own *Inscriptions* for that magazine (MONTEIRO, 2000: 8).<sup>8</sup> One of the translators was R. A. Furness (1883-1954), whose subsequent career is very well-attested (he introduced Forster to Cavafy, his translations from the *Anthology* were subsequently published as books, and he won a knighthood). The other, P. H. C. Allen, was killed in France in 1915 at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five.<sup>9</sup> The stilted and archaizing English of their translations is instantly recognizable as typical Victorian "Wardour Street" translationese,<sup>10</sup> quite distinct from the oddly twisted diction and sometimes grammatically contorted language of Pessoa.

Modern poets in English took the *Greek Anthology* in two new directions. Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, and H. D. found in it a sympathetic source of imagistic expression, while Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* (1915), a collection of narrative epitaphs, offered perhaps the closest analogue in genre to Pessoa's *Inscriptions*. However, Masters locates the deaths in a contemporary American small town, while Pessoa preserves the referents to classical antiquity.

After Mackail, the most significant development in the English reception of the Greek Anthology was the appearance in 1916-1918 of a bilingual edition and translation of the whole work in five volumes by W. R. Paton (1857-1921).<sup>11</sup> Paton was a non-professional classicist whose inheritance allowed him to travel extensively in Greece recording inscriptions. He would marry into a Greek family and settle in Greece. Appalled by the English treatment of Wilde, he was actively involved in the campaign on Wilde's behalf. His scholarship was of a high order (he was supported by Wilamowitz), and his translations were sensitive to the

---

<sup>8</sup> In January 1919 the *Athenaeum* included Pessoa's English chapbooks in a "List of New Books" (p. 36). And on 30 January 1920 it published Pessoa's poem "Spell" (from *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of Pessoa's English poems that was rejected by a London-based publisher in 1917). This was the only English-language poem of Pessoa's to appear in England during his lifetime.

<sup>9</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 1 August, 1919, p. 680 gives his age at death as twenty-four; his grave at Le Trou Aid Post Cemetery in Fleurbaix indicates twenty-five.

<sup>10</sup> A typical instance is Allen's version of 5.170: "Nothing is more sweet than Love, all other joys are second; | Ev'n honey in my mouth is bitter reckoned. | This Nossis says, that whoso Aphrodite doth not bless, | What roses all her flowers are he cannot know nor guess" (*Athenaeum* [8 August, 1919], p. 713).

<sup>11</sup> On Paton, see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; The Dictionary of British Classicists*; Gideon Nisbet, *Greek Epigram in Reception: J. A. Symonds, Oscar Wilde, and the Invention of Desire, 1805-1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and J. Robert Maguire, *Ceremonies of Bravery: Oscar Wilde, Carlos Blacker, and the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Greek, slightly archaizing, and self-censored in relatively few cases (there are a few omissions, translations into Latin, and euphemisms, such as “fruition” for βῖνεῖν<sup>12</sup>).

Although Pessoa knew some Greek (see FERRARI, 2009),<sup>13</sup> for *Inscriptions* and his own translations he relied on the bilingual edition of the *Greek Anthology* by W. R. Paton in five volumes that had appeared in 1916-1918, shortly before his work on them. Pessoa himself noted, and defended, his dependence on the English translation:

Se eu citar, ainda que no original, uma phrase grega ou allemã, não vem a proposito dizerem-me, o que é aliás verdade, que não sei grego nem allemão [...]

Posso traduzir, atravez de idioma intermedio, qualquer poema grego, desde que consiga approximar-me do rhythmo do original, para o que basta saber simplesmente ler o grego, o que de facto sei, ou que obtenha uma equivalencia rhythmica.

D’essa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da *Anthologia Grega*.

(in PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 255-257)

[If I quote a Greek or German sentence, even in the original, do not accuse me of not knowing Greek or German, true though it may be (...)]

As long as I can feel the rhythm of the original or find a rhythmical equivalence, I can translate any Greek poem by way of an intermediary language. Reading Greek, something I can do, is all that is necessary. I have translated some poems of the Greek anthology in this way.]

In Pessoa’s copy of Paton’s bilingual *Greek Anthology*, he left marginalia to about 125 different poems, the majority coming from Book VII (the model for *Inscriptions*), with most of the others from books V, X, and XI. The pencil marks, the kind of marginal notations he made throughout, and the script in the eleven cases where it appears do not vary much in appearance, suggesting that his annotation may have taken place within a relatively concentrated period. Almost all the Greek epigrams he marked for attention, even the erotic ones, are on satirical and gloomy themes, such as the fickleness of love, the transience of beauty, the travail of prostitution, and death. Among them, epigrams by Palladas are particularly relevant to the mood of *Inscriptions*. For instance:

<sup>12</sup> 5.29: the Greek means “to fuck.” As Gideon Nisbet notes (p. 269), “fruition” is “at least lexically in the ballpark”; another version from Paton’s day translates it as “kiss.”

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted, however, that in his copy of Paton’s *Greek Anthology*, Pessoa twice made marginal notation to the Greek text rather than the English translation (cf. Annex II). Pessoa’s library includes a French schoolboy edition of the Greek text of *Prometheus Unbound* (then attributed to Aeschylus), which bears on the front flyleaf the name “Alexander Search” and the date “December, 1906.” It includes the scansion and marginal translation of a few lines; see FERRARI (2009: 39). The edition (*Prométhée enchainé*, ed. H. Weil, 1884) has the call number 8-177. There are a few Greek words in Pessoa’s archive, at times with Search’s signature accompanying them (e.g., BNP/E3, 79A-85<sup>r</sup>). For the most part, Pessoa’s study of the Greek language was limited to his university period (for a detailed account of his *Curso Superior de Letras* in Lisbon, see PRISTA, 2001).

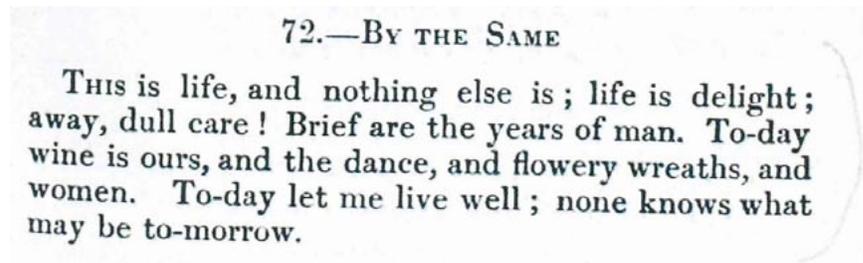


Fig. 1. *The Greek Anthology*, vol. I, p. 163, detail. Epigram by Palladas of Alexandria. Marked by Pessoa.

This is life, and nothing else is; life is delight; away, dull care! Brief are the years of man. To-day wine is ours, and the dance, and flowery wreaths, and women. To-day let me live well; none knows what may be to-morrow. 5.72<sup>14</sup>

I have only disjointed observations to make about particular details in Pessoa's English epigrams.<sup>15</sup> In *Inscriptions* I, "We pass and dream" may be an distant echo of Housman's translation of Horace, Ode 4.7, "we are dust and dreams." Earth "smiles" (*Inscriptions* I) in Greek literature, as in Homer, *Iliad* 19.362, the Homeric hymn to Apollo (l. 118), *Theognis* 9-10, and *Prometheus Bound* 90. The name "Chloe" of *Inscriptions* II occurs in two famous odes by Horace, 1.23 and 3.9. Many poems of the *Greek Anthology* are devoted to the death of a young girl or boy, as in this poem or *Inscriptions* VIII. The "toga o'er my head" of *Inscriptions* III may, possibly, be a reference to the "capite velato" ("with covered head") of Roman religious ceremony. Cecropian bees appear in Virgil's *Georgics* 4.177 and refer to the famous honey of Mt Hymettus.<sup>16</sup> Bees, like the toga, dice, and bowl that also appear in *Inscriptions*, appear regularly in the *Anthology*.

Pessoa's English has characteristically idiosyncratic features. The use of a single participial adjective modifying a noun, sometimes in unidiomatic or

<sup>14</sup> PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010: 13) note that Pessoa's final words, written in English and dated 29 November 1935, seem to echo this poem. Pessoa wrote, "I know not what to-morrow will bring;" Paton translated Palladas, "none knows what may be tomorrow." It is a commonplace expression known from the Bible (Proverbs 27:1, Ecclesiastes 7:14, James 4:13-14) and especially from Horace (Odes 1.9, 1.11, and 3.29; Epistles 1.4.13), but Pessoa's words are closest to Paton's version of Palladas.

<sup>15</sup> In accepting the invitation to write on Pessoa from the perspective of an Anglophone classicist, I have omitted the indispensable preliminary step of learning Portuguese and so have not been able to profit from Ana Paula Quintela Ferreira Sottomayor, "Ecos da Poesia Grega nos Epitáfios de Fernando Pessoa," pp. 85-95 of *Actas do I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Pessoaanos* (Oporto: Brasília Editora, 1979), and Yara Frateschi Vieira, "Pessoa, Leitor da Anthologia Grega," in *Remate de Males*, Campinas, n.º 8, 1988, pp. 53-65.

<sup>16</sup> S. E. Winbolt's edition of Book IV of the *Georgics* (1902) is extant in Pessoa's Private Library (call number 8-560). It was part of the set books during his Form VI in Durban High School during 1904. Numerous lines, including l. 177, are scanned or marked in Pessoa's hand. In the margin next to this line Pessoa penned "M[oun]t Hymettus" (p. 10).

innovative ways, for instance, recurs in many of his epigrams (purposed wisdom, peopled shades, breathing traveller, fed man, thought whole). Juxtapositions that reverse active and passive verbs, sometimes oxymoronic, are common: "Some were as love loved,<sup>17</sup> some as prizes prized"; "Dreaming that I slept not, I slept my dream"; "I was sufficient to whom I sufficed"; "Life lived us, not we life"; "This soil treads me, that once I trod." When Pessoa deviates from English usage, it is sometimes hard to know how deliberately innovative the words are intended. "All this is something lack-of-something screening" is odd and striking, as is the description of light as "sight-sick." But "Have been succeeded by those who still built" (for "by those who were still building" or "still continued to build") and "I looked toward where gods seem" seem to have been chosen for the sake of meter and end-rhyme rather than to renovate the resources of the language. Likewise, it is not clear whether his off-rhymes ("prized/sufficed," "too/so," "is/kiss") are careless or are participating in the early modernist experimentation in slant rhyme.

---

<sup>17</sup> Editor's note: in the original publication we read "loved loved." There are no manuscripts extant of this poem.

## Annex I

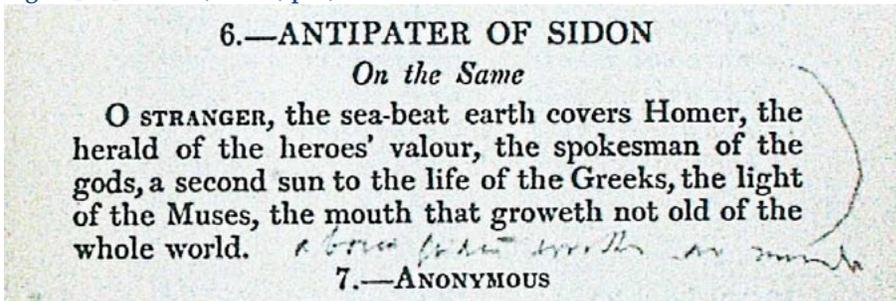
Epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* noted by Pessoa in the margin of his copy of Paton's edition and translation. For the items with asterisk, indicating cases where Pessoa's annotation was more extensive than usual, see Annex II for more information. The eight items followed by a dagger indicate that Pessoa translated them in *Athena* n.º 2, November 1924; the double dagger indicates the unpublished Portuguese translations (5.77, 6.77, and 7.84 are excluded for having no markings).

5.11 ‡	*7.80	7.372	10.87
5.12	7.96	7.441 †	*10.88
5.14	7.112	7.559	*10.96
5.21 ‡	*7.121	7.461	10.105
5.34 †	*7.133	7.468	10.106
5.39	7.144 ‡	7.469 †	10.108
5.40	7.173	7.494	10.109
5.41	7.178	7.533	10.113
5.42	7.189	*7.539	10.116
5.51 ‡	7.199	7.545	10.118
5.67 ‡	7.211	7.565	10.124
5.68	*7.217	*7.603	
5.72	7.219	*7.621	11.3
5.78 ‡	7.220	7.663	11.8
5.79	*7.249	7.663	11.43
5.80 †	7.254a	7.669	*11.47
5.81 †	7.255	7.670	11.89
5.156	7.256	7.671	11.198
5.158	7.258	7.676	11.215
	7.259	7.704	11.235
6.1 †	7.282	7.746	11.237
	7.306		11.310
7.3	7.309	10.3	11.333
*7.6	*7.320	10.26	
7.16 †	*7.334	10.31	12.228
7.20 †	*7.336	10.34	12.235
7.23	*7.337	10.38	12. 248
7.23b	7.339	10.47	
7.33 ‡	7.341	10.52	
7.39	7.342	10.58	API 13
7.43	7.346	10.72	API 248
7.62	7.348 ‡	10.73	API 301
*7.63	7.350	10.82	API304
7.72	7.355	10.85	

## Annex II

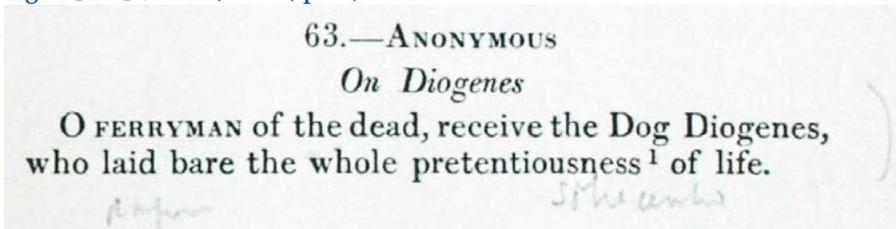
Details and transcriptions of Pessoa's marginalia

Fig. 2. [7.6] (PATON, vol. II, p. 7, detail)



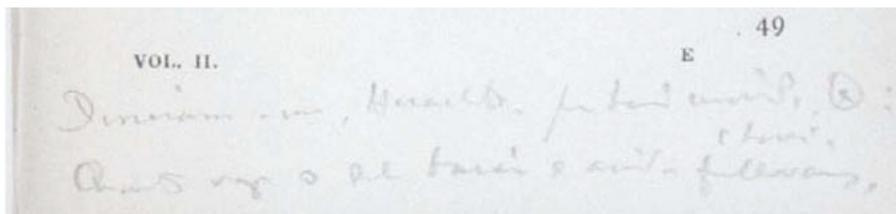
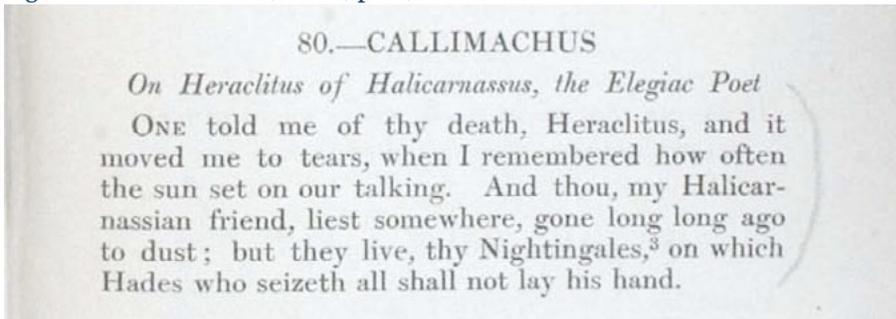
Translation: "a boca que não avelha no mundo"

Fig. 3. [7.63] (PATON, vol. II, p. 39, detail)



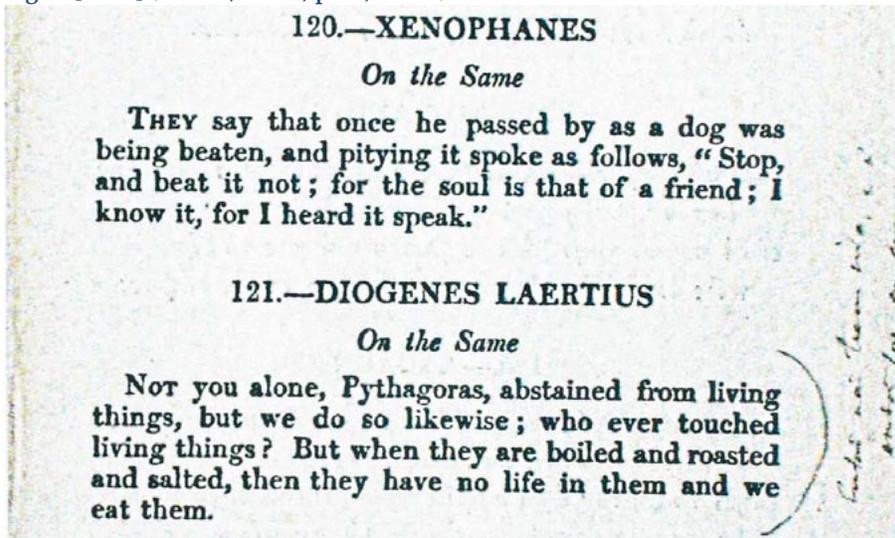
Translation: "rapou" "sobrecenho"

Figs. 4 & 5. [7.80] (PATON, vol. II, p. 49, details)



Translation: "Disseram-me, Heraclito, que haveis morrido: /e/ [↓ chorei]. Quantas vezes o sol baixa e ainda fallamos."

Fig. 6. [7.121] (PATON, vol. II, p. 71, detail)



Translation: "Então não teem vida, e é então que os comemos."

Fig. 7. [7.133] (PATON, vol. II, p. 77, detail)

Pessoa underlines the footnote as follows:

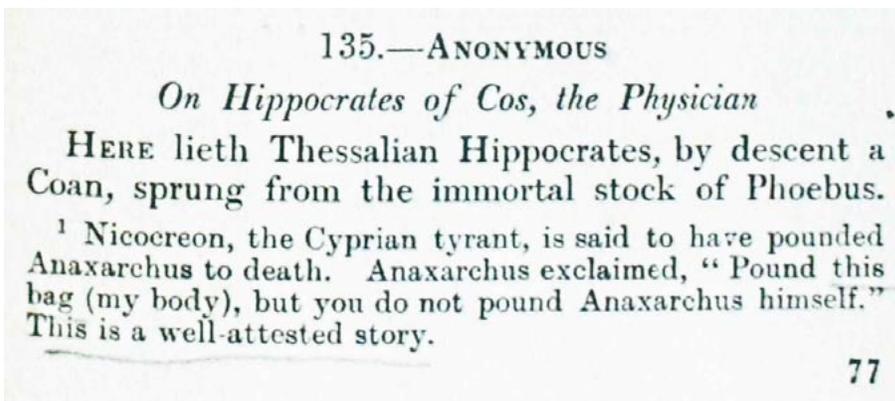
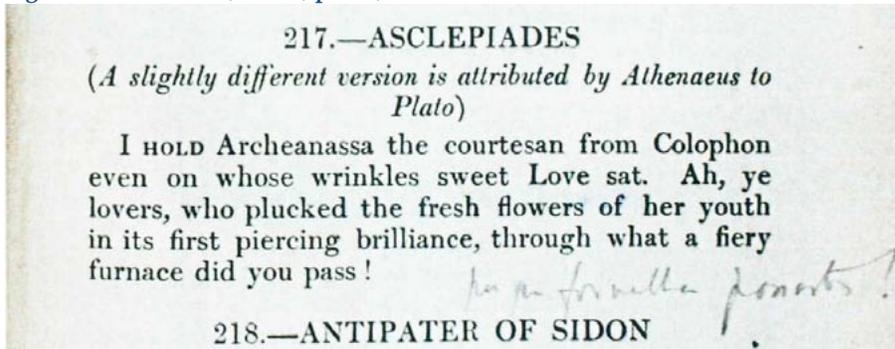
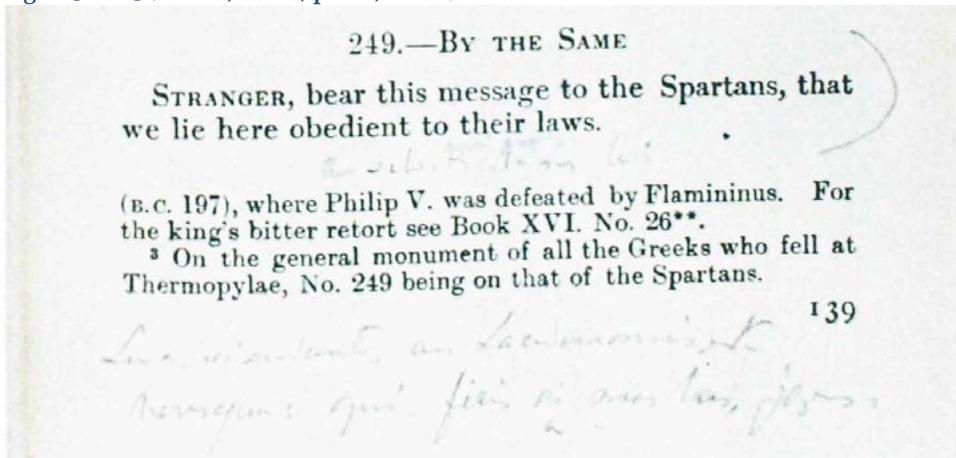


Fig. 8. [7.217] (PATON, vol. II, p. 123, detail)



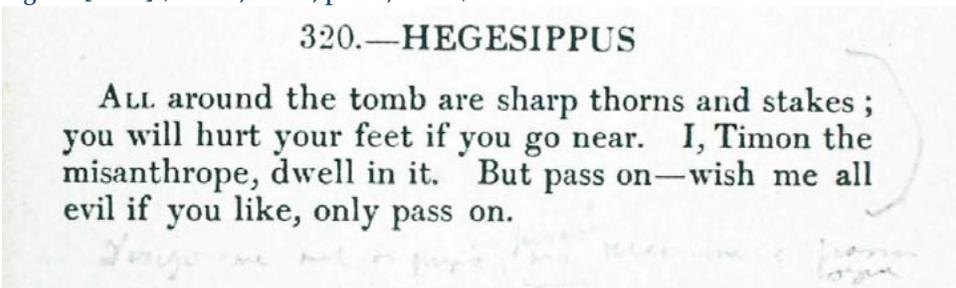
Translation: "Mas que fornalha passaste!"

Fig. 9. [7.249] (PATON, vol. II, p. 139, detail)



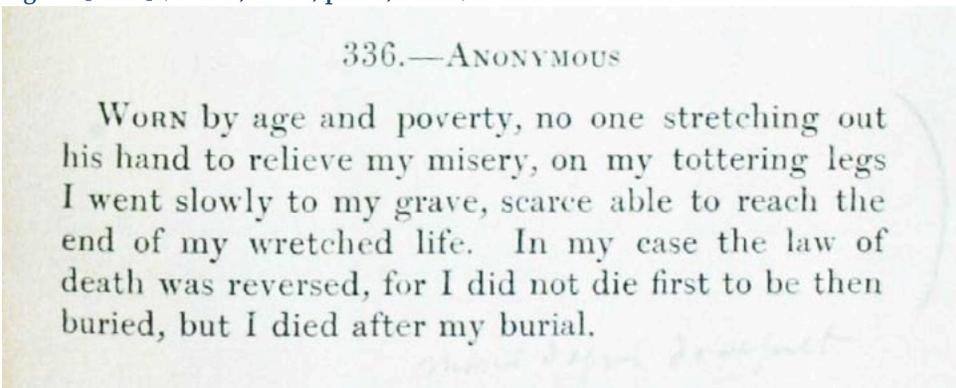
Translations: “[Que \*obedientes [↑ aqui jazemos] ás suas leis” and “Leva viandante, aos Lacedemonianos esta | Mensagem: aqui fieis ás [↓ a] suas leis, jazemos.”

Fig. 10. [7.320] (PATON, vol. II, p. 173, detail)



Translation: “Deseja-me mal se quizeres, mas [↑ pore] deixa-me e passa segue]” [↓

Fig. 11. [7.336] (PATON, vol. II, p. 181, detail)



Translation: “morri depois de sepulto”

Fig. 12. [7.539] (PATON, vol. II, p. 290, detail)

Pessoa writes a thin vertical line next to the Greek title.

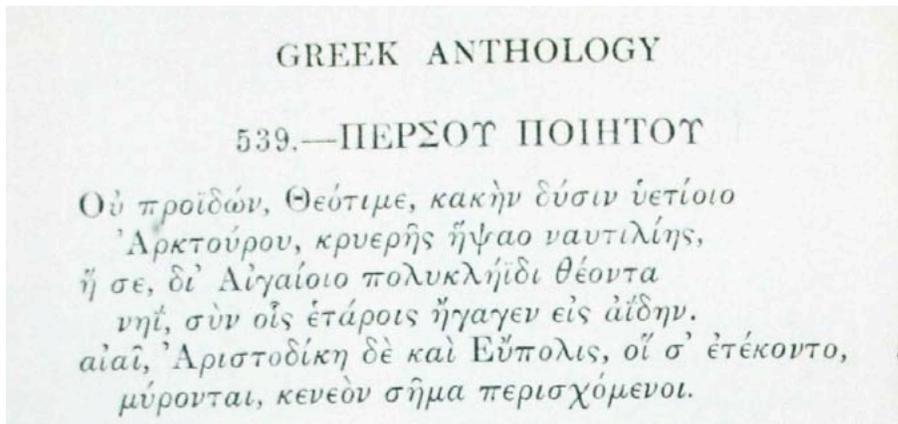
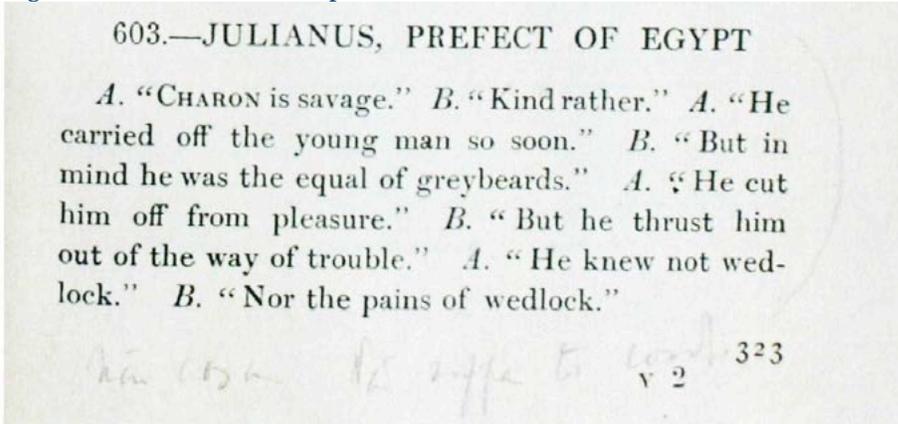
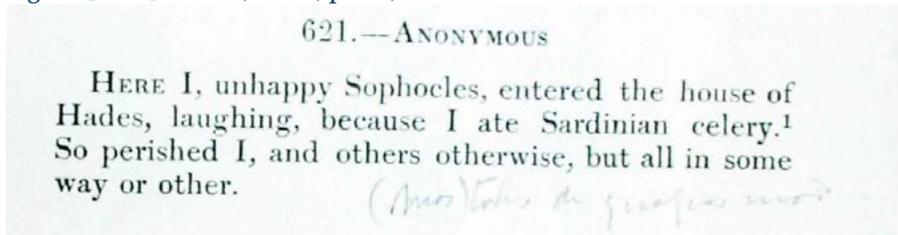


Fig. 13. [7.603] (PATON, vol. II, p. 323, detail)



Translations: "Não casa" and "Não soffre ter casado"

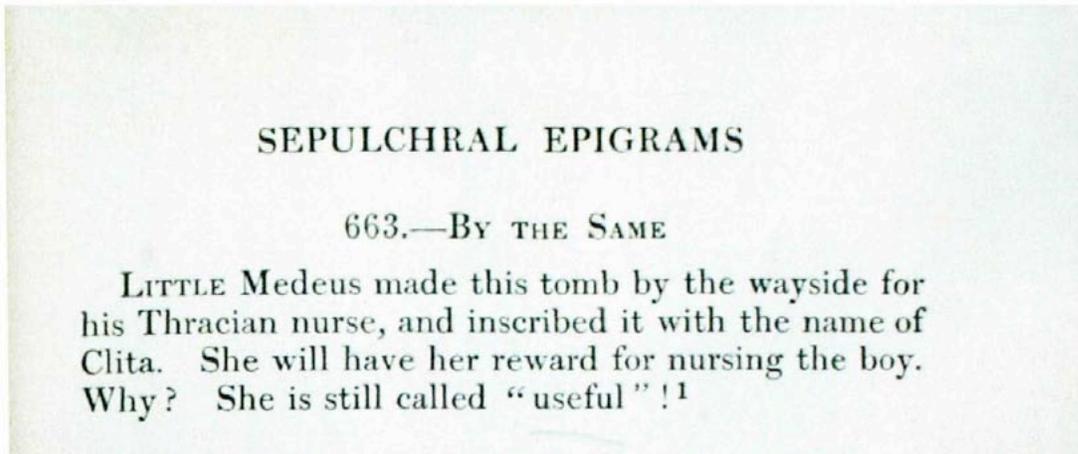
Fig. 14. [7.621] (PATON, vol. II, p. 333, detail)



Translation: "/Mas/ todos de qualquer modo"

Figs. 15 & 16. [7.663] (PATON, vol. II, p. 355, details)

The epithet "useful" is underlined in the translation:



Pessoa underlines the footnote:

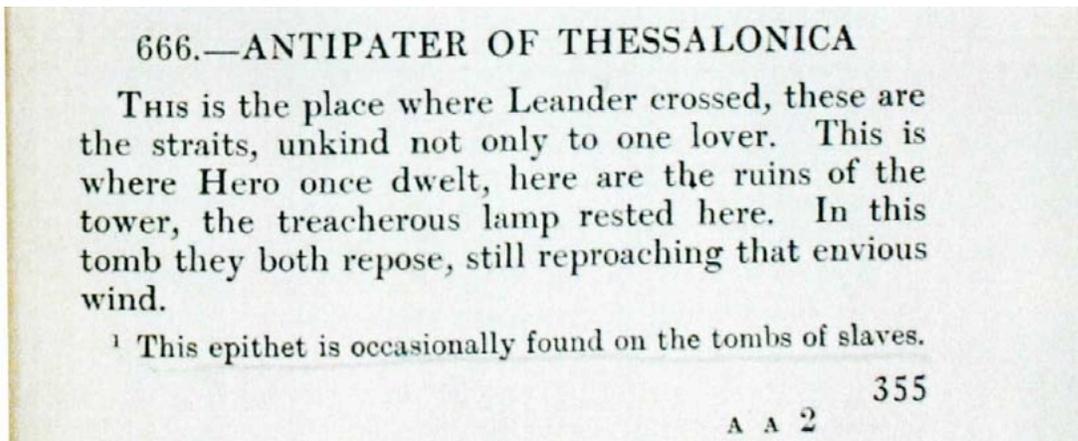


Fig. 17. [10.88] (PATON, vol. IV, p. 49, detail)

Pessoa underlines the opening clause:

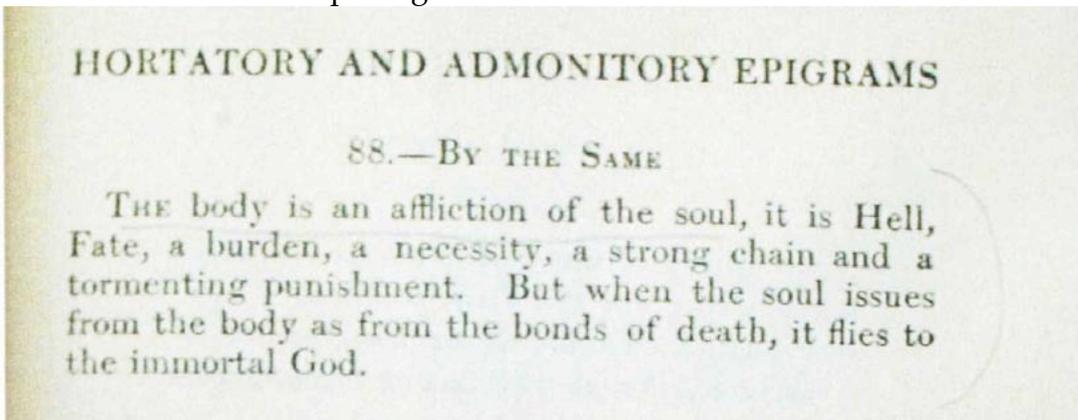
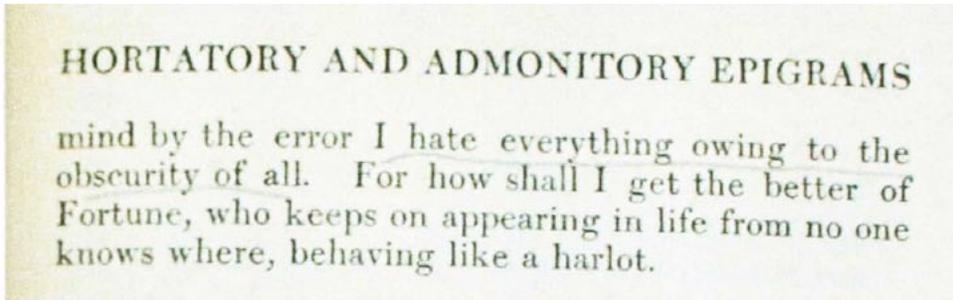
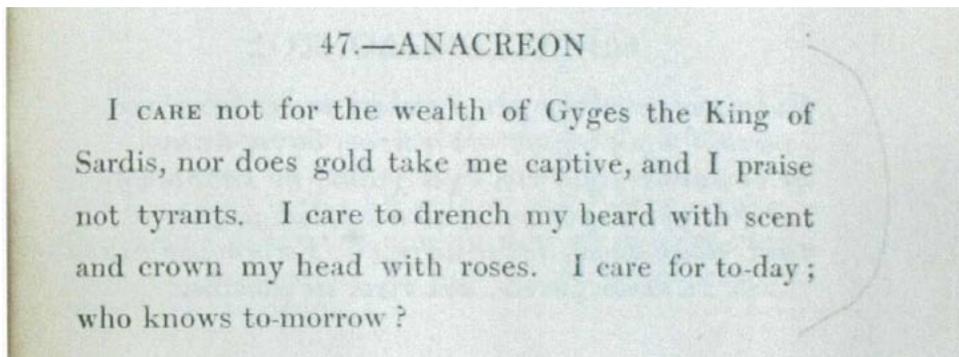
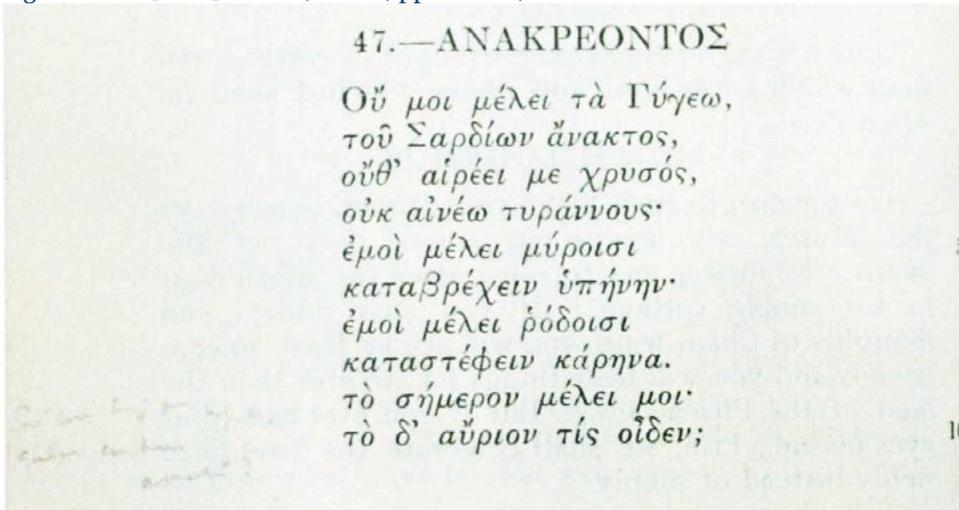


Fig. 18. [10.96 (PATON, vol. IV, p. 53, detail)]

Pessoa underlines the sentence:



Figs. 19 &amp; 20. [11.47] (PATON, vol. IV, pp. 92 &amp; 93, details)



Translation: "Só com hoje me importo. | Quem conhece amanhã?"

## Bibliography

- CASTRO, Mariana Gray de (2013). "Pessoa, Shakespeare's Sonnets, and the Problem of Gaspar Simões," in *Fernando Pessoa's Modernity Without Frontiers: Influences, Dialogues*. Edited by Mariana Gray de Castro. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, pp. 143-156.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2016). "Twenty-one Haikus by Fernando Pessoa," in *Pessoa Plural*, n.º 9, Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Spring, pp. 184-229.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2009). "Pessoa e a língua grega: o «murmurio humido das ondas»," in *Jornal i*, year I, n.º 169, Lisbon, 19 November, p. 39.
- HAYNES, Kenneth (2007). "Modern Reception of Greek Epigram," in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*. Edited by Peter Bing and Jon Steffen Bruss. Leiden: Brill, pp. 565-583.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- PATON, William Roger (1916-1918) (ed. and trans.). *The Greek Anthology*. Bilingual edition. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5 volumes. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-235].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa." [Hard cover edition 2013].
- \_\_\_\_ (2016b). *Obra Completa de Ricardo Reis* Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition. [First edition 2014].
- \_\_\_\_ (2014). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (1997). *Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, Tome II.
- \_\_\_\_ (1934). *Mensagem*. Lisbon: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira.
- \_\_\_\_ (1924). "Da Anthologia Grega," in *Athena*, n.º 2, Lisbon, November, p. 50.
- \_\_\_\_ (1921). *English Poems I-II*. Lisbon: Olisipo.
- PITTELLA, Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa Pode Mudar a Sua Vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House.
- PRISTA, Luís (2001). "Pessoa e o Curso Superior de Letras," in *Memória dos Afectos – Homenagem da Cultura Portuguesa ao Prof. Giuseppe Tavani*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, pp. 157-85.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa, Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas: os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Porto: Lello.
- SENA, Jorge de (1981). "Inscriptions' de Fernando Pessoa, algumas notas para a sua compreensão," in *Fernando Pessoa & Cª Heterónima* (Estudos Coligidos 1940-1978). Lisbon: Edições 70, vol. I, pp. 83-88. 2 volumes, [First published in *Estrada Larga*, Antologia do Suplemento "Cultura e Arter" de *O Comérico do Porto*, vol. I, Porto: Porto Ed., n.d.].
- VIRGIL (1902). *The Georgics of Virgil*. Book IV. Edited by S. E. Winbolt. With illustrations. London, Glasgow, Dublin: Blackie & Son. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-560].

# Blindfolded Eyes and the Eyable Being

## Pessoa, the senses, and the *35 Sonnets*

M. Irene Ramalho-Santos\*

### Keywords

*35 Sonnets*, Heteronymism, Performativity, Skepticism, Unity and Diversity.

### Abstract

This article revisits Pessoa's heteronymism (as performativity) in relation to the old issue of poetic unity/diversity. It examines Pessoa's epistemological skepticism, while handling the five senses in the *35 Sonnets*, in comparison and contrast with his so-called "obscene poems" and the rest of his poetry.

### Palavras-chave

*35 Sonnets*, Cepticismo, Heteronimismo, Performatividade, Unidade e Diversidade.

### Resumo

Este artigo revisita o heteronimismo de Pessoa (como performatividade), em relação à velha questão da unidade/diversidade poéticas. Debruça-se sobre o cepticismo epistemológico com que Pessoa trata os cinco sentidos nos *35 Sonnets*, em comparação e contraste com os ditos "poemas obscenos" e o resto da poesia de Pessoa.

---

\* University of Coimbra; University of Wisconsin-Madison.

*Ser a mesma coisa de todos os modos possíveis ao mesmo tempo*  
 [To be the same thing in all possible ways at the same time]  
 Álvaro de Campos, "A Passagem das horas"<sup>1</sup>

*Make thee another self for love of me*  
 Shakespeare, Sonnet X

In one of his novels, Helder Macedo suddenly brings Fernando Pessoa vividly to presence by telling his readers about a favorite Portuguese poet who wrote as if he were different people, in order to live as if he were always the same person ["escrevia como se fossem pessoas diferentes para poder viver como se fosse sempre o mesmo" (MACEDO, 2013: 40)].<sup>2</sup> Jacinto do Prado Coelho was the first critic to explain how Pessoa's poetic devices contribute to preserving both stylistic unity and aesthetic diversity. I still read Prado Coelho's *Unidade e Diversidade em Fernando Pessoa* [*Unity and Diversity in Fernando Pessoa*] (1950) with great pleasure and profit, but my approach here is somewhat different. I begin by acknowledging that the empirical man orchestrating the various heteronyms is always one and the same. Whether posing as decadent or futurist or both at the same time, whether impersonating male or female or both at the same time, whether assuming bucolic simplicity or inordinate sadomasochism or sophisticated artistry or all three at once, the man pretending is always the same. Whether lyric, epic, drama or theoretical and critical prose, or the prose of his poems, the man writing is always one and the same person, a *pessoa* hankering after aesthetic multiplicity: to be everything in every possible, poetic manner of being. As I look once again at Pessoa's poetry in English, Helder Macedo's witty description suddenly strikes me as signifying to perfection what Judith Butler calls performativity. Says Butler: "identities can come into being and dissolve depending on the concrete practices that constitute them [...]. To what extent is 'identity' a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience? [...] [T]he 'coherence' and 'continuity' of 'the person' are not logical or analytic features of personhood, but, rather, socially instituted and maintained norms of intelligibility" (BUTLER, 1990: 15-17). To revisit the heteronyms with Butler, we just have to switch from "real life" to poetic performativity. Leaving aside, for the moment, the coherence and continuity of the person I claim for the empirical Pessoa, I suggest that Butler's problematization of gender identities helps us to understand Pessoa-the-poet as he went on imagining concrete practices for his various impersonations.

---

<sup>1</sup> Line 3 from Portuguese poem "A Passagem das horas" ["The Passage of the Hours"], written *circa* 1916. See PESSOA (2015: 135).

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

Whether writing in English or in Portuguese,<sup>3</sup> either as a Portuguese or as an English poet, the man behind the manifold masks, that is to say, the *peessoa* constantly donning his many, ongoing, invented *personae*, is ever one and the same—a person whose poetic goal is to go on imagining multiple experiences (i.e. identities) of infinite variety. No doubt because in “real life” he felt in his own body the contradictions of diversity—as he sensed, in his conventional, socially heterosexual figure, homosexual longings<sup>4</sup>—the civic person Fernando António Nogueira Pessoa, as the artist he also was, could not help but imagine and pursue the powerful allure of multiplicity. Whatever the proclivities of the man behind the masks, sexual or otherwise, Pessoa-the-poet creates and performs all of them in his work.

This is why today we do not hesitate to acknowledge, after Jorge de Sena said it first many years ago, that “Fernando Pessoa” is but one more heteronym (SENA, 1974). As the famous *arca* [trunk] continues to yield new unpublished manuscripts, most of them perhaps never meant for publication, many Pessoaan scholars feel rightly entitled to claim more knowledge of the empirical-man-behind-the-poet, particularly concerning matters related to Pessoa’s sexuality. Often, not always, such knowledge leads to new ways of better appreciating Pessoa’s plural work in the context of the social mores and literary traditions of the West at the beginning of the twentieth century or in the light of new theoretical frameworks.<sup>5</sup> Suddenly, and not surprisingly, the English poems, relatively neglected for so long,<sup>6</sup> as well as Pessoa’s ambiguous relationship with them, catch more of the critics’ attention.<sup>7</sup> One of the critics just referenced (Mark Sabine), resorting to Lacan and Deleuze/Guattari, firmly links homosexuality to Pessoa’s major heteronymic explosion as a way of escaping compulsory subjectivity in the patriarchal order. Although I, myself, have suggested as much (RAMALHO SANTOS, 2003: 75), I would

---

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Patricio Ferrari and Patrick Quillier, we have now a critical edition of the approximately 200 poems the man behind the mask wrote in French as well. See PESSOA (2014).

<sup>4</sup> See the well-known, predictably sexist, autobiographical note about acknowledging in himself a (passive) feminine temperament coupled with a (presumably active) masculine intelligence, while fearing that his “mild sexual inversion” might “descend into his body” and force him to act as a gay person: “Não encontro dificuldade em definir-me: sou um temperamento feminino com uma inteligência masculina [...] Sempre [...] me inquietou [...] que essa disposição do temperamento não pudesse um dia descer-me ao corpo” [I find no difficulty in defining myself: I am a feminine temperament with a masculine intelligence [...] I have always worried [...] that this temperament disposition might someday descend into my body] (PESSOA, 2003: 186).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, ZENITH (2002: 35-56).

<sup>6</sup> But see SENA (1974 and 1982); EDINGER (1982); VIEIRA (1989). Closer to us, see FREIRE (2004).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ARENAS (2007: 103-123); MONTEIRO (2007); SABINE (2007: 148-177). Recently, thanks to Patricio Ferrari’s initiative, the poems Pessoa wrote in the English language have become center stage. I am alluding to “Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa,” a symposium held at Brown University on 17-18 April 2015.

like to add now that what Pessoa does, rather than attempting to escape male, hegemonic, phallic subjectivity, is to subvert it and call it radically into question by allowing for the proliferation of many different poetic identities. In other words, and in spite of the possible “sexual problem” of the man behind the masks, “homosexual Pessoa” strikes me as one more heteronym inside Sena’s *o heterónimo Fernando Pessoa* [the heteronym Fernando Pessoa]. Indeed, I tend to read the not particularly sexually-minded poet’s surmisings in the *35 Sonnets* (1918) as a huge footnote to the vociferous carnality of “Epithalamium” (1921) and the necrophilic sensuousness of “Antinous” (1918 and 1921). Somewhat like the interruptive gesture of “sensual” and “gross” Walt Whitman in Section 38 of “Song of Myself” — “Enough! enough! enough!” — the poet suddenly aware of the burden of being and feeling everything and everybody to the utmost bodily intensity. This is not to say that a new empirical Pessoa may come out of this. As Richard Zenith wisely warns, it is risky to draw conclusions on Pessoa’s civic person on the basis of poems that totally depend on imaginative faking (ZENITH, 2007: 20). Not to mention the fact that possible autobiographical material included in a poet’s work immediately becomes fiction.

Pessoa’s own justification for his “obscene” English poems is well known. In a letter addressed to his young admirer and future biographer, João Gaspar Simões, dated 18 November 1930, Pessoa argues that, by writing the homoerotic “Antinous” and the rather voyeuristic, ostensibly heteroerotic “Epithalamium,” he had wanted to get rid of that particular element of the “order” of “obscenity” to which he claimed every person is prey.<sup>8</sup> Writing those two poems and getting “obscenity” out of his system, as it were, was perhaps for him like a rite of passage: after having written them, the poet seems to intimate, he felt ready to engage “in superior mental processes” [“processos mentais superiores”] (PESSOA, 1957: 67-68). Curiously enough, however, the “obscene” poems are coeval with compositions that would thus be the result of what Pessoa no doubt wanted Gaspar Simões to consider “superior mental processes.” For instance, Fernando Pessoa’s “Gládio” and “Chuva Oblíqua,” Alberto Caeiro’s *O Guardador de Rebanhos* and “Poemas inconjuntos,” Ricardo Reis’s “Mestre, são plácidas” and “As rosas amo dos jardins de Adónis,” Álvaro de Campos’s “Ode Triunfal,” “Ode Marítima,” “Saudação a Walt Whitman” and “Passagem das horas.”<sup>9</sup> Not to mention the “obscene” moments in the great odes of Álvaro de Campos, whose “gaze is a sexual perversion” (“Ah, olhar é em mim uma perversão sexual” [“Ode Triunfal”]) and who sadomasochistically longs to be the passive body of raped women (“Ode Marítima”).

In a pathbreaking essay on Fernando Pessoa as an ontological mystery, Eduardo Lourenço characterizes the poet as the existential “absent I” [“o eu

<sup>8</sup> Composition dates of “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” are, respectively, 1913 and 1915.

<sup>9</sup> Creation dates of these poems range roughly from 1911 to 1916.

ausente”] (LOURENÇO, 1986). I claim, rather, that Pessoa-the-heteronymic-poet is the obsessively pluripresent I. The poet so multiplied himself that even the heteronyms had to have para-heteronyms inside themselves. The “Fernando Pessoa” heteronym manifests himself in Portuguese and in English, the English manifestations including stridently sexual (“obscene”) poems, that is to say, on the one hand, poems like “Epithalamium” and “Antinous,” in which sex and the concrete senses are major characters, and, on the other, quietly asexual poems, like the *35 Sonnets*, where the senses are conceptualized, called into question, and rendered abstract by philosophical surmise. While they overwhelmingly preside over “Epithalamium” and “Antinous,” the five senses are questioned in the *35 Sonnets*, whether explicitly or implicitly, as regards their perceptual power and epistemological trustworthiness; while “Epithalamium” resorts to coarsely sensual, graphic images to extol the fleshly pleasures of heterosexual intercourse (“flesh pinched, flesh bit, flesh sucked, flesh girt around | Flesh crushed and ground,” xvi) and while “Antinous” reimagines homosexual lust to turn a dead body into a “fleshly presence” (line 232) made of marble, the *35 Sonnets* wonder if reality or truth (or life) can be sensorily grasped at all; while “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” deal with mortal bodies of flesh and blood, in the *35 Sonnets* metaphysical reflections on the senses conceptualize the body and turn it into an abstract, immaterial presence. With one curious exception. If, indeed, the thirty-five sonnets may be read as a kind of counterpoint to the “obscene” poems, Sonnet IV seems to recast Hadrian’s monody in far more sobering terms as the poet’s loving memory and imagining (“my seeing thought”) cedes to the gruesome materiality of the beloved’s dead, decomposing body as mere “piecèd rot” (line 1).<sup>10</sup> Such intellectual questioning, if not suspension, of the senses is an aspect of the epistemological skepticism pervading the whole sonnet sequence. In sonnet xxviii we read: “I look, yet dream. | For sure reality cannot be this! | [...] | Only what in this is not this is true” (lines 2-3 and 8).

The English poems are not usually consensually considered to be part of Pessoa’s most remarkable or original poetic achievements. It is interesting, however, that several poets/scholars and admirers of Pessoa felt attracted to them to the point of wanting to appropriate them by translating them into their own language. As regards the *35 Sonnets*, to the best of my knowledge, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and José Blanc de Portugal were the first to translate them into Portuguese. In 1975, a bilingual volume of Pessoa’s English poems, translated by Fernando Dias, was also published in Lisbon (PESSOA, 1975). More recently, besides Luísa Freire’s new renditions of all the then known English poems into Portuguese (PESSOA, 2007), a few Spanish-speaking poets and scholars were

---

<sup>10</sup> I do picture Hadrian and Antinous in this sonnet, but all translators I mention in this essay read the beloved as female—except Sena, who keeps the ambiguity of the English.

tempted to render Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* in their language.<sup>11</sup> I suspect that what caught such scholars' creative eye was precisely the challenge posed by the cryptic meanings resulting from the very complex and highly convoluted diction of the sonnets or, as an English critic put it at the time, their "Tudor tricks" and "ultra-Shakesperian Shakespearianism."<sup>12</sup>

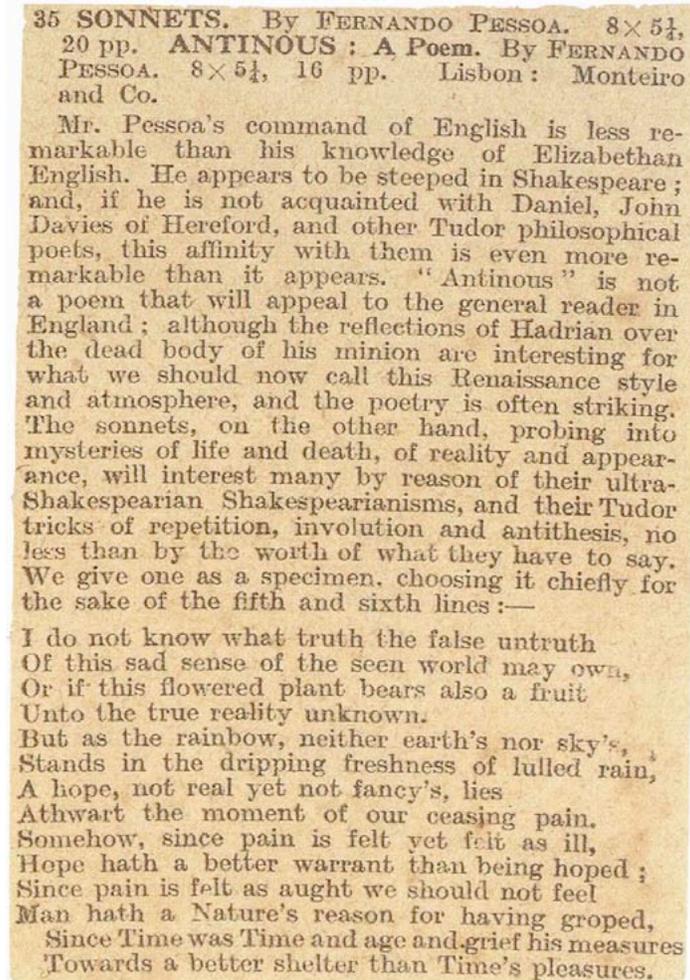


Fig. 1. Review of Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* and *Antinous* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1918, p. 11. Detail.

<sup>11</sup> For my purposes in this essay, I have particularly in mind the following: PESSOA (1988 and 2014). In his excellent *Posfácio* [Postface], Wiesse gives account of a couple of other translations into Spanish.

<sup>12</sup> Review of the 35 *Sonnets* and *Antinous*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1918. The review, however, was not totally unfavorable; another one published in *The Glasgow Herald* (same date), though not raving, was even more sympathetic. Many decades later, Esteban Torre speaks ecstatically of the thirty-five "diamonds of language" that seduced and challenged him into translating them, precisely because of their "enigmatic" mode (11-12). Interestingly enough, Torre became familiar with the 35 *Sonnets* through Fernando Dias's bilingual edition, unexpectedly found by him in an old Lisbon bookshop. How Shakesperian the "complexities" of the 35 *Sonnets* are remains to be fully ascertained, but cf. Sena, "Introdução geral" to *Poemas Ingleses*, 77ff., and Zenith, "Prefácio" to *Poesia Inglesa*, 23ff. See also (FREIRE, 2004: 207), as well as the contributions by Russom, Portela, and Saval in this issue.

Or perhaps the crabbed English of the sonnets, so unlike the two “obscene” poems, struck them, as it does me, as an oblique poetic statement that makes even more challenging the task of the translator. Be it as it may, the translators’ strategies range from trying very hard to honor semantic and formal fidelity (Sena, Wiesse) to embracing, in varying degrees, *la belle infidèle* (Dias, Torre, Freire). Because to translate is not to say the same thing in a different language, but rather to say a different thing in a different language, translations of poetry can be very useful to the critic-as-interpreter.

I borrow my title from Sonnet II, to which I will turn in a moment, but first I wish to comment on Sonnet XXXII:

When I have sense of what to sense appears,  
 Sense is sense ere ’tis mine or mine in me is.  
 When I hear, Hearing, ere I do hear, hears.  
 When I see, before me abstract Seeing sees.  
 I am part Soul part I in all I touch –  
 Soul by that part I hold in day with all,  
 And I the unsunned part, that doth make sense such  
 As I can err by it and my sense mine call.  
 The rest is wondering what these thoughts may mean,  
 That come to explain and suddenly are gone,  
 Like messengers that mock the message’ mien,  
 Explaining all but the explanation;  
     As if we a ciphered letter’s cipher hit  
     And find it in an unknown language writ.

(PESSOA, 1993: 82)

In this sonnet, the five senses are abstracted from human bodily perception and philosophically discussed as conceptualized, intellectualized, and personified entities providing no access to reality (the “body” of “Truth” in Sonnet II). The senses of sight (“Seeing”) and hearing (“Hearing”) are used here as examples, the assumption being that the poem’s reasoning would apply to the other three senses as well. The sense of Touch is there before my concrete touching; the sense of Taste, before my concrete tasting; the sense of Smell, before my concrete smelling. That the sense of touch is mentioned in this sonnet in articulation with “Soul,” capital “S” (“I am part Soul part I in all I touch”), is significant, since touch-as-sex is actually the sense that, however unmentioned as such in the poems themselves, turns “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” into an orgy of sensuality, that being the reason why Pessoa felt he had to term them “obscene” on behalf of his prospective readers. Equally significant is the fact that neither taste nor smell is ever mentioned in Sonnet XXXII (or any other of the thirty-five sonnets). Taste, smell, and touch were conceived of by the hegemonic western philosophical tradition as the baser senses. Descartes’s *cogito ergo sum*, distinguishing the disembodied mind from the

experiencing body and hierarchizing them, would be corrected only much later by Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of the body which put the empirical/epistemic subject firmly in the physical world via the senses and sensation, thus turning "I think therefore I am" into "I exist therefore I think" (MERLEAU-PONTY, 1945). On the other hand, heavily influenced by Christianity, mainstream western philosophy and science have never had much respect for the fleshly senses in general. Just think of Augustine's temptations of the lust of the senses in his widely influential *Confessions*. Sight might be tolerated but only because, the notion went, it is the mind that "sees," not the eye (as is actually made clear in Sonnet XXI).<sup>13</sup> The same can be said of hearing. In Sonnet XXXII, the senses are totally disembodied: the eye (I) does not see, "abstract Seeing" (line 4) does; the ear does not hear, (abstract) Hearing does. Sense is there, being sense, before the "I" senses. And when the "I" presumes to sense, a mistake is bound to occur. The physical, concrete senses are definitely not reliable or trustworthy as a path to the knowledge of reality. Trusting the senses is like attempting to read a ciphered letter without knowing the relevant codes. Better to rely on thinking, for thinking alone grasps reality, if only by making it up: "thinking nought does on nought being confer" (line 9). Of the translations I have convened to help me read the English sonnets, only Sena's, Dias's and Torre's keep the crucial adjective "abstract" in "abstract Seeing." Wiese renders it as "el Ver puro," perhaps echoing Benjamin's "reine Sprache," whereas Freire drops the epithet altogether. In Freire's case, there are obvious, sound, and metrical reasons for an erasure that is part of a rarefying process running throughout her translation of the whole series, putting in this particular sonnet a slight emphasis on the subject's actual agency. A fine example is the rendition of the first line of the second quatrain: "I am part Soul part I in all I touch" ["No que toco, em partes Alma e Eu"]. The result is a completely different, but by no means lesser, poem.

I turn now to Sonnet II:

If that apparent part of life's delight  
 Our tingled flesh-sense circumscribes were seen  
 By aught save reflex and co-carnal sight,  
 Joy, flesh and life might prove but a gross screen.  
 Haply Truth's body is no eyable being,  
 Appearance even as appearance lies,  
 Haply our close, dark, vague, warm sense of seeing  
 Is the choked vision of blindfolded eyes.

---

<sup>13</sup> Merleau-Ponty discusses this position in *Phénoménologie de la perception*, 263ff, the work in which consciousness is redefined as sense perceptive (467) (Page numbers refer to the online copy). In his recent work, Boaventura de Sousa Santos has been analyzing the consequences of the problem of the hierarchization of the senses for knowledge pursuit in contemporary social sciences (SANTOS, 2014).

Wherefrom what comes to thought's sense of life? Nought.  
 All is either the irrational world we see  
 Or some aught-else whose being-unknown doth rot  
 Its use for our thought's use. Whence taketh me  
     A qualm-like ache of life, a body-deep  
     Soul-hate of what we seek and what we weep.

(PESSOA, 1993: 67)

In this sonnet the “sense of seeing” is also radically questioned, but the questioning is clearly painful. This is very interesting because, at about the same time, the same person behind the performative-heteronymic masks was inventing Alberto Caieiro, the poet who claims not to be a poet because he is rather *all blissfully made of seeing*. As if giving the lie to Caieiro, or perhaps hinting at Caieiro’s sickness in poems XV through XIX of *O Guardador de Rebanhos* [*The Keeper of Sheep*], Sonnet II surmises, paradoxically, that the human, carnal sense of sight might well be blind. What could be a very concrete and palpable image of reality—the *body* of truth being *eyed*—is pictured as not graspable at all by the concrete organ of the sense of sight—the eye itself: “Haply Truth’s body is no eyable being” (line 5). To say that reality is not eyeable is technically the same as to say that reality is not visible, or that it is invisible, as three of the translators referred above have it (Sena, Dias and Freire). The translations that Torre and Wiese propose for this line, however, help us to realize the exactness of the poet’s phrasing and its implications for the overall conception of the sonnet. While Torre’s rendition calls further attention to the physicality of the senses by shifting from seeing to hearing—“Mas, ciertamente, la Verdad es muda”—Wiese puts the emphasis on the physically seeing subject: “Puede ser que no veamos la verdad.” The repetition of “haply” in the fifth and seventh lines shows that the conjecture shaping the poem is actually twofold: perhaps our eyes are blind to reality, or can only grasp it as “a gross screen”; or perhaps there is nothing *real* out there to be seen at all (let alone physically grasped): “Appearance even as appearance lies, | Haply our close, dark, vague, warm sense of seeing | Is the choked vision of blindfolded eyes” (lines 6-8). The poem surmises not just about the capacity of human eyes to see reality but also about the reality of reality itself. Our eyes cannot see because there is nothing there to be seen, since whatever is there is unknowable. Nothingness is thus what presides over sense perception: “Wherefrom what comes to thought’s sense of life? Nought” (line 9). The sonnet constructs sensorial impotence and helplessness before a world that is, in turn, totally incomprehensible (“irrational”) (line 10). As if the good-for-nothing senses could not but contaminate “thought” itself: “All is either the irrational world we see | Or some aught-else whose being-unknown doth rot | Its use for our thought’s use” (lines 10-12). Of the translators I have convened here, Dias and Freire best capture the sonnet’s intricate conclusion. (“Whence taketh me”) (line 12): the poet’s tormented surmises could not but lead to physical and spiritual anguish, despair, powerlessness, and self-deprecation.

Let me now convene Sonnet xxv:

We are in Fate and Fate's and do but lack  
 Outness from soul to know ourselves its dwelling,  
 And do but compel Fate aside or back  
 By Fate's own immanence in the compelling.  
 We are too far in us from outward truth  
 To know how much we are not what we are,  
 And live but in the heat of error's youth,  
 Yet young enough its acting youth to ignore.  
 The doubleness of mind fails us, to glance  
 At our exterior presence amid things,  
 Sizing from otherness our countenance  
 And seeing our puppet will's act-acting strings.  
     An unknown language speaks in us, which we  
     Are at the words of, fronted from reality.

(PESSOA, 1993: 79)

This sonnet helps us to realize that the poet of the thirty-five sonnets conceives of “us” (and of himself) as if without carnal senses. Without senses, meaning is inaccessible to us (“incommunicable,” as Sonnet I has it), whether it be the sense of the world or the sense of ourselves. We lack “outness from soul” (Sonnet xxv, line 2) to comprehend ourselves as physically living in the world (or “in Fate”) (line 1). Incapable of grasping the “outward truth” (line 5) of reality (or the world), we know nothing about ourselves either, and ultimately discover ourselves to be mere marionettes manipulatable by unfathomable otherness. The foreignness of language, a language we don't speak and rather speaks us, thus totally barring (*fronting*) us from reality, fully confirms the epistemological skepticism of the sonnet sequence. Sonnet I had already set the tone by insisting on the unbridgeable distance between subject and object that hinders meaningful representation and communicability: “What we are | Cannot be transfused into word or mien” (lines 2-3).

Finally, for my approach in this essay, Sonnet XXI is by far the most interesting. It actually reads rather like a gloss on the whole idea underlying the 35 *Sonnets*, that is to say, the idea that the senses are unreliable, that thought makes up for the unreliability of the senses, but that thought, in turn, must rely on the senses, even though the senses end up producing only mental abstractions.

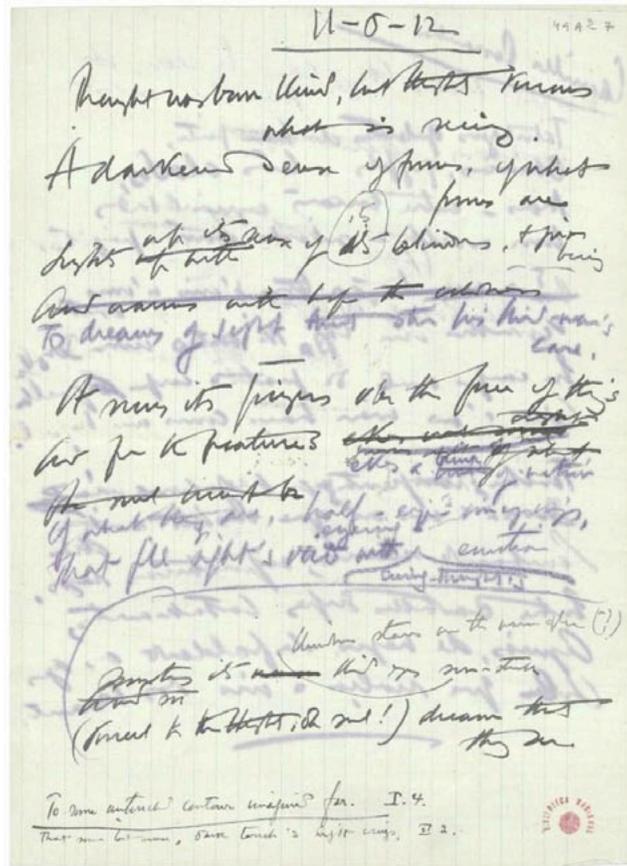


Fig. 2. Ms. of Sonnet XXI, (BNP/E3, 49A<sup>3-7</sup>).

The fascinating thing about this sonnet is its use of the sense of touch, one of the so-called baser senses because of its obvious physicality, as the touchstone, as it were, not of sensorial, but intellectual perception. Though born blind, thought knows what seeing is, perhaps, paradoxically, because of touch:

Thought was born blind, but Thought knows what is seeing.  
 Its careful touch, deciphering forms from shapes,  
 Still suggests form as aught whose proper being  
 Mere finding touch with erring darkness drapes.  
 Yet whence, except from guessed sight, does touch teach  
 That touch is but a close and empty sense?  
 How does mere touch, self-uncontented, reach  
 For some truer sense's whole intelligence?  
 The thing once touched, if touch be now omitted,  
 Stands yet in memory real and outward known,  
 So the untouching memory of touch is fitted  
 With sense of a sense whereby far things are shown.  
 So, by touch of untouching, wrongly aright,  
 Touch' thought of seeing sees not things but Sight.

(PESSOA, 1993: 77)

What does it mean to proclaim thought blind and, at the same time, endow it with the sense of touch? This is part of the epistemological paradox the thirty-five sonnets as a whole perform. The misperceptions of the senses, the poems suggest, are no pathway to understanding reality, knowledge, life or the truth; better to trust the intellect to grasp the body of truth. But what if the intellect is dependent on the senses for its very being? What if thought could not do without touch? Could the poet finally realize, Lucretius-like, that touch “corporis est sensus | is the bodily sense” (LUCRETIUS, 1953: 114-115)? I get some insight about the sonnet’s paradoxes from my translators. Could it be that thought is impaired by the rivalry of the senses, sight denouncing touch as empty, as Torre’s version suggests? (“¿Si no es de la visión, de dónde viene | que el tacto sea un sentido pobre y huero?”). Or is it touch that imprints reality on the mind in the form of memory, as Freire has it? (“A coisa omitida, uma vez tocada | Na memória está, sabida e real”). In other words, what if sense *thinks*? Didn’t the heteronym Fernando Pessoa also wonder once at his “thinking senses” (Sonnet XXIII) (line 3) in “Ela canta, pobre ceifeira?” (“O que em mim sente ‘stá pensando” (“What in me feels is thinking” [PESSOA, 1969: 144]). Could Merleau-Ponty have read Pessoa? Not probable, but his essay on the phenomenology of perceptions gets inspiration from numberless poets and artists. The truth is that poets and artists have never been able *to think* without the *senses*. Rimbaud was right when he said that poetry always goes *en avant* (letter to Paul Demeny, 15 May 1871).

The disquieting sense paradoxes we encounter in the 35 *Sonnets*, so brilliantly reenacted in 1930 in the *Livro do Desassossego* [*Book of Disquiet*] (“Sentir tudo de todas as maneiras; saber pensar com as emoções e sentir com o pensamento”) (PESSOA, 2010: 229) [“Feeling everything in every way; knowing how to think with the emotions and how to feel with thinking”], are also characteristic of the tormented poetry of Portuguese Fernando Pessoa and Álvaro de Campos, as well as of the seemingly serenely accepting odes of Ricardo Reis. At its root may well be a reconsideration of what William Blake once termed one of the greatest errors of all “Bibles or sacred codes”: the distinction between body and soul (or mind), privileging the mind as the sole organ of knowledge and understanding. Blake’s relevant text is “The Voice of the Devil” in his Dionysian *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790-1793), and it is important to quote it here in full (BLAKE, 1968: 34):

All Bibles or sacred codes have been the causes of the following Errors.

1. That Man has two real existing principles Viz: a Body & a Soul.
2. That Energy, call’d Evil, is alone from the Body, & that Reason, call’d Good, is alone from the Soul.
3. That God will torment Man in Eternity for following his Energies.

But the following Contraries to these are True<sup>14</sup>

1. Man has no Body distinct from his Soul for that call'd Body is a portion of Soul discern'd by the five Senses, the chief inlets of Soul in this age
2. Energy is the only life and is from the Body and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy.
3. Energy is Eternal Delight

The first of Blake's "contraries" is underlined in Pessoa's copy of Blake's works:

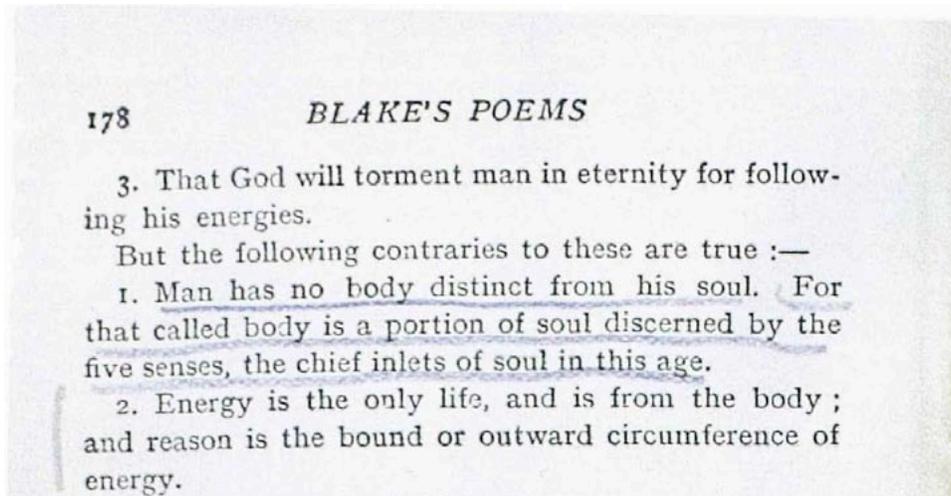


Fig. 3. William Blake, *Poems of William Blake*, n.d. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44]. Pessoa's markings.

No wonder the name of William Blake, together with that of Walt Whitman, appears in Pessoa's notes on sensationism. In the draft of a letter written in French, probably dated 1915 and apparently to be sent to Marinetti by Álvaro de Campos, the poet presents himself as the only and true "*sensationist*" (italics in the original), while indicating Blake and Whitman as his intellectual ancestry in this regard (PESSOA, 2009: 377). In another letter probably dated 1916—this time in English and presumably addressed to an English publisher, but also coeval with the English poems I deal with here—Pessoa explains that in the poetry of the "sensationist" (quotation marks in the original) "spirit and matter are interpenetrated and inter-transcended." Further down, he goes on to disclose "the central attitude of Sensationism" (PESSOA, 2009: 401-404). Reading this document today, it is difficult not to smile at Pessoa's rash and opinionated pronouncements on Shakespeare and Milton ("I tend more and more to put Milton above Shakespeare as a poet") coupled with his provocative confession of fickleness ("I try hard not to be the same thing three minutes running, because that is bad aesthetic hygiene"). But it is interesting to find in this irreverent sensationist's self-promotion a theoretical projection of the kind of "organized whole" he missed in Shakespeare and praised

<sup>14</sup> My emphasis.

in Milton. "The only reality in life," he states, "is sensation. The only reality in art is consciousness of the sensation." I suggest that these notes on sensationism, authored by the heteronymic poet roughly at the same time that the English poems I here deal with were also being composed, by implicitly bringing mind and the senses together, put in perspective the unity that Prado Coelho many years ago grasped in Pessoa's poetic production, including the English poems of the "heterónimo Fernando Pessoa." We could do worse than "eyeing" multiple Pessoa's works as the "body" of his performative "truth."

## Bibliography

- ARENAS, Fernando (2007). "Fernando Pessoa. The Homoerotic Drama." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 103-123.
- BENJAMIN, Walter (1923). "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers." <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/-6569/2>
- BLAKE, William (1968). *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* ("The Voice of the Devil"), in *The Poetry and Prose*. Edited by David V. Erdman; commentary by Harold Bloom. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- \_\_\_\_\_. [n.d.]. *Poems of William Blake*. Edited by W. B. Yeats. London: George Routledge and Sons Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton & CO. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44].
- BUTLER, Judith (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- CANTY QUINLAN, Susan; ARENAS, Fernando (2002). *LUSOSEX. Gender and Sexuality in the Portuguese-speaking World*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- COELHO, Jacinto do Prado (1985). *Unidade e Diversidade em Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon: Editorial Verbo. [First edition, 1950].
- EDINGER, Catherine (1982). *A Metáfora e o Fenómeno Amoroso nos Poemas Ingleses de Fernando Pessoa*. Porto: Brasília.
- FREIRE, Luísa (2004). *Fernando Pessoa: entre vozes, entre línguas*. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- KLOBUCKA, Anna M.; SABINE, Mark (2007) (eds.). *Embodying Pessoa. Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- LOURENÇO, Eduardo (1986). *Fernando, Rei da Nossa Baviera*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1986). "Fernando Pessoa ou o não-amor." *Fernando, rei da nossa Baviera*, pp. 57-79.
- LUCRETIVUS (1953). *De Rerum Natura*. Translated by W. H. Rouse Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. The Loeb Classical Library.
- MACEDO, Helder (2013). *Tão Longo Amor Tão Curta a Vida*. Lisbon: Presença.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, Maurice (1945). *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Gallimard.  
[http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/merleau\\_ponty\\_maurice/phenomenologie\\_de\\_la\\_perception/phenomenologie\\_de\\_la\\_perception.pdf](http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/merleau_ponty_maurice/phenomenologie_de_la_perception/phenomenologie_de_la_perception.pdf)
- MONTEIRO, George (2007). "Fernando Pessoa, He Has His Nerve." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 124-148.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2015). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Fernando Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2014a). *35 Sonnets / 35 Sonetos*. Spanish version and afterword by Jorge Wiese Rebagliati. Lima: Trashumantes.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2014b). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2013). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Fernando Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, vol. XII.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, vol. x.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2007). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. [First edition 1998].
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2007). *Poesia Inglesa*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. Collection "Pessoa Essencial."

- \_\_\_\_\_. (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edited by Richard Zenith in collaboration with Manuela Parreira da Silva; translations by Manuela Rocha. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Preface by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Poemas Ingleses*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume V, tome I.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1988). *35 sonetos ingleses*. Bilingual edition. Edition, prologue, and translation into Spanish by Esteban Torre. Braga: Universidade do Minho.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). *Poemas Ingleses*. Bilingual edition with preface, translation and notes by Jorge de Sena. Translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). *35 Sonnets / 35 sonetos*. Portuguese version by Fernando Dias. Lisbon: Impresso no Anuário Comercial de Portugal.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1969). *Obra Poética*. Organization, introduction, and notes by Maria Aliete Galhoz. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Edited with a preface Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1957). *Cartas a João Gaspar Simões*. Lisbon: Europa-América.
- RAMALHO SANTOS, M. Irene (2007). "The Truant Muse and the Poet's Body," in *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 181-200
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2003). *Atlantic Poets. Fernando Pessoa's Turn in Anglo-American Modernism*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- SABINE, Mark (2007). "'Ever-repositioned mysteries': Homosexuality and Heteronymity in *Antinous*." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 149-178.
- SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (2014). *Epistemologies of the South. Justice against Epistemicide*. Boulder [Co.]: Paradigm.
- SENA, Jorge de (1974). "O heterónimo Fernando Pessoa e os poemas ingleses que publicou." "Introdução geral" to Fernando Pessoa, *Poemas ingleses*. Bilingual edition with preface, translation and notes by Jorge de Sena; translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982). *Fernando Pessoa & Cª Heteronímica*. Lisbon: Edições 70. 2 volumes.
- VIEIRA, Yara Frateschi (1989). *Sob o Ramo da Bétula. Fernando Pessoa e o erotismo vitoriano* Campinas: Unicamp.
- ZENITH, Richard (2002). "Fernando Pessoa's Gay Heteronym?" *Lusosex*, pp. 35-56.

# Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's 35 Sonnets

Geoffrey Russom\*

## Keywords

Hopkins, Kiparsky, Meter, Metrics, Milton, Pessoa, Poetry, Prosody, Rhythm, Shakespeare, *35 Sonnets*

## Abstract

Though obviously inspired by Shakespeare's sonnets, Pessoa's English sonnets employ metrical patterns, enjambments, and grammatical constructions not used by Shakespeare. This mixture of effects has been criticized as somewhat awkward or even incompetent. The assumption seems to be that Pessoa tried, and failed, to create an authentic Shakespearean masquerade. Here I argue that Pessoa's sonnets are modernist poems that appropriate the past in the manner of Gerard Manley Hopkins. Like Pessoa, Hopkins was intensely interested in metrical variety, wrote innovative sonnets, and appropriated complex rhythms from English poets other than Shakespeare, notably Milton. Like Pessoa, Hopkins used archaic English and modernist grammatical constructions as well. Aspects of Pessoa's verse sometimes criticized as excessive are carried even farther by Hopkins, whose verse is now widely admired. The assumption that Pessoa is a modernist of a particular kind brings into focus his strengths as a scholarly poet.

## Palavras-chave

Hopkins, Kiparsky, Métrica, Versificação, Milton, Pessoa, Poesia, Prosódia, Ritmo, Shakespeare, *35 Sonnets*.

## Resumo

Embora claramente inspirados nos sonetos de Shakespeare, os *35 Sonnets* de Pessoa empregam esquemas métricos, cavalgamentos e construções gramaticais não utilizadas por Shakespeare. Esta mescla de efeitos tem sido criticada como estranha ou, até mesmo, como incompetente. A suposição é que Pessoa teria tentado, sem sucesso, criar uma imitação Shakespeariana. Aqui defendo que os sonetos de Pessoa são poemas modernistas, os quais se apropriam do passado à maneira de Gerard Manley Hopkins. Tal como Pessoa, Hopkins interessava-se profundamente pela variedade métrica, tendo escrito sonetos inovadores e se apropriado de ritmos complexos de poetas ingleses para além de Shakespeare, notavelmente Milton. Tal como Pessoa, Hopkins também usou inglês arcaico e construções gramaticais modernísticas. Alguns aspectos do verso pessoano, por vezes criticados como excessivos, são levados ainda mais longe por Hopkins, cuja poesia é hoje largamente admirada. A suposição de que Pessoa é um tipo especial de modernista traz à tona a sua erudição como poeta.

---

\* Emeritus Professor. Department of English at Brown University.

In *35 Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1918), the author employs a Shakespearean rhyme scheme and a number of Shakespeare's rhythmical devices. The sonnets would not work as forgeries, however, because Pessoa's lines are more complex than Shakespeare's on average and because Shakespeare does not use some of Pessoa's most complex rhythms (FERRARI, 2012: 214, 305-322). To evaluate Pessoa's metrical skill, we will need a concrete definition of rhythmical complexity.

The rhythm of an iambic or trochaic line should obviously conform somehow to the basic alternating rhythm. Persistent strict conformity soon becomes annoying, however. One scholar interested in trochaic meters can imagine no greater form of torture "than to listen, night after night, to a story set in the meter of *Hiawatha*," a poem by Longfellow in a rather "sing-song" variety of trochaic tetrameter (DAUNT, 1947: 224). Daunt is reacting to lines like item (1), where prominent stress is marked with an acute accent and the boundaries of trochaic feet are marked with slashes.

(1) *Hómeward / húrried / Hía/wátha*

Here the first two trochaic feet are realized as trochaic words and the following name has two trochaic constituents. Item (1) has been cited as an example of the "metrically most banal" way to realize a trochaic line (KIPARSKY, 1977: 224). Iambic lines of comparable banality, with strict alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, are used sparingly by Shakespeare and Milton, and even by Alexander Pope, who adheres with unusual strictness to metrical norms (KIPARSKY, 1977: 189). Occasional use of simple realizations keeps the basic rhythm in view, but first-rate poets provide rhythmical variety as well. Musical analogues come readily to mind. Even in the wildly innovative be-bop era, when the adjective *crazy* expressed approval, most jazz was in 4/4 time, the trochaic rhythm of popular songs. Jazz solos did not imitate the tick-tock regularity of a metronome, however. To appreciate the difference between basic rhythm and artistic rhythm, imagine Charlie Parker marking 4/4 time by tapping his foot while improvising in his usual style on the saxophone. The solo would depart considerably from the foot-tapping rhythm and in that sense would be rhythmically complex.

Jazz musicians somehow learn to provide spectacular rhythmical variety while maintaining the sense of a norm. These artists often place accented notes in unusual locations, but such syncopated effects reinforce the basic rhythm in a curious way and tempt you to get up and dance. Rhythmical variety creates audience involvement. Involvement ends, however, when an improviser violates rules of rhythmical practice for the relevant tradition. A jazz musician who "loses the beat" is likely to be booed off the stage. Like musical traditions, poetic traditions allow a variety of rhythmical patterns while ruling out others as unacceptable. Rules for poetic and musical traditions are similar to the rules of a language, which allow a variety of linguistic patterns while excluding a larger

number of imaginable patterns, such as patterns attested in other languages. Children acquire linguistic rules largely by intuition, without conscious thought. Once learned, such rules apply reliably with amazing speed as we speak and listen. Metrical rules can also be acquired by intuition and implemented in real time. Illiterate oral poets who cannot state the rules of their traditional meter nevertheless obey those rules as they improvise and scold pupils instantly when a metrical rule is violated (JAKOBSON, 1963).

To evaluate Pessoa's rhythmical ingenuity, I find it useful to work outward from his most direct realizations of iambic pentameter to his most challenging ones.<sup>1</sup> As usual in my research, I assume that units of poetic form are based on units of linguistic form, with metrical positions based on syllables, metrical feet based on words, and metrical lines based on sentences (RUSSOM, 2011). Consider the iambic foot, which consists of a weak metrical position, normally occupied by an unstressed syllable, and a following strong metrical position, normally occupied by a stressed syllable. If metrical units are based on linguistic units, the simplest realizations of iambic pentameter will be lines like item (2), where each metrical position is realized as one syllable, each iambic foot is realized as an iambic word, and the line is realized as a sentence.

- (2) *Refined / gourméts / demánd / supérb / cuisíne* (constructed)
- (3) *Of hánd, / of fóot, / of líp, / of éye, / of brów* (S106.6)
- (4) *But whèn / I cáme / where thòu / wert láid, / and sáw* (4.9)

Though metrically simple, lines like (2) are difficult to construct and rarely occur for practical reasons. Most English words with two syllables are trochaic. I chose a topic for (2) that permitted heavy use of iambic words borrowed from French. Item (3), from a sonnet by Shakespeare, is somewhat less simple than (2).<sup>2</sup> Each foot is realized as a small phrase with iambic rhythm, and the foot boundaries are aligned with phrase boundaries marked by punctuation. Within the line there is strict alternation between unstressed or weakly stressed function words and prominently stressed nouns. By *function words* I mean words like the pronoun *I*, the demonstrative adjective *that*, the preposition *of*, the conjunction *and*, the article *the*,

<sup>1</sup> For analysis of Pessoa's sonnets from a variety of theoretical perspectives, see FERRARI (2012: 207-217, 285-322). I owe thanks to Ferrari for sharing his metrical insights and for providing an electronic text of 35 *Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1918), which I incorporated into a Microsoft Excel file for analysis. As references below will make clear, I depend on Ferrari for information about Pessoa's life and in particular about Pessoa's study of English iambic pentameter. Any errors are of course my responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Since I will argue that all of Pessoa's metrical licenses are used by Shakespeare, Milton, or Donne, I offer KIPARSKY (1977) as an impartial witness to relevant details of iambic pentameter tradition, using lines cited by Kiparsky as examples and accepting his scansion without demur. Examples from Pessoa are cited by sonnet number and line. Examples from Shakespeare's sonnets are cited in the same way, but with "S" before the sonnet number.

the auxiliary verb *will*, and the substantive verb *is*. Function words tend to appear on the initial weak position of the iambic foot because they have high frequency and correspondingly low prominence. Their occurrence is often so predictable that we omit them. In ordinary prose, item (3) becomes “of hand, foot, lip, eye, and brow.” The more prominent words include lexical nouns like *hand*, lexical adjectives like *huge*, and main verbs like *demand*. Item (4) from Pessoa’s sonnets stays almost as close to the basic pattern as item (3), but some of the words on strong positions have low prominence. I have marked weak stress on *when* and *thou* with a grave accent but they could be pronounced as unstressed without adverse metrical consequences. Placement of an unstressed syllable on a strong position neither supports nor disrupts the iambic rhythm. A musical analogue would be a rest in a position normally occupied by an accented note, something that occurs routinely in Classical music as well as jazz.

If stressed syllables are positioned normally, the foot boundary can fall within a word, as in Pessoa’s item (5).

(5) *In níght/ly hórr/ors of /despáired / surmíse (3.12)*

Here the first two foot boundaries fall within words rather than between them. In the third foot, the unstressed function word *of* appears on a strong position. After introducing these elements of complexity, Pessoa concludes the line in the simplest way, realizing the last two feet as iambic words. Iambic words are perfectly appropriate in any foot, but Pessoa places them in the last foot more than twice as often as in any other foot.<sup>3</sup> This metrical practice falls under the universal principle of closure, which states that adherence to metrical norms tends to become stricter toward the end of a metrical unit such as a line, a couplet, a quatrain, or a whole poem (HAYES, 1983: 373).

In Shakespeare’s sonnets, a stressed monosyllabic word often occupies a weak position when a more prominent stress follows on the strong position of the foot (KIPARSKY, 1977: 208). Stressed monosyllables can be placed with relative freedom because they have no inherent word rhythm.

- (6) *That this / hùge stáge / presént/eth náught / but shóws (S15.3)*
- (7) *Mòre in / tíme’s úse / than my / creát/ing whóle (3.2)*
- (8) *Thou dost / lóve her / becàuse / thou knówst / I lóve her (S42.6)*
- (9) *And the / will to / renóunce / doth ál/so miss (29.4)*
- (10) *The strày / stárs, whose / innúm/erab/le líght (18.3)*

---

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert Youmans transformed all poetic word orders into ordinary word orders in a large sample of Milton’s verse (7,339 lines). One of his findings was that Milton often used poetic word orders to place an iambic word at the end of the line but rarely to remove an iambic word from that position (YOUMANS, 1989: 377).

In item (6), *hùge stáge* has the most prominent phrasal stress on *stáge* and the foot has iambic rhythm despite the subordinate phrasal stress on *huge*. Compare *time's úse* in Pessoa's item (7). Less often, Shakespeare places a stressed monosyllable on a weak position when the adjacent syllables are unstressed, as in the second foot of item (8). Pessoa's item (9) has the same kind of trochaic inversion in its second foot.<sup>4</sup> A stressed monosyllable stands out less starkly on a weak position when adjacent to stress in the preceding foot, as in Pessoa's item (10), where *stars* is immediately preceded by *stray*. This kind of inversion is less strictly regulated by the principle of closure than the kind of inversion in (9), which Pessoa places most often in the second foot and never in the fourth. Inversions like those in the second foot of (10), on the other hand, appear eight times in the fourth foot, once every four or five sonnets.<sup>5</sup>

In a two-word English phrase, the last word usually has the most prominent stress. The rising rhythm of phrases contrasts with the falling rhythm of compound words, which usually have the strongest stress on the first syllable. If I say *bláckbird*, with the strongest stress on *black*, I am using a compound word that refers to one species of bird, *turdus merula* to be precise. If I say *blàck bírd*, with the strongest stress on *bird*, I am using a two-word phrase that refers to any bird colored black. A cormorant, for example, is a black bird.

English iambic pentameter allows special departures from the norm at the margins of the line, which normally coincide with the margins of a sentence or large phrase.

- (11) *Béauty / and lóve / let nó / one sép/aràte* (19.1)
- (12) *Náture's / bequést / gíves nóth/ing but / doth lénd* (S4.3)
- (13) *By àn/y skill / of thóught / or trícK / of séem(ing)* (1.10)
- (14) *Líke to / the lárk / at bréak / of dáy / arís(ing)* (S29.11)
- (15) (pause) *Twén/ty bóok/ës clád / in blák / or réed* (Chaucer, A.Prol.294)
- (16) (pause) *Név/er, név/er, név/er, név/er, név(er)!* (K. L. 5.3.308)

---

<sup>4</sup> Trochaic inversions like those in item (9) also occur in the second foot of 3.11, 15.8, 18.9, 21.13, 24.11, 31.5, 31.11, and 32.2; and in the third foot of 16.7 and 31.6. Such inversions cannot occur in the first foot (since no unstressed syllable precedes in the same line) and are restricted for irrelevant reasons in the fifth foot, where a line-final function word like *to* would cause radical enjambment. Inversion with radical enjambment does occur in Pessoa's items (49) and (50), discussed below, but in such cases the line-final function word acquires special prominence from rhyme and becomes a more appropriate occupant for the strong position.

<sup>5</sup> This less complex inversion also occurs in the second foot of 13.10, 20.8, and 33.7; in the third foot of 8.12, 14.10, 14.11, 15.2, 16.8, 18.8, 20.12, 23.2, 27.12, 28.9, 29.2, and 32.7; and in the fourth foot of 2.9, 3.13, 12.7, 14.10, 16.4, 21.5, 29.13, and 35.1. As with inversions like (9), those like (10) cannot occur in the first foot and have no exact equivalents in the fifth foot due to the presence of rhyme in that location.

Stress is most easily perceived on a syllable that stands between unstressed syllables of the same phrase.<sup>6</sup> It is more difficult to perceive stress in the first syllable of a phrase. Items (11) and (12) both have stress on the weak position of the first foot; but this stress is muffled at the beginning of the line, which is also the beginning of a sentence.<sup>7</sup> The last foot in the line can be followed optionally by a single unstressed syllable, as in items (13) and (14), where the optional syllable is parenthesized. Since Chaucer, iambic pentameter has also allowed “headless” lines in which the first syllable is omitted, as in item (15). Shakespeare’s item (16) is a headless line that also has an extra syllable at line end. Lines like (16) are rare for reasons that have nothing to do with stress. This line has perfectly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. All its strong positions are occupied by stressed syllables and all its weak positions are occupied by unstressed syllables. The special complexity of (16) results from its persistent refusal to align foot boundaries with word boundaries. As a line with five trochaic words, item (16) is the binary opposite of item (2), a line with five iambic words that realizes each foot in the simplest way.

Item (16) is an extreme example of an effect noticed by eminent poets and critics: that a concentration of trochaic words creates a trochaic counter-rhythm even in an iambic metrical context (KIPARSKY, 1977: 234). This metrical dissonance occurs in Shakespeare’s most harrowing scene of cathartic pity and terror, when King Lear’s world has been utterly destroyed and he is dying of a literally broken heart. Program music for a film version of the play would surely employ harmonic dissonance here. In a similar way, the metrical dissonance of item (16) accompanies and intensifies the emotional tension of the scene.

Some freedoms available at the margins of the line are also available within the line at the margins of phrases.

(17) *But the / wòrds’ sènsè / from wòrds / — knówledge, / tràth, chángè* (26.12)

(18) *My lóve / shall in / my vèrse / éver / live yóung* (S19.14)

(19) *Do máke /it bétt(er); / its pér/il is / its áid* (11.4)

(20) *Must cúrt/sy at / this cén(sure). / Oh, bóys, / this stó(ry)* (Cym. 3.3.55)

In the fourth foot of item (17), *knowledge* has muffled stress at the beginning of a line-internal phrase marked off prominently by a dash. This stress can occupy the weak position of an iambic foot, like the line-initial stress of *beauty* in item (11).<sup>8</sup> In

<sup>6</sup> Conspicuous syllables of this kind are called *stress maxima* by HALLE and KEYSER (1971: 169-171).

<sup>7</sup> It is worth adding that the first foot is the one least influenced by the principle of closure and provides a doubly appropriate site for trochaic inversion, which is more common there than at the beginning of a line-internal phrase.

<sup>8</sup> Line-internal inversions also occur in the second foot of 23.9 and 27.14; the third foot of 6.3, 6.7, 8.1, 9.6, 11.5, 14.7, 15.4, 15.10, 16.2, 17.2, 17.7, 18.5, 25.14, 26.14, and 31.11; and the fourth foot of 8.10, 11.1, 18.10, 21.13, 25.9, and 28.1.

item (19), line-medial *bett(er)* adds an extra unstressed syllable at the end of a phrase. Compare line-final *seem(ing)* in item (13).<sup>9</sup> Shakespeare's corresponding items (18) and (20) appear among other examples in KIPARSKY (1977: 217, 231). As rhythmical variations become more complex, it becomes harder to find examples in Shakespeare's sonnets, which are metrically stricter than his plays.<sup>10</sup> Kiparsky cites no examples like (20) from the sonnets.

Although iambic pentameter regulates syllable count rather strictly, two unstressed vowels may occupy the same weak position when they are adjacent, either within the same word or across a word boundary. Within a given word, unstressed vowels can also share a weak position when they are separated by one resonant consonant (KIPARSKY, 1977: 239-244). Resonant consonants like *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r* do not make sharp syllable divisions. They tend to coalesce with vowels because they are like vowels in important respects; and they actually become vowels in words like *bottle*, *bottom*, *button*, and *butter*, as pronounced in my dialect of American English. Optional assignment of two vowels to one metrical position, generally called *elision*, occurs frequently in English iambic pentameter (KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). Word-internal elision is marked by parentheses in the cited examples. Elision across a word boundary is marked by an underscore.

(21) *We\_ are bórn / at sún/set and /we díe / ere mórn* (14.1)

(22) *With the / òld sád/ness for / the\_ immór/ta! hóme* (20.4)

(23) *All (i)s éi/ther the / irrát/(iona)! wórld / we sée* (2.10)

The fact that *we are* can be contracted into *we're* makes it easy to understand why Pessoa can treat the first two syllables of item (21) as if they were a single syllable.<sup>11</sup> In item (22), the unstressed vowel of *the* shares a weak position with the adjacent unstressed vowel of *immortal*.<sup>12</sup> In an edition of Milton's poetry, spelling as *th' immortal* might be used to show that the vowel of *the* does not count as an independent metrical syllable. The last two unstressed vowels of *irrat(iona)l* can share a weak position in (23) because they are separated only by the resonant consonant *n*. When eligible for contraction, adjacent syllables separated by a word boundary can share one metrical position even if their vowels are separated by a consonant, as in the first foot of item (23). Item (23) would scan without this option

<sup>9</sup> Similar examples internal to the line occur with *sinn(er)* (5.13), *bitt(er)* (28.13), and *words (of)* in 25.14, which also has trochaic inversion in the third foot after a phrase boundary and elision of the first two vowels in *reality*.

<sup>10</sup> For a thorough metrical analysis of Shakespeare's non-dramatic and dramatic long line see DUFFELL (2008: 131-136).

<sup>11</sup> Vocalic resonants count as elidable vowels and can be elided in the second foot of 9.11, in the fourth foot of 29.9, and in the fifth foot of 19.4 and 31.7.

<sup>12</sup> Similar elision occurs with *the* in the second foot of 5.8 and the fourth foot of 31.14.

if the poet had used the contracted form spelled *All's* (as for example in *All's well that ends well*).<sup>13</sup>

Elision can also occur when one of the adjacent vowels is stressed.

(24) *The\_équal/ble tú/rrant of / our diff/(ere)nt fâtes* (27.10)

(25) *With the / h(igher) triffling lèt / us wórld / our wít* (35.11)

(26) *(Éve)n when / the féel/ing's ná/ture\_is ví/olènt* (6.12)

In the first foot of item (24), *the* is elided with the following stressed vowel and the combination counts as one syllable with muffled stress.<sup>14</sup> My performance of (24) would not require elision across *r* in *different* because this word has only one unstressed syllable in my dialect of English. Now it is by no means necessary to pronounce two elided vowels as one syllable for effective performance of a line (compare KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). Elision does typically correspond, however, to monosyllabic pronunciation in rapid speech or in a dialect other than the poet's.<sup>15</sup> In item (25), the stressed vowel of *higher* elides with *-er*, the adjacent unstressed vowel (a centralized vowel in r-less dialects, a vocalic resonant *r* in my dialect).<sup>16</sup> Item (26) illustrates a subtype of elision across *v*. The corresponding monosyllabic pronunciation is indicated by an apostrophe in spellings for *even* like *e'en*.<sup>17</sup>

As item (6) has shown, Shakespeare uses heavy iambic feet with a stressed word followed by a word of more prominent phrasal stress (*hùge stáge*). Pessoa employs heavy iambic feet in some complex lines.

<sup>13</sup> Compare item (31) below, where Pessoa uses the contracted form *And's* and the first foot scans as written. Contraction of *is* can take place across consonants that would block elision, for example the voiceless stop [k] in *Frank's*. Although *We are* in item (21) scans with routine elision of adjacent vowels across a word boundary, *All is* in item (23) is best analyzed as assignment of contractible syllables to one weak position (rather than as elision across a resonant consonant and a word boundary).

<sup>14</sup> Elision with *the* before a stressed vowel also occurs in the third foot of 18.7, 29.14, and 32.12; and in the fourth foot of 19.8. Milton uses this kind of elision in lines like *As from / the cén/ter thríce / to th'út/mòst póle* (PL 1.74).

<sup>15</sup> Sub-varieties of elision can be distinguished as analogues of the corresponding linguistic rules for dialects or rapid speech, and poets can differ in their choice of sub-varieties (KIPARSKY, 1977: 239-241).

<sup>16</sup> Elision after a stressed vowel also occurs in the first foot of 15.12, 23.14, and 25.12; the second foot of 4.10, 17.8, 17.10, 21.8, 29.3, and 35.8; the third foot of 2.11, 15.2, 20.6, 22.11, 23.13, 27.9, 33.14, and 34.13; the fourth foot of 2.5, 11.11, 29.2, 33.14, and 34.6; and the fifth foot of 30.10. In 33.14, *being* elides twice. In 25.14, *r(eá)lity* shows elision of an unstressed vowel before an adjacent stressed vowel, as with *p(oé)tic*, cited as an example in KIPARSKY (1977: 239). Such elision is possible when simplex words from the same root have a stressed vowel followed by an unstressed vowel, as with *póet* and *réal*, the latter elided by Pessoa in 15.12.

<sup>17</sup> This subtype of elision also occurs in the first foot of 6.12, 23.1 and 23.9; the second foot of 3.8 and 29.12; the third foot of 11.8; and the fourth foot of 18.6 and 29.2. In 29.2, the corresponding sound change in *ever* is marked by the spelling *e'er*.

- (27) *The púshling próm/-ise of / nèar fár / blùe skies* (11.12)  
 (28) *Like a / fierce béast / sèlf-pénned / in a / bàit-láir* (9.5)  
 (29) *Hòw but / by hópe / do I / the\_unknówn / trùth gét?* (31.14)  
 (30) *And with / òld wóes / nèw wáil / my déar / tìme's wáste* (S30.4)

Item (27) ends with two consecutive heavy iambs. Item (28) has three heavy iambs. The neologistic compound *bait-lair* rhymes with *despair* and must have the same stress pattern as *sèlf-pénned*, a compound of the less usual kind in which the second stress is stronger (compare *sèlf-táught* and *Thànksgíving*, the latter contrasting with a southern American variant *Thánksgìvin'*). The phrase *unknown truth* would ordinarily have the most prominent phrasal stress on *truth*. In item (29), however, *truth* is subordinated by the Rhythm Rule (KIPARSKY, 1977: 218-223). This rule of ordinary language creates alternating rhythm within a series of adjacent stresses, as for example in *góod òld mán*.<sup>18</sup> As item (30) shows, Shakespeare employs the same closing rhythm.<sup>19</sup>

Some of the most complex rhythms in Pessoa's sonnets are attested in Shakespeare's plays.

- (31) *And's ón/ly v(isi)/ble when / invís/ible* (12.8)  
 (32) *That sáw / the P(óssi)/ble like / a dáwn / grow pále* (24.7)  
 (33) *And spénd/s / his pr(ódi)/gal wíts / in bóot/less rhýme* (L. L. L. 5.2.64)  
 (34) *For the / r(àrer) p(ó)tion mine / own dréams / I'll táke* (28.11)  
 (35) *And if / 'tis p(óssi)/ble (to) Thóught / to béar / this frúit* (17.13)  
 (36) *A sám/ple to / the yóung(est); / (to) the móre / matúre* (Cym 1.1.48)  
 (37) *So the / sèn cóup/le's (to)gél/thernèss / shall béar* (19.7)

By resolution, an optional rule largely confined to early English poetry, a short stressed vowel can share a strong metrical position with an unstressed vowel if the two vowels are separated by any single consonant (KIPARSKY, 1977: 236). Pessoa resolves *visible* in item (31) and *Possible* in item (32). Resolved sequences are parenthesized and the stressed vowels in all these sequences are short. Shakespeare's item (33) resolves *prodigal*. In item (34), resolution of *rarer* may look at first glance like elision across a resonant. When an unstressed vowel is elided after a stressed vowel, however, the two vowels are not normally separated by a

<sup>18</sup> If *truth* were not subordinated to *get*, the Rhythm Rule would have created alternating rhythm by a shift of stress to the prefix *un-* in the phrase *úknòwn trùth*. This kind of stress shift occurs in items (42) and (43), discussed below.

<sup>19</sup> Pessoa uses similar rhythms in the second foot of 26.8; the third foot of 7.8, 7.11, 8.4, 12.3, and 14.13; and the fifth foot of 3.8, 5.11, 12.11, and 23.4. These rhythms show no influence from the principle of closure and Pessoa seems not to apprehend them as especially complex.

consonant.<sup>20</sup> A quite different option “permits the vowel of a monosyllabic clitic (i.e. an unstressed word not belonging to a lexical category) to be disregarded” (KIPARSKY, 1977: 237). In the third foot of Pessoa’s item (35), the clitic function word *to* is disregarded.<sup>21</sup> In addition, *possible* is resolved, as in item (32). Clitic *to* is similarly disregarded in Shakespeare’s item (36), where the suffix *-est* is an optional unstressed syllable at the end of a line-internal phrase (compare items (19) and (20)). In Pessoa’s item (37), the clitic prefix *to-* is disregarded.

Shakespeare will place a trochaic word in the first iambic foot of a line, as in item (12), or in the first foot of a line-internal phrase, as with *ever* in item (18). In item (38), Pessoa places trochaic *motion* in the second foot of a phrase.<sup>22</sup>

(38) *In the / mótion / of móv/ing póis/ëd áye* (29.6)

(39) *But to / vánquish / by wís/dom héll/ish wíles* (Milton, PR 1.175)

Non-initial inversion within a phrase is common in Milton, but Shakespeare generally avoids it, and it is not used at all by Alexander Pope (KIPARSKY, 1977: 212-214). Although Miltonic lines like (39) invert the expected pattern of a foot, Milton always aligns the boundaries of the inverted foot with word boundaries. This reduces the overall complexity of the line, compensating for the mismatch between stresses and metrical positions. Lines like (38) and (39) also occur in Wyatt’s sonnets (KIPARSKY, 1977: 202).

Shakespeare uses heavy iambic feet in lines like item (6), but this only occurs when the boundaries of the heavy foot are aligned with word boundaries (KIPARSKY, 1977: 201-203). In Pessoa’s item (40), *sug/gèsts* is misaligned with a foot boundary. Its unstressed syllable occupies a strong position in the first foot and its stressed syllable occupies a weak position in the second foot. Three consecutive mismatches to the basic pattern within a single word (two stress mismatches and a boundary mismatch) make this line particularly complex. The same kind of triple

<sup>20</sup> Resolution across a resonant can also be assumed for *common* in 32.6. Linguistic double consonants were reduced to single consonants at word level in Middle English. In Shakespeare’s time, the double consonants of *possible* and *common* had become artificial spelling conventions used to indicate that the preceding stressed vowel was short. A resolved sequence also occurs in (*óra*)*tor* (6.1) and once again in *P(óssi)ble* (24.7). In a copy of the printed book, Pessoa marked *common* for deletion and substituted *day*, simplifying the metrical pattern (PESSOA, 1993: 82).

<sup>21</sup> Other monosyllabic clitics to be disregarded in scansion include *the* in 23.14; *of* in 21.11, 21.12, and 24.12; *a* in 22.12; *for* in 30.12; *I* in 32.4; *when* in 35.13; and *to* again in 28.9 and 35.8. Line 24.12 also requires archaic pronunciation of *ignorëd* and elision in *éch(oi)ng*. An apostrophe indicates that a clitic function word should be disregarded in *is’t* (35.7), *that’t* (24.13, 24.14), and *i’t’h’* (5.10, 15.13). In *do’t* (35.12), *it* might be elided within a phonological word rather than simply disregarded.

<sup>22</sup> Similar trochaic inversions occur with *nearer* (10.7), *country* (17.5), *endless* (29.9), *active* (29.12), *older* (31.1), and *duty’s* (34.3). The principle of closure restricts these complex inversions to the first three feet.

mismatch is allowed by John Donne, as item (41) shows, but not by Milton, Shakespeare, or Pope.<sup>23</sup>

(40) *Stíll sug/gèsts fórm / as áught / whose pró/per bé(ing)* (21.3)

(41) *Shall be/hòld Gód, / and né/ver tást / deàths wóe* (Holy Sonnets, 7)

The examples in (40) and (41) differ from those in (42) and (43), which involve reversal of stress in ordinary speech by the Rhythm Rule.<sup>24</sup>

(42) *An ún/knòwn lán/guage spéaks / in ús, / which wè* (25.13)

(43) *Thy ád/vèrse párlty is /thy ád/vocàte* (S33.7)

(44) *That én/tire déath / shall núll / my én/tire thóught* (7.2)

Words undergoing this kind of reversal often have subordinate stress on the first syllable, as with *fiftéen*. Reversal occurs when the most prominent stress is perceptibly close to the stressed syllable of a following word, as within the phrase *fiftèen mén*. Shakespeare employed the Rhythm Rule in some words to which the rule no longer generally applies. Pessoa employs such words with trochaic value in several lines like item (44).<sup>25</sup>

Item (45) is like item (40) except that the stressed syllable on the weak position of the second foot is followed by an unstressed syllable on the strong position (which is elided with the following unstressed syllable in this particular case). Lines like (45) are even more complex than those like (40), since they involve four consecutive mismatches (a boundary mismatch and three stress mismatches).

<sup>23</sup> Iambic words split by the foot boundary include *contained* (7.6), *recalled* (16.8), *compel* (25.3), and *perplexed* (26.11). Pessoa might have scanned some such prefixed words as trochaic, assuming that the Rhythm Rule would have applied in Shakespeare's English.

<sup>24</sup> Similarly with *úknòwn* (31.13) and *únsèn* (20.11, 23.6). Reversal can also result from contrastive stress, as probably with *ínside* (8.5) and *únmask* (8.13). In 28.4, the proper scansion is probably *sòmewhére*, with contrastive stress on *where*; and similarly with *sòmething* in 28.7. Note the striking resemblances between these two instances, which involve very similar words with identical stress patterns and occur just a few lines apart in the same poem.

<sup>25</sup> Shakespearean pronunciations required by the meter include *dírect* (3.4), *éntire* once again (7.2), *óbscure* (14.4), *cómplete* (14.7), *éxact* (9.2), and *cómmuned* (24.4). These Rhythm-Rule pronunciations are discussed in SHMIDT (1971: 1413–15), and in Schmidt's entries for the individual words. Essentially the same edition of Schmidt's lexicon was published in 1902. Such information was available when Pessoa was working on 35 *Sonnets*. Due to lack of evidence in Shakespeare's works, trochaic Shakespearean value is uncertain for *forgot* in 8.12, *forecome* in 10.11, *withdrawn* in 23.13, and *compel* in 25.3, though these prefixed words resemble others to which the Rhythm Rule applies. With regard to *forecome*, compare *fóregone conclusión*. Other early English pronunciations required by rhyme or meter include *grímáces* (8.11), *hórízòn* (23.2), *absólute* (24.4), *tówards* (4.14, 30.14), *inactiòn* (29.12), *explanatiòn* (32.12), *ignorèd* (24.12), and *enjoyèd* (16.6, with elision of the preceding syllable). Pessoa may have intended monosyllabic *bring'th* for *bringeth* in 35.10. Scansion of 35.10 with elision in *mat(eri)ng* yields an acceptable but more complex rhythm.

(45) *In ir/rép(ara)/ble sáme/ness fár / awáy* (27.4)

(46) *In váine / this séa / shall en/lárgé or / enróugh* (Donne, *Progress of the Soul*, 52)

(47) *And he / that súffferth offfénce with/òut bláme* (Wyatt, *CV*, 1.70)

The rhythmical variation in (45) is not allowed by Shakespeare, but Donne employs it in lines like (46), where *en/lárgé* creates a two stress mismatches in addition to the word boundary mismatch and unstressed *or* mismatches a strong position.<sup>26</sup> The same four mismatches occur in Wyatt's item (47), where *offfénce* is followed by unstressed *with-* (KIPARSKY, 1977: 202-203).<sup>27</sup>

We have now considered all the rhythmical variations in *35 Sonnets*. As we have seen, Shakespeare uses most of them, in dramatic verse if not in his own sonnets. The remaining variations are used by Milton, Donne, or Wyatt. Pessoa differs from these English sonneteers in employing complex rhythms more often. His sonnets are certainly more difficult than Shakespeare's but should not be faulted for that reason alone. Consider Pessoa's item (38), which places a trochaic word in an iambic foot that is not the first foot of a line or phrase. This complex variation is used by Milton, as in item (39), but not by Shakespeare. Gerard Manley Hopkins, an English admirer of Milton, "cultivated the same metrical construction with characteristic extravagance" (KIPARSKY, 1977: 203). Pessoa was not the only modern poet to use a complex rhythm more frequently than Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope had done. Hopkins's poems in iambic "sprung rhythm," now widely admired, employ a basic pattern of five strong positions per line alternating with weak positions; but these sonnets depart very far indeed from Shakespeare's metrical practice (KIPARSKY, 1989: 310-312). Hopkins's metrical complexity delayed publication until after his death. The first edition of his poems (HOPKINS, 1918) happened to coincide with publication of Pessoa's *35 Sonnets*.<sup>28</sup> Pessoa also admired Milton and had difficulty publishing his own innovative work.<sup>29</sup> Hopkins was published too late to influence *35 Sonnets* directly, but he and Pessoa test the metrical limits in similar ways. Just a few years later, an eminent modernist summed up the spirit of those times: "it appears likely that poets in our

<sup>26</sup> The same kind of inversion occurs in 1.3 (third foot) and 15.6 (second foot). Pessoa restricts the frequency of these inversions and places them before the fourth foot.

<sup>27</sup> The Rhythm Rule cannot apply here because there is no relevant stressed syllable after *offence*.

<sup>28</sup> Editor's note: Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) is not mentioned in any of Pessoa's writings. He is also absent from the Pessoa's private library (See PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO, 2010).

<sup>29</sup> In addition to expressing admiration, Pessoa annotated Milton's verse extensively (FERRARI, 2012: 122-27). In 1917, *The Mad Fiddler* was rejected by the London publisher Constable and Company (FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2014: 228). This rejection may have led Pessoa to self-publish his English chapbooks in Portugal.

civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult" (ELIOT, 1921). To me at least, Pessoa seems timely rather than erratic.<sup>30</sup>

Pessoa provides hints that he knows exactly what he is doing. His most complex effects are disciplined by the principle of closure, appearing most often in the earlier part of the line. Pessoa highlights metrical options by using the same word to illustrate both options, sometimes within a single line. In item (22), one instance of *the* elides but the other counts as a metrical syllable. In item (31), resolution occurs in *visible* but not in *invisible*. In 17.13, and again in 28.9, *to* is disregarded when it first appears but counts as a metrical syllable when it appears again toward the end of the line. Besides displaying awareness of metrical options, these lines provide a useful introduction to Pessoa's metrical style. They guided me as I scanned *35 Sonnets*.

Repetition highlights a complex option in other cases. In item (44), *entire* appears twice with early English stress on the first syllable. In 33.14, *being* elides twice. The elided value of *mystery* is displayed in 12.13 and repeated in 12.14, where *mystery* occurs twice, the second time without elision. The simplex adjective *real* first appears in 15.12 with its monosyllabic value (a value transferrable to the derived form *réality* in 25.14). The disyllabic value of *real* is introduced in 17.6 and underscored by a second appearance in 17.12. In sonnet 29, the monosyllabic value of *ever* is specified by the spelling *e'er* (29.2), which primes us for elision across *v* in *(eve)n* (29.12). Unusual stress patterns can also be highlighted by repetition. In item (28), the unexpected pattern of *bàit-láir* is introduced by a more idiomatic example of the pattern, *sèlf-pénned*. Approximate repetition in nearby lines highlights contrastive stress on the second syllable of *sòmewhére* (28.4) and *sòmething* (28.7).

If the metrical line is based on the sentence, as I assume in my research, a sentence that overflows the line should add to metrical complexity. This effect is widely acknowledged, as the traditional term *enjambment* shows. The complexity is moderate when the line boundary falls between large sub-constituents of a sentence, as for example in Shakespeare's item (48), where an elaborate subject fills out the first line and the predicate fills the next.

---

<sup>30</sup> Since I am focusing on critical reaction to *35 Sonnets* as originally published, I have not considered changes Pessoa wrote into his copies of the printed work, some of which appear in the critical edition (PESSOA, 1993: 67-84). More than half of the changed lines substitute new words for others with the same metrical value (1.1, 1.10, 3.10, 7.11, 8.8, 11.2, 14.1, 14.5, 14.9, 28.6, 28.8, and 30.1). These changed lines are identical to the original lines in stress patterning and placement of word boundaries. For the example in 3.10 see Fig. 2, where *possible* is substituted for *thinkable*. Some of the remaining changed lines are metrically more complex than the originals and a few others are less complex, with no clear pattern. Pessoa had no second thoughts worth mentioning about the metrical complexity of his sonnets. His changes have more to do with meaning than with form. For clarity, I have excluded from consideration a version of sonnet 34 so thoroughly reworked that the metrical significance of an individual change can be difficult to assess.

- (48) *And so the general of hot desire*  
*Was sleeping by a virgin hand disarmed* (S154.7–8)
- (49) *Alas! All this is useless, for joy's in*  
*Enjoying, not in thinking of enjoying* (16.9–10)
- (50) *In the country of bridges the bridge is*  
*More real than the shores it doth unsever;*  
*So in our world, all of Relation, this*  
*Is true — that truer is Love than either lover* (17.5–8)

Complexity is extreme when the line boundary falls inside a phrase much smaller than the lines that contain it, as in Pessoa's item (49), where the line boundary splits the prepositional phrase *in enjoying*. In the fifth foot of 16.9, *joy's in* represents a kind of trochaic inversion usually encountered toward the beginning of the line, as in Shakespeare's item (8). Since it is the tenth syllable of 16.9, *in* must occupy the fifth strong position. This is confirmed by rhyme between *in* and *sin* in line 11.<sup>31</sup> The rhyme gives artificial prominence to *in* and renders it more appropriate to a strong position. Pessoa's inversion with enjambment is clearly a deliberate experiment, since the experiment is repeated in item (50), which comes from the following sonnet. Inversion occurs with *bridge is* in the fifth foot of 17.5, where the line boundary splits the small phrase *is more real*. A similar experiment follows at once in 17.7–8, where the line boundary splits the small phrase *this is true* and the function word *this* occupies the fifth strong position. In 17.7, *this* is preceded by an unstressed syllable and there is no trochaic inversion. The most prominent syllable in the fifth foot is *this* and its light stress makes for a somewhat less unusual rhyme. Since both *is* and *this* are function words, Pessoa's function-word rhymes can hardly be regarded as careless oversights. Enjambment is a signature characteristic of modernist poetry. Pessoa signals his modernist orientation with enjambments more complex than those employed by Shakespeare and Milton.<sup>32</sup> Pessoa's decision to go beyond the metrical practice of these poets should come as no surprise, given Pessoa's own self-assessment, as witnessed in a bold declaration datable to around 1915: "I am now in full possession of the fundamental laws of literary art. Shakespeare can no longer teach me to be subtle, nor Milton to be complete" (PESSOA, 1966: 20).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Rhyming of stressed syllables with unstressed syllables is clearly detectable by the human ear, since it is used systematically in Irish *deibide* meter (MURPHY, 1961: 31). Pessoa uses similar rhymes in less complex lines, for example items (28) and (33). The function-word rhyme in 16.9 differs from the rhyme in Shakespeare's item (8), where *love* occupies the fifth strong position and *love her* rhymes with *approve her* two lines below. In this line, the function word *her* is the optional eleventh syllable and participates in a polysyllabic rhyme.

<sup>32</sup> Other complex enjambments occur in 7.13–14, 11.9–10, 12.13–14, 13.7–8, and 17.10–11 — two lines after item (52) in a poem of very systematic experimentation.

<sup>33</sup> Editor's note: for a full transcription see Annex.

Reviews of *35 Sonnets* in 1918 were quite positive in some respects but were critical of Pessoa's English usage. The *Glasgow Herald* objected to "crabbedness" in some Renaissance locutions and *The Scotsman* declared that Pessoa's English was "always a foreigner's English." No argument or evidence was provided for these criticisms (FERRARI, 2012: 201 and 214-215). I do not know quite what to make of them. Someone who disapproved of Renaissance English in modern poetry would also be obliged to disapprove of Hopkins's brilliant "Angelus ad Virginem," written throughout in unabashedly archaic English (HOPKINS, 1990: 168-169). Archaic English is appropriated by other modernist poets, American as well as English. Ezra Pound's translation of the Old English *Seafarer* provides an extreme example. If there is something odd about phrases like *near far blue skies* (item 29), that must be equally true of *fresh-firecoal chestnut-falls* in "Pied Beauty" (HOPKINS, 1990: 144).

After devoting more than forty years to the study of English linguistics, I could not find one instance of second-language confusion in *35 Sonnets*. Such confusion would not be expected in Pessoa's writing. His childhood education took place in a South African English-language school and until he was twenty-one he wrote the greater part of his poetry exclusively in English (FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2014: 227). A section of Pessoa's large private library was devoted to linguistics and philology as well as to literature (FERRARI, 2012: 166, note 4).<sup>34</sup> Pessoa must have had native-speaker competence or something close to it. The reviewers do not provide examples of un-English language in the *35 Sonnets*. Given nothing to work with, I can only speculate that item (51) might have seemed flagrantly unidiomatic.

(51) *That doth not even my with gone true soul rime* (3.8)

(52) *That dòth / not (éve)n / with my / gòne trúe / sòul ríme*

Certainly *gone true soul* is not ordinary English and the last two feet of (51) are unusually heavy, as with *near far blue skies*; but such language is no more un-English than modernist constructions used by Hopkins. If the reviewers were reacting to (51), attribution to foreign-language influence seems quite wrong-headed. The really awkward feature of (51) is placement of *with* after *my* inside the noun phrase *my gone true soul*. To my knowledge, there are no constructions in Romance languages that place a preposition inside the noun phrase governed by that preposition. This word salad could hardly be due to language interference and turns out to be a misprint. Item (52) provides a scansion for the line as it stands in the author's handwritten version.

---

<sup>34</sup> MacKenzie (HOPKINS, 1990: VII) refers to "piquant Victorian speculations in philology" as representative of the books Hopkins knew.

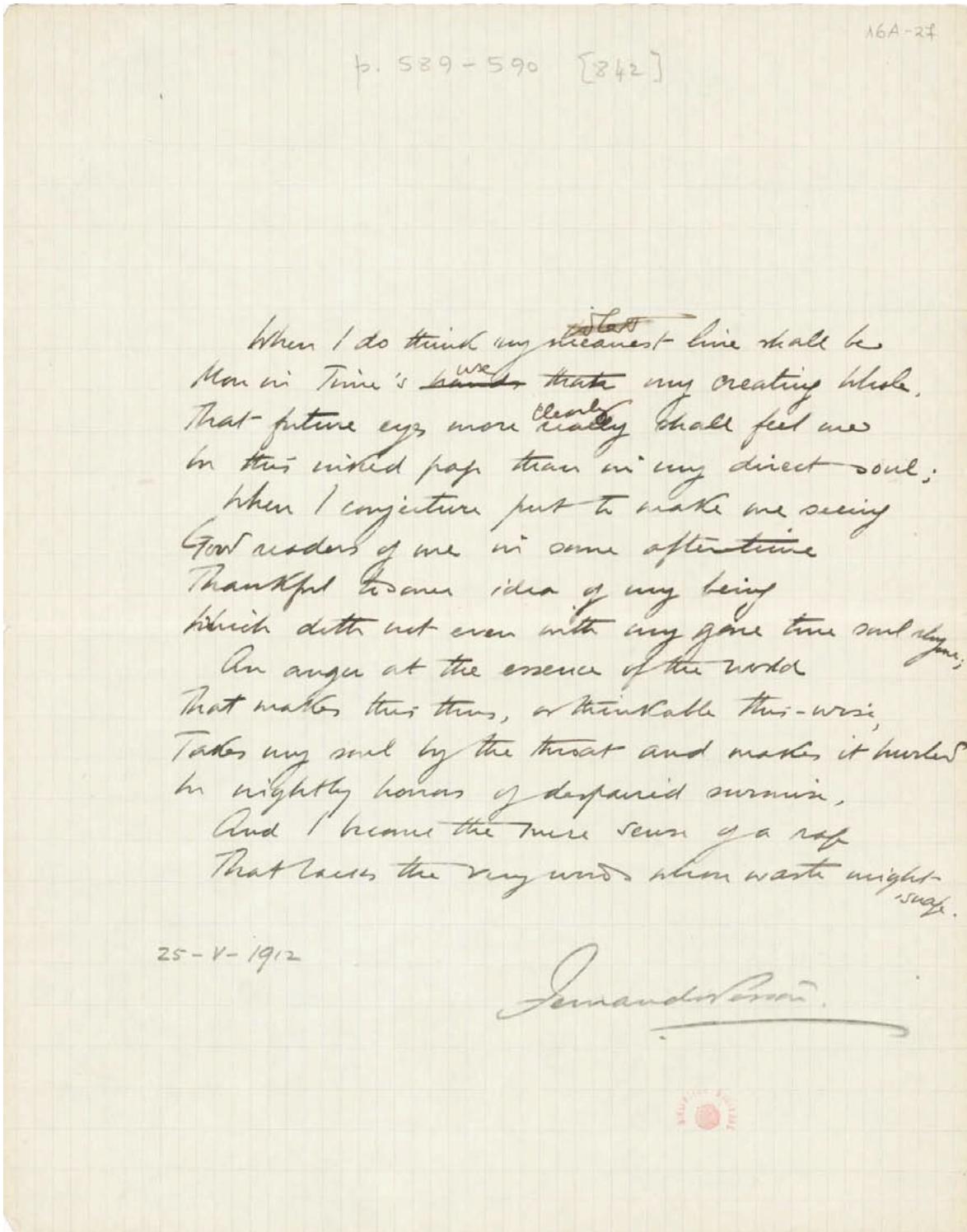


Fig. 1. Manuscript of Pessoa's "Sonnet III." BNP/E3, 16A-27.

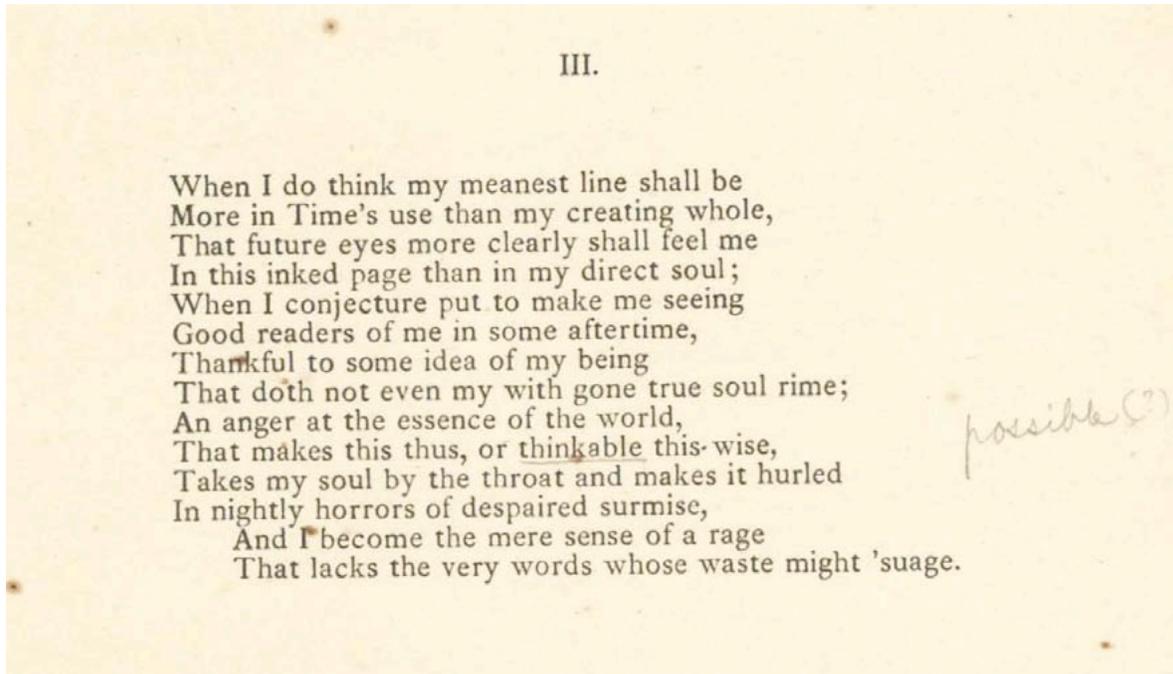


Fig. 2. "Sonnet III" as printed in the *35 Sonnets*. One of Pessoa's personal copies with marginal emendations datable to 1918. BNP/E3, 98<sup>1</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>. Detail.

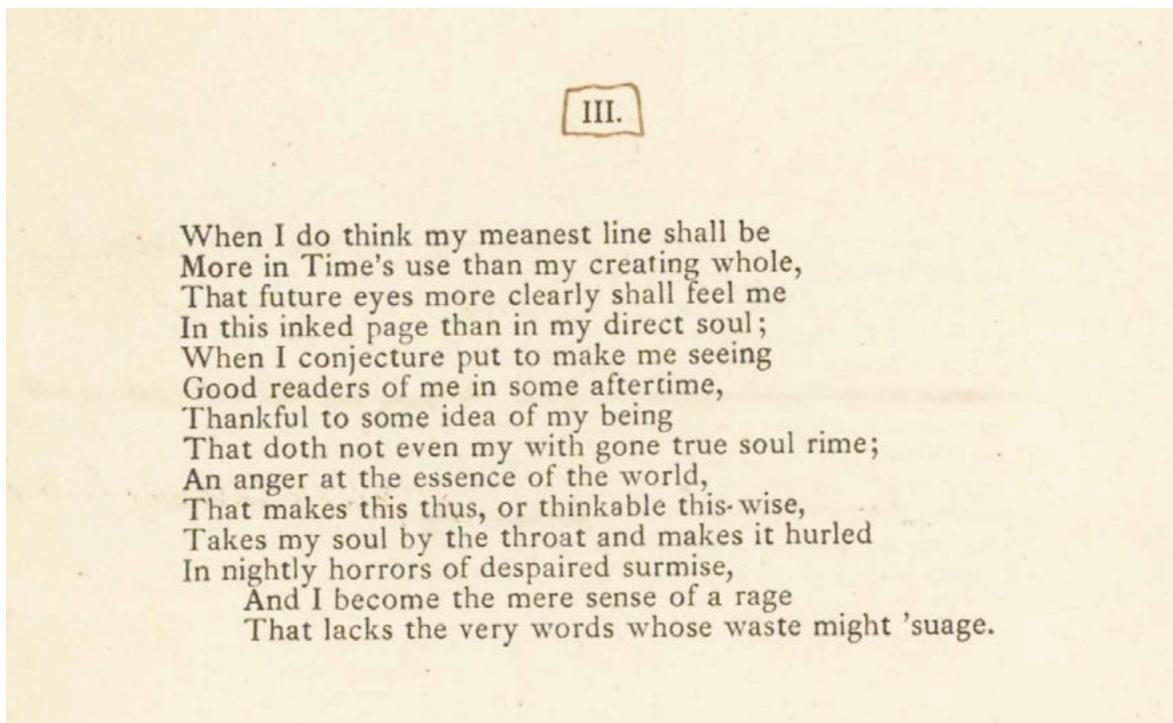
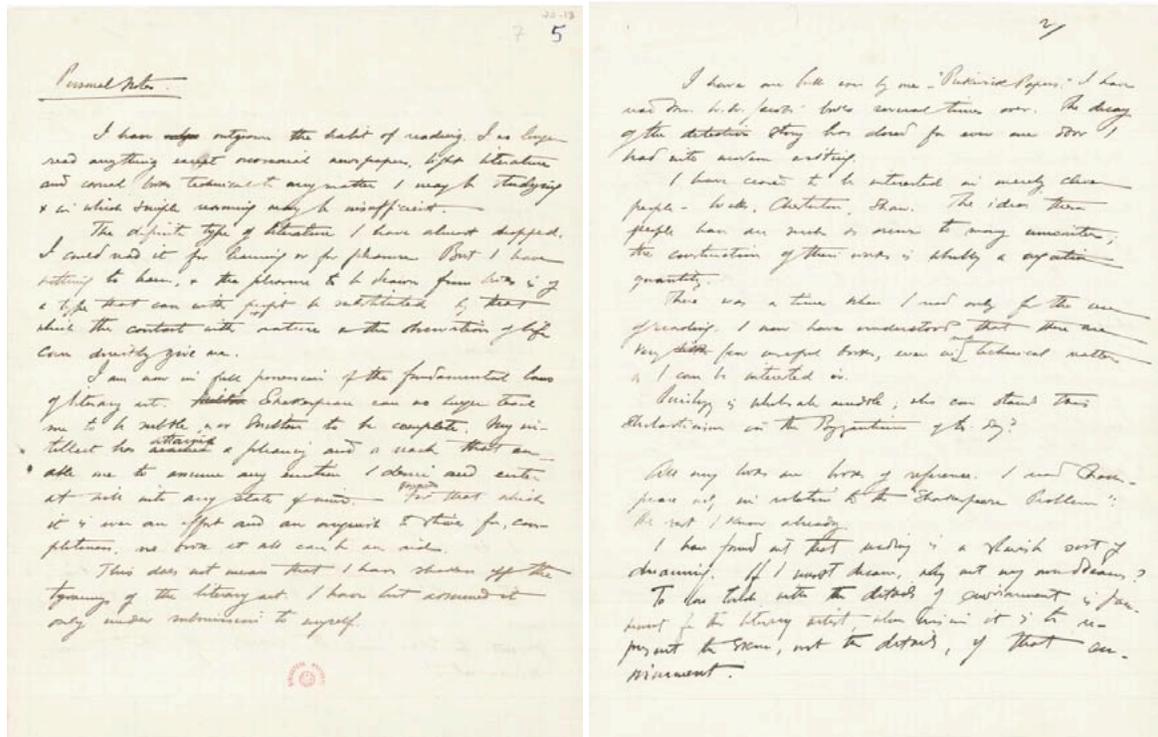


Fig. 3. "Sonnet III" as printed in the *35 Sonnets*. Pessoa's other personal copy with emendations datable to 1918. BNP/E3, 98<sup>2</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>. Detail.

As we have seen, Wyatt, Donne, Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope have different metrical dialects. Rhythmical variation becomes progressively more restricted from Wyatt to Pope: "any alignment of stresses with the basic metrical pattern that is found in Milton or Shakespeare is also metrical for Wyatt, and any

that is found in Pope is metrical for all the others, but Milton and Shakespeare each have lines that would not be allowed by the other" (KIPARSKY, 1977: 215). Milton and Shakespeare also differ with regard to enjambment (KIPARSKY, 1977: 216). Pope avoids a subtype of elision used by the other poets (KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). For fine-grained metrical analysis, the sort of analysis useful to editors, the concept of "unmetrical" must be relativized to the poet under inspection. What is "unmetrical" for Pope can be "metrical" for the other three poets, and what is "metrical" for Wyatt can be "unmetrical" for the others. Each poet has explored the possibilities of rhythmical variation, especially no doubt those used by illustrious predecessors, adopting some variations while avoiding others. A modernist is unlikely, of course, to accept Pope's as the best of all possible dialects of iambic pentameter. In an era when poems are typically encountered as printed or electronic texts, a poem can be studied at leisure and poets can present their readers with stiffer challenges, especially in a short form like the sonnet. Careful preparation may be required for effective oral performance of a modernist poem; but the performance can then circulate in recorded form, making the effort especially worthwhile. In my opinion, Pessoa's English sonnets are artful appropriations of the literary past. They deserve wider circulation and closer attention from literary scholars.

**Annex. [BNP/E3, 20-13].** Lined-paper handwritten in black ink. Datable to around 1915. Published in *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação* (PESSOA, 1966: 20-21), without the last paragraph. Pessoa left several passages praising Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers* (see PESSOA, 2013: 105-109). Seven books by W.W. Jacobs' books are extant in Pessoa's Private Library (see PIZARRO, FERRARI and CARDIELLO, 2010: 263-264 and 367). Numerous critics have argued that Francis Bacon (1561-1626), a writer of great erudition, had penned some of Shakespeare's plays. Fascinated by this hypothesis, Pessoa elaborated a bibliography with more than thirty titles regarding the "Questão Shakespeare-Bacon" (see 144D<sup>2</sup>-16 and 17) (fac-similed in PESSOA, 2006: I, 355) and wrote extensively on the matter. One article in Portuguese and several books in French and English on this controversy may be found in the Private Library (PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO, 2010: 50, 97, 190, 196, 239, 251, 263, 269, 275, 307, 320, 325, and 387). Pessoa left numerous unpublished fragments on the "Question" dating from 1912/1913.



Figs. 4 & 5. Manuscript of Pessoa's "Personal Notes." BNP/E3, 20-13<sup>r</sup> & 13<sup>v</sup>.

### Personal Notes.

I have outgrown<sup>1</sup> the habit of reading. I no longer read anything except occasional newspapers, light literature and casual books technical to any matter I may be studying and<sup>2</sup> in which simple reasoning may be insufficient.

The definite type of literature I have almost dropped. I could read it for learning or for pleasure. But I have nothing to learn, and<sup>3</sup> the pleasure to be drawn

from books is of a type that can with profit<sup>4</sup> be substituted by that which the contact with nature and<sup>5</sup> the observation of life can directly give me.

I am now in full possession of the fundamental laws of literary art. Shakespeare<sup>6</sup> can no longer teach me to be subtle, nor Milton to be complete. My intellect has attained<sup>7</sup> a pliancy and a reach that enable me to assume any emotion I desire and enter at will into any state of mind. Towards<sup>8</sup> that which it is ever an effort and an anguish to strive for, completeness, no book at all can be an aid.

This does not mean that I have shaken off the tyranny of the literary art. I have but assumed it only under submission to myself.

I have one book ever by me – “Pickwick Papers.” I have read Mr. W. W. Jacobs’ books several times over. The decay of the detective story has closed for ever one door I had into modern writing.

I have ceased to be interested in merely clever people – Wells, Chesterton, Shaw. The ideas these people have are such as occur to many non-writers<sup>9</sup>; the construction of their works is wholly a negative quantity.

There was a time when I read only for the use of reading. I now have understood that there are very few<sup>10</sup> useful books, even in such<sup>11</sup> technical matters as I can be interested in.

Sociology is wholesale muddle; who can stand this Scholasticism in the Byzantium of to-day?

All my books are books of reference. I read Shakespeare only in relation to the “Shakespeare Problem.” The rest I know already.

I have found out that reading is a slavish sort of dreaming. If I must dream, why not my own dreams?

To lose touch with the details of environment is paramount for the literary artist, whose mission it is to represent the scene, not the details, of that environment.

#### NOTES

- 1 <outg> outgrown
- 2 &] *in the original.*
- 3 *see note 2.*
- 4 *a cross under this word indicates hesitation and possible variant.*
- 5 *see note 2.*
- 6 <Milton> Shakespeare
- 7 <reached> [↑ attained]
- 8 For [↑ Towards]
- 9 nonwriters] *in the original.*
- 10 very <book> few
- 11 in [↑ such] technical

## Bibliography

- DAUNT, Marjorie (1968). "Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm." *Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry*. Edited by Jess B. Bessinger and Stanley J. Karhl. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books). [Reprint of the original 1947 article in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (for 1946), pp. 56-72].
- DUFFELL, Martin (2008). *A New History of English Metre*. London: Legenda.
- ELIOT, Thomas Stearns (1921). Review of *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler*, by Herbert J. C. Grierson, *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 October 1921, pp. 669-670.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Pessoa and Borges: In the Margins of Milton." *Variaciones Borges*, Daniel Balderston, ed., n° 40, University of Pittsburgh, Fall, pp. 3-21.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012). *Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Linguistics. Lisbon: University of Lisbon.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2014). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, 28, UMass at Dartmouth, Tagus Press, pp. 249-276.
- HALLE, Morris and Samuel Jay KEYSER (1971). *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse*. New York: Harper & Row.
- HAYES, Bruce (1983). "A Grid-Based Theory of English Meter." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 14, pp. 357-393.
- HOPKINS, Gerard Manley (1990). *The Poetical Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Edited by Norman H. MacKenzie. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1918). *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Edited by Robert Bridges. London: Humphrey Milford.
- JAKOBSON, Roman (1963). "On the So-Called Vowel Alliteration in Germanic Verse." *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft, und Kommunikationsforschung*, 16, pp. 85-92.
- KIPARSKY, Paul (1989). "Sprung Rhythm." KIPARSKY and YOUMANS, 1989, pp. 305-340.
- \_\_\_\_ (1977). "The Rhythmic Structure of English Verse." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8, pp. 189-247.
- KIPARSKY, Paul and Gilbert YOUMANS (1989). *Rhythm and Meter*. Vol. 1: *Phonetics and Phonology*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- MURPHY, Gerard (1961). *Early Irish Metrics*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2013). *Apreciações Literárias de Fernando Pessoa*. Edited by Pauly Ellen Bothe. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- \_\_\_\_ (2006). *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume VII. 2 volumes.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome I.
- \_\_\_\_ (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Texts established and prefaced by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- \_\_\_\_ (1918). *35 Sonnets*. Lisbon: Monteiro and Company.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- RUSSOM, Geoffrey (2011). "Word Patterns and Phrase Patterns in Universalist Metrics," in *Frontiers in Comparative Prosody*. Edited by Mihhail Lotman and Maria-Kristiina Lotman. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 337-371.

- SCHMIDT, Alexander (1971). *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition revised and enlarged by Gregor Sarrazin. New York: Dover. Unabridged republication of the 1902 edition entitled *Shakespeare-Lexicon*.
- YOUMANS, Gilbert (1989). "Milton's Meter." KIPARSKY and YOUMANS, 1989, pp. 341-379.

# Putting Your Heart to Sleep with Pentameters: A Prosodic, Lexical, and Syntactic Analysis of Fernando Pessoa's Sonnet X

Manuel Portela\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Language and Self, Parody, Sonnet Form, Sound and Sense, *35 sonnets*.

## Abstract

This article analyses Fernando Pessoa's Sonnet X ("As to a child, I talked my heart asleep") as a modernist parody of the Shakespearean sonnet. The presence of that highly constrained form is clearly recognizable at the level of both versification and language. At the same time, a number of "marked and essential differences" indicate that this poem is not a mere stylistic or thematic imitation of its model. The text's reflexive reference to the possibilities of splitting and binding sound to sense, on the one hand, and of splitting written self from writing self, on the other, highlight Pessoa's awareness of a self who is constituted in and through language. Weaving word-as-sound and word-as-sense with self-as-grammatical person, the text becomes the material evidence for the self-inventing and self-deceiving nature of literary activity.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Linguagem e Eu, Paródia, Forma do Soneto, Som e Sentido, *35 sonnets*.

## Resumo

Este artigo analisa o "Sonnet X" de Fernando Pessoa ("As to a child, I talked my heart asleep") como uma paródia modernista do soneto Shakespeariano. A presença desta forma tão constritiva é claramente reconhecível em ambas as dimensões da linguagem e da versificação. Ao mesmo tempo, um número de "marked and essential differences" (diferenças marcadas e essenciais) indicam que este poema não é apenas uma imitação estilística ou temática do seu modelo. A referência reflexiva do texto às possibilidades de dividir e amalgamar som e sentido, por um lado, e de separar o eu escrito do eu escritor, por outro lado, enfatizam a atenção de Pessoa a um eu que é construído na e através da linguagem. Entrecendo palavra-como-som e palavra-como-sentido com o eu-como-pessoa-gramatical, o texto torna-se a evidência material para o inventar-se e o iludir-se característicos da atividade literária.

---

\* Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, and Center for Portuguese Literature, University of Coimbra.

## Introduction

In an earlier essay, focused on Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese translation of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Raven," I showed that his version recreates rhythm, meter, rhyme and other sound recurrences of the original in a way that seems to prove Pessoa's notion of translation both as linguistic parody and authorial plagiarism (PORTELA, 2010). Translation is practiced as a total recreation of one form in another system of poetic and linguistic relations, as if it were possible for a given textual form to cross over the asymmetric and heterogeneous space between discursive and literary systems. This notion of translation as a parody of a specific authorial expressive form in another language suggests that the role of the translator is to create homologies between the material properties of different languages by means of compositional principles. Translation is not so much the translation of words and sentences as it is the translation of a complex space of formal relations across different systems, including the compositional processes that are internal to the particular language-form of the original text. The success of the translation depends on the recognition of parody, that is, of a relation between textual form in the original and textual form in the translation.

What I propose to do in this essay is a detailed analysis of one of the sonnets published in *35 Sonnets* by Fernando Pessoa (a self-published book, originally printed in 1918), whose original composition and initial stages of revision, according to the critical edition by João Dionísio, date from 1910-1912 (PESSOA, 1993: 8-14).<sup>1</sup> My reflection is concerned with the relations between the Shakespearean sonnet and Pessoa's parody of this form.<sup>2</sup> I will show how this parody takes place at several levels, including metrical effects and other sound patterns, lexical and semantic fields, syntactical and rhetorical structure. Going beyond mere pastiche or imitation, the use of the Shakespearean sonnet as a model allows him to explore the constraints of the sonnet form to construct complex rhythmic and semantic structures that distance themselves from their model. The tension between the sonnet's archaic appearance (including its highly regular patterns) and its modernist subject-matter, including its reflexiveness about

---

<sup>1</sup> For a genetic description of the first manuscript version of Sonnet X (BNP/E3, 49B<sup>3</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>) see João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1993: 198-200). There are two copies of the printed version of the *35 Sonnets* with several autograph annotations for revision, but Sonnet X is one of several that has no further authorial annotations (cf. BNP/E3, 98-1 and 98-2).

<sup>2</sup> Parody is used in this article in the sense of a formal critical variation on a previous form, without any implication of ironic distance to or derision of that form. Parody became frequent in modernist and postmodernist literary and artistic practices as the limits and problems of representation and convention were foregrounded in many works. See, for instance, Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-century Art Forms*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985. Hutcheon's definition of parody as "repetition with a difference" (101), and as "an important way for modern artists to come to terms with the past" (101) are useful in this context.

language and literary form, is a major source for effects of defamiliarization and difference.

### 1. “In the meting of its measure”: the poetry generator

The sonnet has been one of the most generative and productive poetic structures in Western literature. It has been calculated that, in the sixteenth century alone, more than 300,000 sonnets were produced in Western Europe. Although not as fashionable as it was during the Renaissance, the sonnet remained in constant use in various languages and poetic traditions, with particular surges at different periods. As an *a priori* structure it has evolved into many different forms, including many parodic forms in the modernist and post-modernist periods. From Gerard Manley Hopkins to e.e. cummings, Robert Lowell, Edwin Morgan, Geoffrey Hill, bpNichol or Tony Harrison, in English, or from Antero de Quental to E. M. de Melo e Castro, Fernando Aguiar or Manuel António Pina, in Portuguese, it has remained a powerful signifier and medium for poetry in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> Sonnet parodies can be based on an individual sonnet, on a particular type of sonnet or on the very structure of the sonnet. In this last instance, it is the sonnet’s bare structure that can be abstracted as a numerical generator of syllables, lines and stanzas, as well as stress and rhyme patterns. Pessoa’s sonnets could be described as parodic in the second sense, that is, as an evocation or emulation of a particular type of sonnets, the Elizabethan or Shakespearean sonnet.<sup>4</sup>

Metrical and rhythmical complexity in Pessoa’s English poems has been extensively analyzed by Patricio Ferrari (2012a and 2012b), who has demonstrated the importance of an understanding of stanza design, metrical patterns, and rhyme scheme as aids to a paleographical or grammatical transcription of Pessoa’s poetry. Ferrari showed that Pessoa applied specific metrical patterns to many of his

---

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Queneau, for instance, used the sonnet form for his work *Cent Mille Millions de Poèmes* (1961), highlighting the generative nature of the sonnet as a programmable combinatorial machine. There are now many such programmed sonnet generators that use a sample of lines as a database for random permutations. See, for example, “Shakespeare’s Sonnet Generator” (2014-2015, <http://www.nothingisreal.com/sonnet/>), by Tristan Miller and Dave Morice. For other examples of 20th-century uses of the sonnet form in English, French, Italian and Spanish, see Darras (1999). For a brief introduction to the history and form of the English sonnet, see Fuller (1972).

<sup>4</sup> “Elizabethan sonnet” and “Shakespearean sonnet” are often used as synonyms, despite the fact that poetic patterns and literary styles vary considerably when we compare sonnets by Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Edmund Spenser, Philip Sidney, Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson or John Donne, for instance (Prince, 1977). Literary historians generally consider Shakespeare’s 154 sonnet collection as the pinnacle of the Elizabethan sonnet, and they highlight the conventionality of images, metaphors and rhymes used by most Elizabethan sonneteers. “English sonnet” is the generic designation of the sonnet structure with 4+4+4+2 lines, which become the most common in English, although the Italian sonnet ([4+4]+[3+3]) continued to be used by several poets, namely Milton.

unfinished and fragmentary poems, and that he self-consciously experimented with Miltonic and Shakespearean models in English, and with Baudelairean models in French (2012b). He has also suggested that Pessoa's early compositions in regular verse in English and French, according to different metrical models, may have contributed to his stylistic versatility in these languages: "In the pursuit to develop stylistic identities (his own as well as that of the fictional writers he gradually shaped), the poetic diction and metrical versatility attained by Pessoa before the decisive return to his native Portuguese is worth investigating and his incursions in French verse are rather telling in this respect." (2012b: 12).

Geoffrey Russom (2016) has further shown that Pessoa's sonnets were not a failed imitation of the metrical form of the Shakespearean sonnet, but rather a complex elaboration of its prosodic and grammatical patterns to accommodate his modernist diction and discursive self-awareness. Russom's detailed linguistic analysis of foot boundaries, metrical positions, and stress distribution (including inversions) in relation to lexical units, phrase units, sentence structure, and line closure demonstrates that Pessoa's metrical complexity in the *35 Sonnets* is, in fact, an appropriation and transformation of the Shakespearean iambic pentameter. The various types of rhythmical variation that Russom found in the *35 Sonnets* highlight not only Pessoa's knowledge of versification in English, obtained by reading and studying works by Shakespeare and Milton, but also his attempt to explore the basic iambic pentameter pattern in new ways, of which the use of function words as rhyming words and his experimentation with enjambments are two significant examples.<sup>5</sup>

It was Fernando Pessoa himself who claimed the proximity of the style of his English poems to the style of Elizabethan poetry. In a copy of a typewritten letter, dated 26 December 1912 and written in English, when he was writing sonnets, we read:

The state of mind of what is high and poetic in contemporary Portuguese souls being precisely similar to the Elizabethan state of mind [...], it is clear that a contemporary Portuguese, not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses, who should possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages, will, naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly, lapse, if he write in English, into a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan, though, of course, with certain marked and essential differences. I am, as far as I can confess, in this position [...]

(PESSOA, 1993: 36, n. 3)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Geoffrey Russom's essay "Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's *35 Sonnets*," also in this issue.

<sup>6</sup> Referring to this letter, Jorge de Sena argues that Shakespeare is only mentioned as a symbol of a literary age to a friend who did not know English literature, claiming that Pessoa's sonnet sequence is a modernization of Elizabethan and Jacobean sonnet sequences not necessarily limited to Shakespeare's: "Na verdade, a sequência, na extrema complicação estilística e na análise das relações abstractas do conhecimento e da linguagem, era muito mais uma modernização das

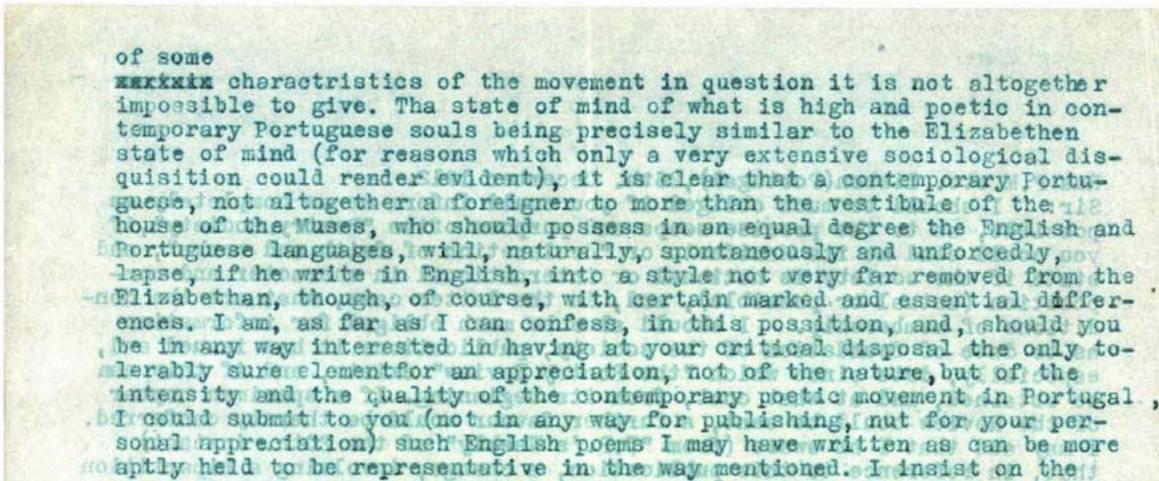


Fig. 1 Part of a letter dated December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1912. BNP/E3, 114-57<sup>v</sup>. Detail.

Besides indicating his poetical affinities and aspirations, the proximity that Pessoa suggests between “the state of mind” in those two historical moments serves the rhetorical function of justifying precisely what would seem most “unnatural” to a reader of his English sonnets: the anachronistic stylistic proximity between texts written in English by a Portuguese poet of the early twentieth century and the style of an Elizabethan English poet of the early seventeenth century. His naturalization of this programmatic anachronism is further based on a second paradoxical assumption: that this manifestation of a contemporary Portuguese poet in the style of an Elizabethan English poet results from an equivalent level of fluency in both languages, as if the mastery of those two languages could only lead a contemporary Portuguese poet to write as an Elizabethan English poet. The unstated assumption is, of course, that Pessoa (“not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses”) would mean for Portuguese literature what Shakespeare means for English literature. The question is not so much a question of style as it is a question of symbolic value.

From this rhetorical attempt at naturalizing the stylistic disparity resulting from the use of two different linguistic and poetic codes, several other questions can be asked: under what circumstances is identical fluency in two languages really possible (“possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages”)? Do not linguistic competence asymmetries necessarily depend upon asymmetries in the socialization in each language, as it happens when one is

---

numerosas seqüências de sonetos dos reinados de Isabel I e de Jaime I, que propriamente dos sonetos de Shakespeare, cuja complicação intelectual é compensada por uma directa paixão lírica que não há nos de Pessoa.” [In effect, in its extreme stylistic complexity and in its analysis of the abstract relations of knowledge and language, the sequence was much more a modernization of the numerous Elizabethan and Jacobean sonnet sequences than strictly of the sonnets by Shakespeare, whose intellectual complexity is offset by a direct lyrical passion that cannot be found in Pessoa’s.] (PESSOA, 1974: 39, n. 1).

developed mainly within a school environment or based mostly on the reading of texts or on exposure to a second language at a certain age? On the other hand, asymmetry and interference between the codes of two or more languages are not themselves powerful mechanisms of poetic creation, as seems to have happened with many modernist and twentieth-century writers who worked in that space across two languages? Pessoa's mythic claim is also an indication of his still shifting identity between Portuguese and English as the major language for his writing.

Pessoa's ability to master the rhythms and structures of both languages and to experiment with their interference can certainly be demonstrated in the case of his translation of "The Raven." His extraordinary sense of the plasticity of linguistic forms has benefited from this extended linguistic space offered by the English and Portuguese languages. In some cases, this is also true of the rhythmic repertoire he used: in his translation of "The Raven," for instance, he has attempted to integrate the syllabic-based prosody of Portuguese popular poetry with the stress-based prosody of Poe's highly constrained meter. Poe's varied uses of trochaic feet (structured into octameters, heptameters and tetrameters) are translated using the traditional Portuguese seven-syllable verse of popular poetry (PORTELA, 2010: 47-49). At the same time, Pessoa was able to recreate Poe's trochaic rhythm in many lines (FERRARI, 2012a: 150-152).

However, the "naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly" passage of a Portuguese bilingual poet writing in English into a style "not very far removed" from the Elizabethan is contradicted both by close reading of the sonnets, and by genetic analysis of first drafts as well as manuscript annotations of a printed annotated copy of his *35 Sonnets*, where one can document the conscious effort to approximate the Elizabethan metrical and argumentative form. In the analysis of "As to a child, I talked my heart asleep" I will show how Pessoa "lapses" into "a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan," in particular into the style of the Shakespearean sonnet, although with "certain marked and essential differences." In this case, the interesting question – to which this article offers my tentative answer – is precisely this one: what are these "certain marked and essential differences" in the pseudo-Elizabethan diction that Pessoa invented for his sonnets? What are the particular poetic effects obtained by using this highly abstract form? And why, if you are in Pessoa's position as a modernist bilingual poet, would you "lapse" into that earlier style? Is he actually writing "modernist" Elizabethan sonnets?

The reflexive nature of the sonnet as a self-conscious self-contained literary form provides a constrained structure particularly suited for exploring the tensions and contradictions of self-consciousness in language. My analysis starts with a series of graphic representations depicting sound patterns in Sonnet X: analysis of meter and rhythm, including the identification of the basic pattern – iambic

pentameter [5 x (X /)] – and variations on this pattern; analysis of relations between word-boundaries and syllable-boundaries; analysis of final rhymes, including identification of semantic relations sustained by sound associations; analysis of other sound recurrences: assonance, consonance, alliteration and internal rhymes (Tables 1-4). Sense patterns are also analyzed through a series of tables: identification of semantic and lexical fields; polysemy and semantic ambiguity; metaphors, metonymy, images and comparisons; similarities, differences, and oppositions; verbal tense, verbal modality, and verbal aspect; deictic markers, including pronouns, and temporal/spatial references (Tables 5-9).

## 2. “My words made sleep”: a library of rhythms

The communicative constraints imposed by rhythmic patterns are an integral element in shaping a particular voice as both written and aural expression. Writing in heteronyms is also speaking in rhythms as if each particular scripting act was scanned or meant to be read aloud. In fact Pessoa’s writing could also be described as an extended experiment with the living rhythms of language. Arguably, the fiction of his heteronyms is sustained not only through a unique psychology, biography and writing style, but also by means of a distinct prosody in both prose and poetry texts, as Ferrari has claimed (2012a). Voices emerge as particular verbal rhythms become entangled with certain syntactic, semantic and discursive patterns. In Pessoa’s work we are made constantly aware of literature as a library of rhythms that bind together the double helix of emotion and thought.

This binding of written and aural is instantiated in the adoption of the Elizabethan iambic pentameter as a metrical model for his English sonnets. One of the implications of any metrical organization of language is the fact that it requires patterns to be constructed at the infra-lexical level of the syllable. In a language with high frequency of monosyllabic words,<sup>7</sup> the act of producing regular rhythms based on metrical patterns often implies a contextual rearrangement of the metrical stress for certain types of words, so that they satisfy the conditions of unstressed or stressed position within a given metrical pattern. In Pessoa’s Sonnet X, the relation between word division and syllable division shows the following ratios (the first number indicates number of words per line, the second number indicates number of syllables per line):

---

<sup>7</sup> Editor’s note: Having an abundant syllabic repertoire, English is a language rich in monosyllables (MELHER and NESPOR, 2004: 219). According to DUFFELL (2002: 305), monosyllables account for circa 75% of the words employed in Modern English poetic texts. Friedberg’s percentage is even higher: 78.2% (FRIEDBERG, 2011: 11). Portuguese has longer prosodic words (FROTA *et al.*, 2012).

Line 1:  $9/10 = 0,9$   
 Line 2:  $7/10 = 0,7$   
 Line 3:  $9/10 = 0,9$   
 Line 4:  $10/10 = 1$   
 Line 5:  $10/10 = 1$   
 Line 6:  $7/11 = 0,63$   
 Line 7:  $9/10 = 0,9$   
 Line 8:  $8/11 = 0,72$   
 Line 9:  $10/10 = 1$   
 Line 10:  $7/10 = 0,7$   
 Line 11:  $8/11 = 0,72$   
 Line 12:  $7/10 = 0,7$   
 Line 13:  $8/10 = 0,8$   
 Line 14:  $8/10 = 0,8$   
 Total number of words= 117  
 Total number of syllables= 143  
 Word/syllable ratio= 0,81

There are 26 disyllabic words (22%) and 91 monosyllabic words (78%) (including words such as “talked” or “cared” which are scanned as one metrical syllable) in this sonnet (Table 1). Its ratio of monosyllabic to multisyllabic word frequency (3,5) is slightly higher, for instance, than the ratio that we find in Shakespeare’s sonnets. Three lines out of fourteen with 10 monosyllabic words is also a slightly higher frequency than what we find in most Shakespeare’s sonnets. This means that echoes of the Elizabethan sonnet prosody can be found even in this syllabic ratio, and not only in the basic iambic pentameter (X/) and rhyme pattern (ABAB CDCD EFEF GG) or in the relative frequency of the lexical items mentioned below, suggesting that Pessoa carefully studied not only meter and rhyme patterns but also syllable and word boundaries in the vocabulary of Shakespeare’s sonnets.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> One significant prosodic feature in Shakespeare’s sonnets is the fact that lines with 10 monosyllabic words (i.e., where syllable boundaries and word boundaries coincide) often occur in the closing couplet, thus reinforcing sound-sense correlations at the crucial moment of concluding the argument.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep	
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,	
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep	
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.	
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake	
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take	
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for	
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,	
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.	
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart	
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.	

Table 1. Syllable boundaries and word boundaries in Sonnet X: the ratio of disyllabic to monosyllabic words.

As sonic devices for controlling the relative duration or the relative stress of each syllable according to specific clusters of short and long or unstressed and stressed syllables, metrical patterns control the articulatory and acoustic rhythm of a given textual string. Meter can even be seen as a factor in the syllabification of words, that is, in defining syllable boundaries and introducing modifications in order to accommodate particular patterns, and thus reconcile word morphology with the sound dynamics of the line (Table 2). There are textual strings in which the tension between lexical stress and metrical stress will result in the modification of the basic metrical pattern: a trochaic instead of an iambic foot, as happens in lines 7 and 11; a catalectic extension of half foot at end of lines 6, 8 and 11, generally referred to as “feminine ending” in English poetry.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,	
X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	X	/	
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take	
X	(/)	X	/	/	X	X	/	X	/	
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	X
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er
/	X	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	

Table 2. Pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables: the iambic pentameter.

Three sonic features are noticeable when we compare the two initial quatrains: frequency of sound recurrences within the first quatrain is higher and more regular than those in the second quatrain; there are more disyllabic words in the second quatrain (the ratio is 8 to 5) with one trochaic disyllabic word breaking the metric pattern; the falling-rising intonation of the iambic pentameter pattern perceptible at word level – which defines the rhythm of the entire poem – is submitted to an overall rising intonation at the sentence level when sentences become questions in lines 5-6 and 7-8. Those sound changes match the rhetorical movement of the text, which moves from the initial lullaby effect that induces the state of sleep to a logical argument about the relation of meaning to wakefulness and about the soothing effect of measured language. Recurrences of /f/, /m/ e /s/ as well the text's rhyming patterns associate the various textual moments and

reinforce the text's repetitive sound texture, making alliteration, internal rhymes and final rhymes work in conjunction with the semantics to offer the sonnet as a rhythmic embodiment of its meaning (Tables 3 and 4).

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 3. Final rhyme scheme: abab cdcd efef gg.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		t/s
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		p/m
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		s/m
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		s
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		f/w
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	k
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		n
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	m
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		s
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		p/s
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	f
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		s
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		d
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		s

Table 4. Other sound recurrences: assonance, consonance, alliteration and internal rhymes.

### 3. "What their sense did say": a promise of meaning

An analysis of the lexical and semantic fields of the sonnet confirms a significant intersection with the lexicon of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, suggesting that Pessoa is writing with the memory and reference of those sonnets also at the lexical and

semantic level. The most frequent lexemes in this poem (with two or more instances) also occur in the 154 sonnets: in descending order, “heart,” “day,” “words,” “sleep,” “sense,” “joy,” “care,” “flower,” “deceive,” “measure,” and “promise.”<sup>9</sup> Word-cloud visualization allows us to represent the relative frequency of words in Sonnet X by Fernando Pessoa (excluding prepositions, articles and other connectors) (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Lexical and semantic fields: word-cloud of word frequencies.

Relations among the various lexical items suggest that they structure the semantic fields in the text around three major networks: language and poetry; sleep and wakefulness; feelings and actions (Table 5). A closely knit network of semantic relations based on a limited and repeated number of lexical items, which are associated in terms of metaphorical and metonymic similarities and contrasts, is one of the sources of conceptual unity in the Shakespearean sonnet. Semantic closure, in this instance, is provided by the word “heart,” used in the opening line, and again in the final couplet as a rhyming word. If we add the role that conceptual word games, including puns, play in the Elizabethan sonnet, exploring double meanings and ambiguities, we can see further aspects of the relationship between model and parody. The process of creating ambiguity usually depends on using the same word but making modulations and inflections through processes of verbal recontextualization that change the word’s meaning.

Two key moments in this sonnet show how one word can be perceptually modulated at both the phonetic and semantic level. The first one is the very

<sup>9</sup> In Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, the number of occurrences for those words are as follows: “heart” (58 instances, of which “my heart” (23) [+ “hearts” (4)], “day” (26) [+ “days” (17)], “words” (10), “sleep” (7), “sense” (8) [+ “senses” (2)], “joy” (8) [+ “enjoy, enjoyed, enjoyer” (8)], “care” (6), “flower” (5) [+ “flowers” (8)], “deceive” (2) [+ “deceived (2) + “deceivest” (1)], “measure” (2) [+ “measured” (1)], and “promise” (1).

inflection on the word “sense” that results from its dislocation from an alliterative context to a non-alliterative context: “Than from a thought of what their sense did say. | For did it care for sense, would it not wake.” Those occurrences signal the split between sound and sense at the heart of language and which is a driving theme in this poem. Placed at the end of the first quatrain within the alliterative pattern “sense did say,” it becomes part of the self-reference to the pleasure derived from listening to language and feeling its quieting effect as lullaby. On the second instance, on the contrary, placed immediately before a comma-length caesura, and isolated from any strong sound recurrence with its adjacent neighbors (“care for sense, would it”), the emphasis is placed on the semantic reference. The priming of sound over sense resulting from phonetic repetitions is replaced by the priming of sense over sound: this line marks the beginning of the counter-argument in the second stanza which substitutes the sleeping-inducing sound recurrences of lines 1-4 by the more stark logical reasoning of lines 5-8. Finally the word reappears as an echo in “senses” just before the final concluding couplet: “Which the less active senses best enjoy.” The relation of “sense” to “senses” is now suggested as another aspect of the relation between sleepiness and wakefulness, between sensing sound and sensing meaning, between enjoying the flower and enjoying the fruit.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

**Table 5. Lexical items and semantic fields:** LANGUAGE AND POETRY (talked, words-words, thought, sense-sense, say, meting, measure); SLEEP AND WAKEFULNESS (asleep-sleep-slept-sleepy/wake, day, morrow); FEELINGS AND ACTIONS (promise-promise-promised, care-cared, joy-enjoy, pleasure; deceit-deceit; knows); NATURE (fruit, flower); BODY AND SELF (heart-heart, self, itself, senses).

The text's enactment of temporality is skillfully divided into several moods, which are in turn inflected by tense and aspect changes: past tense in the indicative mood (first quatrain) gives way to past tense in the conditional mood (second quatrain), followed again by past tense in the subjunctive mood (first two lines in the third quatrain). The hypothetical and the conditional become grammatical expressions of the unbridgeable distance between sound and meaning (Table 6). Next, there is a transition in the verb's aspect to a continuing duration (last two lines in the third quatrain) anticipating the shift to the present tense in the final couplet, where the text's deictic temporal reference catches up with the moment of enunciation by self-referring to the writing act and thus to the poem itself as part of the self-deceiving process of measured language: "do I detain the heart," "self knows itself a part." The possibility of being in language emerges through the self's temporal presence in the very act of enunciating the text. The voice becomes self-conscious about the act of existing in the sounds of language.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 6. Verbal forms: mood, tense, aspect.

Sonnet X also conforms to the syllogistic structure of the Elizabethan sonnet, which is syntactically marked by connectors such as "and," "for," "if" or "but" in the first two quatrains – where the premises are expressed – followed by "so," "thus" or "then" in the third quatrain or in the final couplet – where the conclusion (sometimes a paradoxical conclusion) is stated. Pessoa's sonnet also develops a syllogistic argument: the second quatrain offers a counterpoint to the first quatrain in the form of two questions; the third quatrain takes the conclusion from the initial premises; the final couplet picks up the central word in the poem "heart" and states the paradoxical conclusion of the "self-deceiving" heart (Table 7). Likewise, the distribution of sentences per lines or line groups confirms the expectations of its model: one declarative sentence in the first quatrain, followed

by two interrogative sentences in the second quatrain, followed by a second declarative sentence in the third quatrain, and a third declarative sentence in the final couplet. The match between rhyme pattern and sentence distribution across the lines further confirms a close adherence to its model: sentence 1-*abab*; sentence 2 [question 1]-*cd*; sentence 3 [question 2]-*cd*; sentence 4-*efef*; sentence 5-*gg*. The only significant divergence between syntactic pauses and line-endings can be seen in the transitions between lines 7-8 (“to take | The promise”) and 9-10 (“but for | The present) where the rhythmic pause at the end of the line does not coincide with a grammatical pause.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 7. Sentence structure and argumentation: assumptions and conclusions.

Now that I have described the network of relations that links Pessoa's to the Elizabethan sonnet, it is time to turn our attention to “certain marked and essential differences.” What are those differences that distance Pessoa's *35 Sonnets* from his Elizabethan models?

Jorge de Sena's reading of the *35 Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1974: 77-81) charts the emergence of two unifying themes that hold the sonnet sequence together: the existential paralysis that is a consequence of the undecidable split between dream and reality or thought and action; and the impossibility of self-knowledge expressed as the distance between feeling the self and communicating the self, thus anticipating Pessoa's psychological rationalization of the heteronyms and the notion of self as an empty mask. Sena finds in “Autopsicografia”'s the last stanza an echo from Sonnet X and sees it as the only poem in Pessoa's sonnet sequence in which the expression of emotion goes beyond the formal and stylistic play with the English sonnet structure, generally characterized as “exercícios de virtuosismo e de obsessão com a realidade” [“exercises of virtuosity and obsession with reality”] (80). Adopting a twelve-syllable meter, Jorge de Sena's translation is thus informed

by a retrospective reading of Sonnet X as the expression of dilemmas that we find in Pessoa's later writings:

Como criança, que fôra, o coração embalo  
 Com o vago prometer do dia de amanhã.  
 E ele adormece mais porque o falar faz sono  
 Que por pensar sentidos no falar que digo.  
 Pois, se os pensara, acaso não acordaria  
 Para inquirir ao certo os gozos de amanhã?  
 Não cingiria o jeito das palavras para  
 A promessa conter na forma que medisse?  
 E assim, se dorme, apenas é por se entregar  
 Ao de hoje sono que há na prometida festa.  
 Agradecendo o fruto pela prévia flor  
 Que os sonos menos acordados melhor gozam.  
 Eis que de enganos só meu coração detenho  
 Do qual o mesmo engano sabe que é uma parte.

(PESSOA, 1974: 167)

Because it highlights the presence of Pessoa's existential and literary dilemmas, Sena's translation is another way of capturing "certain marked and essential differences." The difference introduced by Portuguese prosody and Sena's lexical choices releases the text's potential meanings from their abstract rhythmic and rhetoric constraints, providing another linguistic and poetic probe into its verbal form as distinct from its models. The sonnet's strict adherence to Elizabethan versification models and conceptual structures cannot prevent it from staging the mode of relation of writing and language to self that is specific to Pessoa's modernist consciousness. By reading this sonnet both in relation with its Elizabethan models and in relation to Pessoa's later writings, it is possible to recognize it as a complex formal parody and not a mere imitation or a variation.

It is the patterned use of language – that is, the poem itself – that talks the heart to sleep. The quieting of the heart is a physical effect of the patterned use of language: it is the rhythm of poetry, its measure, and not the "empty promise" contained in the meaning of words, which is the source of joy. And yet, the heart is a self-deceiving heart because it knows that it is being deceived by "The present sleepy use of promised joy" (l. 10). Insofar as Sonnet X can be read as an *ars poetica* about the nature and function of poetry as verbal art, it is markedly different from the Shakespearean sonnet's belief in its power in arresting beauty and preserving life or giving verbal form to love. In Shakespeare, most self-references to verses, lines, numbers and rhymes are made as an invocation of their ability to present or represent objects of beauty and love as objects of writing.<sup>10</sup> In Sonnet X, there are

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the following sonnets by Shakespeare: XVII ("Who will believe my verse in time to come"); XIX ("Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion's paws,"); XXI ("So is it not with me as with that Muse,"); XXXVIII ("How can my muse want subject to invent,"); LXXIX ("Whilst I alone did

similar references to literary art and language, such as “my words,” “sense” and “measure”. The use of the archaic “meting of its measure”, to refer to metrical feet and the rhythmic patterning of language, is a lexical marker of the presence of its Elizabethan models. However, there is no particular belief in the representational power of measured language, whose numbing effect is presented as a self-deceiving promise of joy. Rhythmic and semantic effects at the textual surface are offered as evidence of the unresolvable tension of sound and sense, writing self and written self.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

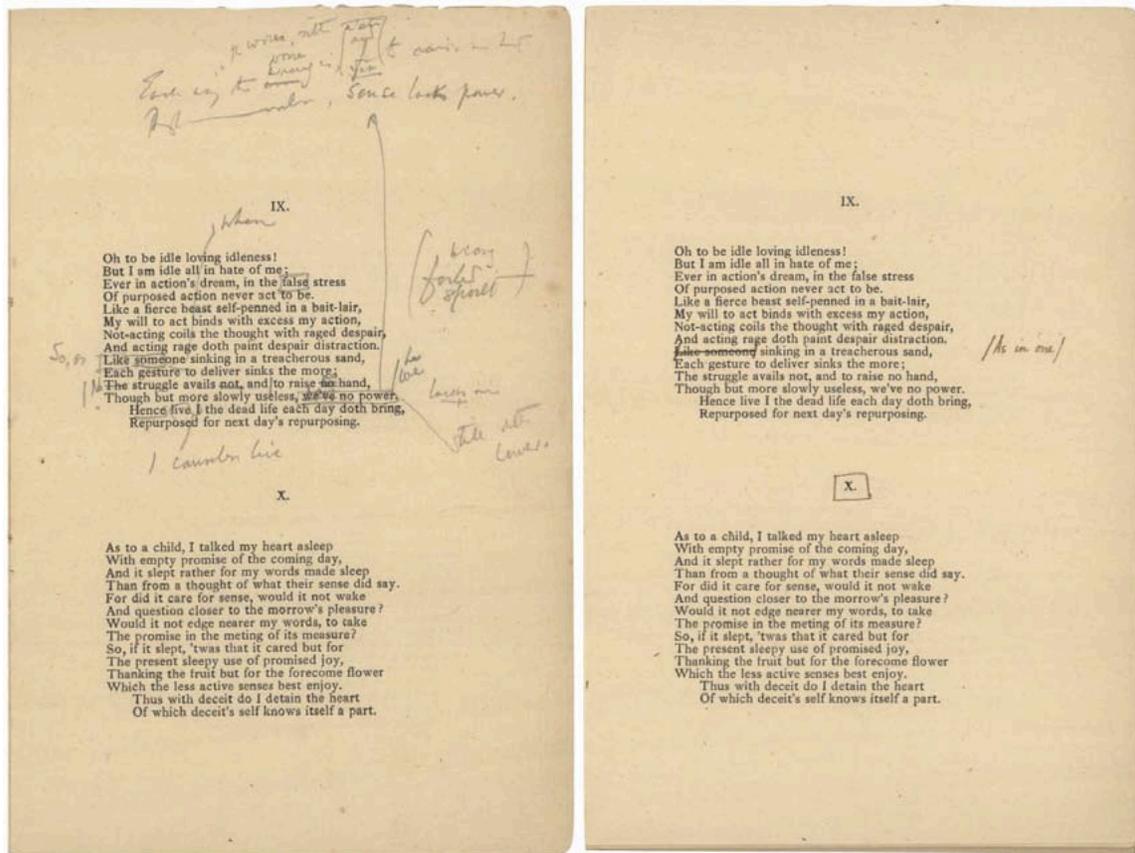
Table 8. Enunciation: grammatical persons.

The poem's system of deictic references is built around the split between the first person (the speaker) and the third person (the speaker's heart). There are three occurrences for the first person: “I talked my heart” (l. 1) “my words” (l. 2) and “I detain the heart” (l.13); and there are eight occurrences for the third person referring to the heart: “it slept” (l. 3), “did it care” (l. 5), “would it not wake” (l. 6), “would it not edge” (l. 7), “its measure” (l. 8), “it slept” (l. 9), “it cared but for” (l.9) and “knows itself” (l. 14) (Table 8). Unlike the more frequent speaker-addressee deictic structure that we find in Shakespeare, Pessoa's reflexive meditation on poetry and language is based on the alterity of heart to self, i.e., of self to self. The personification of the speaker's heart is also the embodiment of the double-bind of consciousness. “It” captures the self-awareness of the subject provided by language. This is one of the “marked and essential differences” that set this sonnet apart from its Elizabethan models, and place it in a distinct system of meanings.

---

call upon thy aid,”); LXXXI (“Or I shall live your epitaph to make,”); LXXXVI (“Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,”); CIII (“Alack! what poverty my Muse brings forth,”); and CV (“Let not my love be called idolatry,”).

Iambic pentameter, rhyme structure, lexical fields, sentence structure, and the way the ensemble of prosodic and semantic features are intertwined to form lines of poetry all seem to converge to confirm the “natural lapse” into the Elizabethan style. A particular type of sonnet becomes recognizable as an abstract network of relations that map formal relations of sound onto formal relations of meaning, and vice versa. However, a number of variations on that mapping are enough to distance Pessoa’s sonnet from its models, and establish a parodic relation between both sonnet forms. As a highly codified signifier of poetic discourse, the sonnet becomes a generator for exploring complex patterns of measured language that interrogate the nature of poetry and the relation of the self to itself. Sound-sense correlations are shown as an embodiment of the affective power of language on self-cognition and self-perception.



Figs. 3 & 4. Pages from published copies of the 35 *Sonnets* with emendations by Pessoa; BNP/E3, 98-3r.

49 B<sup>3</sup>. 49

As to a child, I ~~talked~~ my heart asleep  
 with empty promises of the cunning  
 but it slept rather for my words <sup>say;</sup> ~~was sleep~~  
 than by belief in what <sup>their never</sup> ~~any words~~ I say;  
~~from a thought~~

For did it so believe <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ would not wake?  
 And question closer to the <sup>moment in</sup> cunning <sup>phases?</sup> ~~play?~~  
 how it set eyes never my <sup>words</sup> ~~words~~ to take  
 The promise in the making of its measure?

So if it slept <sup>two</sup> that it <sup>could</sup> not  
 How far it <sup>came</sup>, how much <sup>for</sup> ~~truth~~ away,

And I, should it <sup>me</sup> ~~me~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>forget</sup>,  
 with little words explained its ~~thoughts~~ <sup>away</sup>.

2

1          2          3

Thus with deceit I <sup>do</sup> ~~do~~ <sup>deceive</sup> the  
 of which deceit <sup>is</sup> ~~itself~~ <sup>known</sup> ~~itself~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~part~~  
 part.

if there are heart deceivers <sup>part</sup> ~~itself~~ asleep  
 How meshed of cunning  
 is not heart & heart!

If I deceive myself asleep with art

Fig. 5. Draft of "Sonnet X" from 35 Sonnets. BNP/E3, 49B<sup>3</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>.

## Bibliography

- DARRAS, Jacques (ed.) (1999). *Les métamorphoses du sonnet*. Bruxelles: Le Cri.
- DUFFELL, Martin J. (2002). "The Italian line in English after Chaucer." *Language and Literature*, n° 11, pp. 291-305.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2012a). "Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa." Department of Linguistics. University of Lisbon. PhD Thesis.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012b). "Genetic Criticism and the Relevance of Metrics in Editing Pessoa's Poetry." *Pessoa Plural — a Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n° 2, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 1-57.
- \_\_\_\_ (2015). "Bridging Archives: Twenty-Five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, n° 8, Carlos Pittella, guest editor, Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431.
- FRIEDBERG, Nila (2011). *English Rhythms in Russian Verse: On the Experiment of Joseph Brodsky*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- FROTA, Sónia, Charlotte Galves, Marina Vigário, Verónica Gonzalez-Lopez, and Bernadete Abaurde (2012). "The Phonology of Rhythm: from Classical to Modern Portuguese." *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, n° 2.2, pp. 173–207.
- FULLER, John (1972). *The Sonnet*. London: Methuen.
- HUTCHEON, Linda (1985). *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-century Art Forms*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- MEHLER, Jacques and Marina Nespor (2004). "Linguistic Rhythm and the Acquisition of Language." *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Adriana Belletti, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, vol. 3, pp. 213-222.
- PESSOA, Fernando (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Incriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, Tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1974). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Incriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets e Dispersos*. Bilingual edition with preface, translations, variants and notes by Jorge de Sena, and translations by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- PORTELA, Manuel (2010). "'O Corvo' de Poesoa: Uma Filosofia da Tradução." *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais*, n° 7, pp. 40-52. Web: <http://bdigital.ufp.pt/bitstream/10284/2800/3/40-53.pdf>
- PRINCE, F. T. (1977). "The Sonnet From Wyatt to Shakespeare." *Shakespeare: The Sonnets*. Edited by Peter Jones. London: MacMillan. [Article first published in 1960].
- RUSSOM, Geoffrey (2016). "Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's 35 Sonnets." *Pessoa Plural — a Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies (Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa)*, n° 10, Patricio Ferrari, guest editor, Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall.
- SHAKESPEARE, William (1986). *The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint*. Edited by John Kerrigan. London: Penguin.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998). *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Online. Renaissance Electronic Texts, University of Toronto. <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/shakespeare/1609inti.html>
- \_\_\_\_ (2000). *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. Online MIT, 1993-2000. <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/>.

# On Pessoa's *The Student of Salamanca*

Jorge Wiese-Rebagliati\*

## Keywords

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Metrics, *The Student of Salamanca*.

## Abstract

Fernando Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*] is a curious singularity among Pessoa's works. As far as we know, this is the only Pessoa translation of a Spanish original into English. This article tries to acknowledge such singularity by pointing out links between Pessoa's archive and his private library, and also by studying the meter and rhythm of Pessoa's version—now available in full thanks to Nicolás Barbosa's transcription and edition, published in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*—a version that renders with taste and wit the metrical qualities of Espronceda's original.

## Palavras-chave

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Métrica, *The Student of Salamanca*.

## Resumo

A versão de Fernando Pessoa de *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*O estudante de Salamanca*], de José de Espronceda, é uma curiosa singularidade na obra pessoana. Até onde sabemos, não existe outra tradução de Pessoa de um original espanhol para uma versão em inglês. O artigo tenta reconhecer essa singularidade, apontando as ligações entre o espólio de Pessoa e sua biblioteca particular e estudando os elementos métricos e rítmicos do texto de Pessoa – agora disponível em sua totalidade graças à transcrição e edição de Nicolás Barbosa, também publicada neste número de *Pessoa Plural* –, uma versão que traduz com sensibilidade e inteligência as qualidades métricas e rítmicas do original de Espronceda.

---

\* Universidad del Pacífico; Lima, Perú.

After the findings of José Luiz Garaldi in 1990 (CAMPOS, 2015: 2) and Arnaldo Saraiva in 1996 (SARAIVA, 1996: 5-58), it seems difficult to downplay the role of Fernando Pessoa as a translator, not only because Pessoa earned his living as a translator (SARAIVA, 1996: 25) but also because his reflections and translation practices can shed light on his role as reader and writer.

In order to analyze Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca*, it will be useful to consider his ideas on translation, and, most specifically, to examine the criteria he utilizes when translating texts. We must keep in mind this unique circumstance and try to account for it by relating it to the above-mentioned facets of Pessoa: that of reader and that of creator. At the same time, something should be said of Espronceda and of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

Concerning his translations of some texts of the *Greek Anthology*, Pessoa confesses candidly:

Posso traduzir, através de idioma intermedio, qualquer poema grego, desde que consiga aproximar-me do rhythm do original, para o que basta saber simplesmente ler o grego, o que de facto sei, ou que obtenha uma equivalencia rhythmica.

D'essa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da *Anthologia Grega*.

(in PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 255-257)

[As long as I can feel the rhythm of the original or find a rhythmical equivalence, I can translate any Greek poem by way of an intermediary language. Reading Greek, something I can do, is all that is necessary.

I have translated some poems of the *Greek Anthology* in this way.]

The appropriation of the rhythm of the original and the goal of a rhythmic equivalence are key for achieving a successful translation. Pessoa is aware that “nenhuma tradução, supondo que existe, pode dar conhecimento da obra em sua completa e verdadeira vida” no translation, assuming that it exists, can make a work known in its true and complete life (PESSOA, 1993: 385). And although this equivalence is not obtained “line-by-line” or “verbum e verbo”<sup>1</sup> (one of the two possible criteria for translating that Saint Jerome prescribes, the other being “sed sensu exprimere de sensu”<sup>2</sup>), he works very hard to find precise equivalences—even in paratexts<sup>3</sup>—between the original and the translation. As Saraiva acknowledges:

<sup>1</sup> Pessoa is aware of the strenuous effort this kind of translation implies in connection with the translation of the 300 Portuguese proverbs he collected between 1913 and 1914 for his London publisher, Frank Palmer. In a letter to him dated 10 April 1914 he judges this type of translation “exceedingly difficult.” (PESSOA, 2010: 131).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. STEINER (1992: 275).

<sup>3</sup> “No geral, Pessoa respeitava não só os textos propriamente ditos como os paratextos e as pausas ou configurações gráficas (itálicos, maiúsculas, disposição dos versos)” [Pessoa used to adhere not

É visível, por exemplo, o esforço que Pessoa faz para encontrar rigorosas equivalências semânticas, métricas, rimáticas, fônicas, rítmicas; e não se pense que os seus achados só se deveram à sua inspiração, não a sua transpiração.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 47)

[It is clear, for example, the effort Pessoa made in order to discover rigorous equivalences of meaning, meter, rhyme, sound and rhythm; and one should not believe that his elections were due only to his inspiration, but also to his transpiration.]

This happens clearly in the remarkable translation of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* published in *Athena* magazine (n.º. 1, 1924), where it is specified that it is a “Tradução de Fernando Pessoa, rítmicamente conforme com o original” [Translation of Fernando Pessoa, rhythmically according to the original] (PRADO BELLEI, 1991 *apud* SARAIVA, 1996: 47). Saraiva observes that “a versão do poeta português imita com grande precisão o ritmo do original inglês e o efeito encantatório por ele produzido” [the version by the Portuguese poet imitates, with great precision, the rhythm and the incantatory effect produced in the original English], and Saraiva (1996: 47) adds: “tanto mais que [Pessoa] também respeita o número de versos por cada estrofe e os efeitos fono-rítmicos, e não apenas os do sentido”<sup>4</sup> [so much so that (Pessoa) respects the number of verses per stanza and the phono-rhythmic effects, and not only the meaning]. This does not in any way imply an overt or submissive attitude vis-à-vis the original text. A complex, dynamic, but respectful attitude is maintained. The translation is no less valuable than the original. As Saraiva says,

O tradutor concebido por Pessoa não pode [...] sentir-se em posição subalterna em relação ao autor traduzido. Se à partida o texto a traduzir se lhe impõe como modelo, logo ele o

---

only to the texts themselves, but also to the paratexts and pauses or graphic configurations (italics, uppercase, verse structure)] (SARAIVA, 1996: 49). In his translation of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa doesn't follow Espronceda's practice of using capital and small letters at the openings of the verses: all the lines of the finished sheets of *The Student of Salamanca* begin with capital letters, as is normal practice in the English typographical tradition. Although Espronceda begins every one of the four parts of *El estudiante de Salamanca* with an epigraph, only the epigraph of Part I is translated: *Don Quixote's* “Sus fueros, sus bríos, | sus premáticas, su voluntad.” (“His titles his courage | His parchments his own will”). See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue.

<sup>4</sup> This is the strict application in the text of an ideal expressed, for example, in the foreword to the “Anthologia” collection, one of the editorial projects Pessoa imagined: “As traduções dos poetas estrangeiros obedecerão sempre à norma rígida que deve seguir-se na tradução de poemas – a absoluta conformidade com o ritmo e a maneira de rimar (ou não rimar) do original.” [The translation of foreign poets will always follow the norm required for the translation of poems – the absolute conformity with the rhythm and the rhyming manner (or absence of rhyming) of the original (PESSOA, 2011: 43).

remodela ou modeliza e o anula como modelo sobrepondo-lhe outro modelo, o seu [...]. O bom tradutor não  *copia*  para outra língua, porque  *cria*  ou recria noutra língua.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 46)

[The translator conceived by Pessoa cannot [...] consider himself in a subaltern position in relation to the translated author. If, at first, the text to be translated imposes itself as a model, soon he [the poet] remodels and annuls it as model, superimposing on it another model, his [...]. The good translator does not  *copy*  into another language, because he  *creates*  or recreates in another language.]

I do not know to what extent the English translations of Pessoa can be acknowledged to be unique within the whole of his production. One might consider them as a part of Pessoa's effort to be recognized as an English writer, as was his intention with both his English poems (*The Mad Fiddler*) and his translation of *Provérbios Portugueses* – although it would appear that this latter was undertaken because Pessoa needed the money, as Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari state (PESSOA, 2010: 11) – or to promote in the English-speaking world Portuguese poets whom he considered of merit, like Antero de Quental and António Botto. This would separate them from the group of translations into Portuguese, no less valuable, but more linked to an editorial project to which he was more committed, professionally speaking.<sup>5</sup> *The Student of Salamanca* appears to be in a group of its own. I will return to this issue.

In his edition, published in this issue, Nicolás Barbosa elaborates thoroughly on the external history of the text, so I will offer only briefly some information on this aspect of the translation. The rendering of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears in documents attributed to Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64r),<sup>6</sup> the most prolific of Pessoa's fictitious English authors. In a loose, cut-off sheet of the archive we read "Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Search. | Search | Search. | [tran]slation | [tra]nslation. | [tr]anslation" (BNP / E3, 90<sup>2</sup>-35v).

<sup>5</sup> This project involves Pessoa's work as a translator for the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, in 24 volumes and with 12,288 pages, which is the Portuguese version of *The International Library of Famous Literature*, published in London, probably in 1899. Pessoa was hired by a Mr. Warren F. Kellog. The translations were made, it seems, between mid-1911 and the first months of 1912. They include a wide range of English and American authors, some Spanish poets, Greek poets from the *Greek Anthology*, and Omar Khayyam (cf. SARAIVA, 1995: 5-25).

<sup>6</sup> See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue. In Part II, a "Herr Prosit" (BNP / E3, 74A-70r) is mentioned before the text. Herr Prosit is the main character of *A Very Original Dinner*, a story of "horror and suspense," as Natalia Jerez Quintero classifies it, attributed to Alexander Search (PESSOA, 2014: 68-127). Pizarro and Ferrari rule out the possibility of a Herr Prosit author of Part II of *The Student...*: "Assim, a tradução de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, de José de Espronceda, por exemplo, foi inicialmente atribuída a Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64r *et seq.*) e há quem defenda que também passou pela pena de Herr Prosit, o protagonista de *A Very Original Dinner*, embora só exista uma folha solta de caderno para o sugerir (BNP / E3, 74A-70r), a qual indica que Prosit se teria limitado a traduzir a segunda parte da obra espanhola, teoria que nos parece, porém, pouco sustentável." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

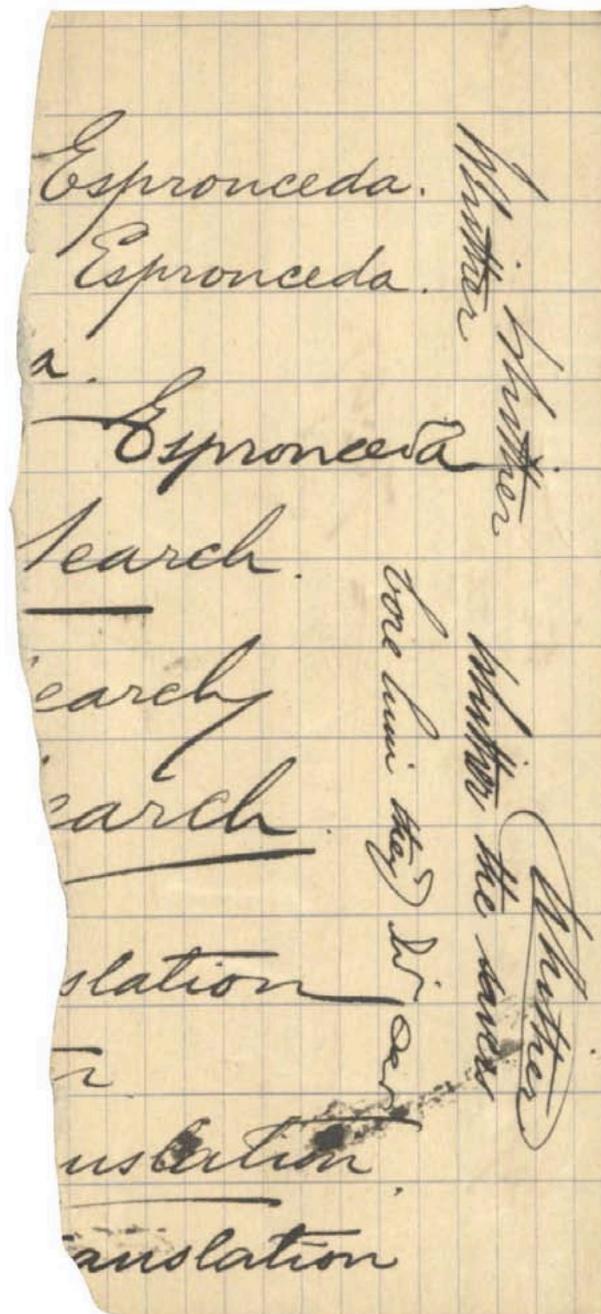


Fig 1. Manuscript with attribution of translation (BNP / E3, 90<sup>2</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>).

Originally this task had been assigned to Charles James Search (BNP / E3, 48C-5<sup>r</sup>). However, in to-do lists dated from 1910 onwards the translation stops being assigned to Search (see, for example, BNP / E3, 48l-30<sup>v</sup>); instead, in the editorial plan of *Olisipo* – datable to 1921 (BNP / E3, 137A-24) – the title *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears with the translator's name: "Fernando Pessoa." Although the translation is diachronically attributed to Charles James Search and Alexander Search, respectively, Pessoa will be its final translator.

José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* is a tale in verse,<sup>7</sup> a legend in the style of those of the Duke of Rivas and José Zorrilla, or a long poem such as Lord Byron's *Mazzeppa* or *Don Juan* (see ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). It belongs to a literary paradigm subsequently abandoned in European and American literature; for example, Edgar Allan Poe separates his poetry from his fantastic narrative, using verse for poetry and prose for his fantastic stories. In Spain, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, a poet representative of the Romantic generation that followed Espronceda's, wrote his *Rimas* in verse and his *Leyendas* in prose (GARCÍA MONTERO, 2001: 22). According to Benito Varela Jácome, *El estudiante de Salamanca* "es la mejor muestra del género [that is, of the "cuento" in verse] dentro del Romanticismo español" (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27).

For Edgar Allison Peers, Espronceda, with *El estudiante de Salamanca*, although influenced by Lord Byron, distinctly shaped a personal view of the legend of Don Juan (PEERS, 1973: 394), a view that surely influenced the popular drama *Don Juan Tenorio* by José Zorrilla that appeared in 1844 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). Indeed, as Varela Jácome points out, Geoffrey Brereton believed that Espronceda began writing *El estudiante de Salamanca* in 1836 (2010: 22). In 1837 he published the first part in the magazine *Museo Artístico y Literario*. In 1839 he read a fragment of the poem at the Literary Association of Granada. The entire poem was published under the title *Poesías* in 1840 (2010: 22).

While sources for *El estudiante de Salamanca* go back to *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*, attributed to Tirso de Molina, and to other works of Spanish Siglo de Oro theater that refer to the myth of Don Juan (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 23), Espronceda might have had at hand more immediate sources: *El abogado de Cuenca* (1826), by José Joaquín de Mora; *El golpe en vago* (1835), by José García de Villalta (a friend of Espronceda and the author of the foreword to his *Poesías*); and the student Lisardo romances, especially the long romance *Lisardo, el estudiante de Córdoba*, of great popular acclaim, collected in the *Romancero de romances* (1828-1832) by Agustín Durán (2010: 25).

*El estudiante de Salamanca* is a lyrical narrative poem of 1704 verses, divided into four parts<sup>8</sup>: the first part opens at midnight in the Castilian city; then a description of somber colors is interrupted by a duel and a murder; the characterization of the main character, Don Félix de Montemar, follows. This part ends with another characterization, that of "innocent and unhappy Elvira" (I, 147). In Varela's words, the second part changes "el tenebrismo romántico" [the romantic tenebrism] of the first by "preimpresionismo" [pre-impressionism]

---

<sup>7</sup> Moreno Villa's edition retains the original generic classification of the text: "Cuento" ["Tale"] (ESPRONCEDA, 1962: 187). In Pessoa's private library we find a copy of *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato*, Paris, Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 448 pp. (See Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-175).

<sup>8</sup> I follow Varela Jácome's summary (cf. ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 36 ss.).

(ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 38) and the serene night evokes the purity of Elvira, who died of the heartbreak caused by Félix de Montemar's debauchery, as she recorded in a letter. The third part is a dramatic sequence in four scenes. It is, as Varela puts it, a genre painting: Montemar joins the set of six card players betting and swearing around a table; Don Diego de Pastrana, brother of Dona Elvira, then arrives. The sequence ends with the death of Don Diego at the hands of Don Félix. The fourth part is probably the most impressive: Montemar follows through the streets of Salamanca a ghostly female figure that turns out to be the impersonation of death; Don Félix then attends his own funeral. Finally, after a coven that evokes the final movement of Hector Berlioz's "Symphonie Fantastique,"<sup>9</sup> as keenly observed by Fradejas Lebrero (cited by Varela), Montemar dies and goes to hell. The day dawns and work resumes in the Castilian city.

Pessoa's translation includes all the verses of the first part (lines 1-179) and most of the verses of parts two, three and four. Nicolás Barbosa's remarkable transcription of the translation gives us a complete picture of the present state of the manuscripts. I will not attempt to present a comprehensive commentary that matches the text. Instead, I will limit myself to offering a concise appraisal of the metrical features that have caught my attention.

Since the literary work of Espronceda has received recognition for its metric and rhythmic excellence,<sup>10</sup> I will focus on this in particular before discussing the singularity of the translation in Pessoa's works. I will initially examine the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. I will then provide a brief insight into the other parts of the poem.

Espronceda begins his poem with a series of lines arranged in a Spanish *romance*. Although there are several types, the typical Spanish *romance* is a series of short – often eight metrical syllables (*octosílabos* in Spanish) – rhyming verses. The rhyme is the so-called *asonante* rhyme: only the vowels, from the last stressed vowel on, rhyme. The rhyme occurs only in *versos pares* [even verses]. Odd verses do not rhyme:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Berlioz's symphony made its debut in Paris in 1830 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 26).

<sup>10</sup> "Se registran en *El estudiante de Salamanca* once metros distintos, desde dos a doce sílabas, los cuales se combinan en siete tipos de estrofas y dan lugar a cincuenta y nueve cambios métricos. La variedad métrica es el principal factor en el efecto musical de la versificación de *El estudiante*, de las canciones y de otras poesías de Espronceda" [One may count eleven different meters in *El estudiante de Salamanca*, ranging from two to twelve syllables, combined in seven types of stanzas and giving rise to 59 metrical changes. The metrical variety is the main factor in the musical effect of the versification in *El Estudiante*, as well as in the songs and other poems by Espronceda] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 392, n. 31).

<sup>11</sup> As Dorothy Clotelle Clark puts it: "Octosyllabic verse in which the even-numbered lines assonate with the same assonance throughout the poem and the odd-numbered lines are left free." (CLARKE, 1952: 359, s.v. romance)

Era más de media noche,	(8 metrical syllables)
antiguas historias cuentan	(8) a
cuando en sueño y en silencio	(8)
lóbrego envuelta la tierra,	(8) a
los vivos muertos parecen,	(8)
los muertos la tumba dejan	(8) a

(Part I, lines 1-6)

Sometimes the accentuation of the *romance* exhibits a very marked rhythm, as with the trochaic rhythm (i.e., stressed-unstressed) of the opening line:

Era más de media noche  
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 1)

But that need not be the case. It suffices that the sequence of two contiguous accents be avoided, that the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables be guaranteed (BALBÍN, 1975: 127),<sup>12</sup> to feel the typical rhythm of the *romance*:

los vivos muertos parecen  
U / U / U U / U  
  
los muertos la tumba dejan  
U / U U / U / U

(Part I, lines 5-6)

Espronceda concludes the presentation of the Salamanca night not with another meter but with a change of rhyme, from *llana* or *grave* [paroxytonic] to *aguda* [oxytonic].<sup>13</sup> The evocation of the night is broken by the sudden appearance of the noise from a swordfight:

Súbito rumor de espadas	
cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó;	a
un ay moribundo, un ay	
que penetra el corazón,	a
que hasta los tuétanos huela	
y da al que lo oyó temblor.	a
Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo	
pronuncia el último adiós.	a

(Part I, lines 41-48)

<sup>12</sup> Rafael de Balbín formulates this "law": "la alternación *acentuado/desacentuado*, que es la ley de la sucesión de los tiempos métricos" [the alternation stressed/unstressed, which is the law of succession of metrical tempos] (BALBÍN, 1975: 127).

<sup>13</sup> *Agudo*, also called *oxítono*: "a verse or word having the main stress on the final syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 318). *Llano* or *grave* [paroxytone or paroxytonic]: "said of a verse or word having the main stress on the next to the last syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 346).

The following sequence is remarkable. To suggest the secrecy with which the murderer leaves the scene, Espronceda creates a fundamentally trisyllabic series: there are also some four-metric-syllable lines, which combine oxytonic and paroxytonic endings. The murderer seems to escape on tiptoe. It is one of the great mimetic effects of the poem:

El ruido	
cesó,	a
un hombre	
pasó	a
embozado,	b
y el sombrero	
recatado	b
a los ojos	
se caló.	a
Se desliza	
y atraviesa	c
junto al muro	
de una iglesia	c
y en la sombra	
se perdió.	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

An *agudo* [oxytonic] *romance* follows (not very long; eleven lines, i.e., lines 64-75). Six dodecasyllabic *serventesios* [crossed quartets]<sup>14</sup> come next (lines 76-99). Consider the third:

La calle sombrıa, // la noche ya entrada	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
la lampara trıste // ya pronta a expirar	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / (U)	
que a veces alumbra // la imagen sagrada	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
y a veces esconde // la sombra a aumentar	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / (U)	

We can identify in these verses a phenomenon that is not immediately perceptible to the untrained eye: the Spanish *verso compuesto* [compound verse].<sup>15</sup> In Espronceda's text, a caesura regularly divides the verse into two hemistiches of six

<sup>14</sup> Cf. NAVARRO TOMAS (1964: 104, n 27). "Having alternate rhyme (*abab*)" (CLARKE, 1952: 363).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. DOMINGUEZ CAPARROS (1985).

metrical syllables with the same amphibrachic<sup>16</sup> rhythmic pattern: U / UU / U. The pause and the rhythmic regularity make these verses more emphatic. This amphibrachic rhythmic structure is repeated, with few significant variants (which might even be “moments of frustrated expectation,”<sup>17</sup> in formalist jargon) along all hemistiches of the six *serventesios*.

The metric and rhythmic structure changes. The following five stanzas are called *octavillas agudas*<sup>18</sup> or *octavillas italianas*<sup>19</sup> (oxytonic octaves of *arte menor* verses<sup>20</sup>). The short meter and the masculine endings of the quatrains (the fourth and eighth lines of the *octavillas*) are absolutely functional and expressive elements for describing a character that, as in Mozart and in Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* and its interpretation by Kierkegaard,<sup>21</sup> lives quickly, from moment to moment, without projecting into the future or remembering the past:

Segundo don Juan Tenorio,	a
alma fiera e insolente,	b
irreligioso y valiente,	b
altanero y reñidor:	ć
Siempre el insulto en los ojos,	d
en los labios la ironía,	e
nada teme y todo fía	e
de su espada y su valor.	ć

(Part I, lines 100-107)

In addition to other rhythmic structures, trochaic rhythms can be identified:

nada teme y todo fía  
/ U / U / U/U

(Part I, line 106)

and peonic ones:

en los lábios la ironía  
U U / U U U/U

(Part I, line 105)

<sup>16</sup> Cf. “The Technique of Scansion” in FUSSELL (1979: 17-29).

<sup>17</sup> Bélič and Hrabák (2000: 43 ss).

<sup>18</sup> “Más usada que ninguna otra estrofa octosilábica en la lírica romántica fue la octavilla aguda [...]. El tipo más general fue el que dejaba sueltos los versos primero y quinto: abbé: cbbé” [More used than any other octosyllabic stanza in the romantic lyric poetry was the acute *octavilla*] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1972: 363).

<sup>19</sup> “An octave whose fourth and eight lines rhyme in *agudos*” (CLARKE, 1952: 349).

<sup>20</sup> As Clarke defines: “arte menor. Verse of eight syllables or less.” (CLARKE, 1952: 323).

<sup>21</sup> “[...] his life is the sum of moments that repel each other and don't have any connection between them [...].” (KIERKEGAARD, 1973: 111).

In contrast to the description cited above, the characterization of “innocent and unhappy Elvira” (I, 147) runs in long meters (*arte mayor*, in Spanish metric terminology<sup>22</sup>): into eleven-syllable *endecasílabos*, which are low-tone, deep verses. The five stanzas describing Elvira are octaves, in the tradition of the *ottava rima*, called in Spanish *octava real*. I quote the first:

Bella y más pura que el azul del cielo	A
con dulces ojos lánguidos y hermosos,	B
donde acaso el amor brilló entre el velo	A
del pudor que los cubre candorosos;	B
tímida estrella que refleja al suelo	A
rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos,	B
ángel puro de amor que amor inspira,	C
fue la inocente y desdichada Elvira.	C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

An actual stressed rhythm, though less emphatic, and a longer verse without caesura create an impression of calm and gravity, which contrasts with great effect the *octavillas agudas* of Don Félix de Montemar with the stanzas of Dona Elvira de Pastrana. The ethopoeia of Elvira closes the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

From a metrical point of view, the second part offers no new developments. The third part however does; on several occasions in it tense dialogues are deployed according to the conventions of classical Spanish theater, through which parts of the same verse are distributed to different *dramatis personae*. Consider, for example, lines 148-151 of the second part, in which Don Diego de Pastrana and Don Félix de Montemar engage in a verbal duel while playing cards:

D. Diego	
Bien, don Félix, cuadra en vos	a
esa insolencia importuna.	b
D. Félix	
(Al TERCER JUGADOR <i>sin hacer caso de D.DIEGO</i> )	
Perdisteis.	
JUGADOR TERCERO	
Sí. La fortuna	b
se trocó: tiro y van dos.	a

At first glance, this is a sequence of five verses, of which four rhyme and one is loose, unrhymed. In actuality however only four verses should be counted, and they all rhyme with each other: “Perdisteis” and “Sí. La fortuna” are two sections

<sup>22</sup> “[Arte mayor] sometimes refers to the hendecasyllable; also, to any verse of nine or more syllables.” (CLARKE, 1952: 370).

of the same verse. Although the first (of three syllables) corresponds to Don Félix and the second (of five syllables), to the Third Player, the sum of the two makes an octosyllable, which rhymes with an earlier verse (here, rhyme b, *importuna: fortuna*).

The fourth part repeats forms already featured in the first: quatrains of *endecasílabos*, “serventesios” of twelve syllables and caesura, octosyllabic quatrains, romances, and *octavas reales*. An impressive display of short verses (*de arte menor*) is added: hexasyllables, pentasyllables, tetrasyllables, and bisyllables. There is even an attempt to create a monosyllabic line, which is, in the system of Spanish verse, impossible, because, all monosyllabic verses being *agudos* [oxytonic], a syllable is necessarily added, which transforms it into a bisyllable.<sup>23</sup> This is what happens in the impressive death scene of Don Félix de Montemar (Part IV, lines 970-988), which unfortunately Pessoa did not translate:

(4 metrical syllables) Y vio luego  
una llama  
que se inflama  
y murió;  
y perdido,  
oyó el eco  
de un gemido  
que expiró.

(3) Tal, dulce  
suspire  
la lira  
que hirió,  
en blando  
concento  
del viento  
la voz,

(2) leve  
breve

(1) son.

As Varela Jácome points out, the life of the protagonist vanishes with the descending meter (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 124, n. 42). Tomas Navarro is more explicit:

<sup>23</sup> “Monosyllabic verse doesn’t exist [in Spanish metrics] because its only syllable would necessarily be *aguda* [oxytonic].” (QUILIS, 1969: 46). In Spanish metrics, all oxytonic syllables are perceived as paroxytonic ones, with an extra syllable, cf. QUILIS (1967).

En la escala de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, los versos alargan su medida desde dos a doce sílabas, según se oye el estruendo de la procesión de la muerte, y disminuyen recorriendo paso a paso la misma distancia en sentido descendente a medida que se va apagando la conciencia del protagonista

(NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 393)

[In the scale of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, the verses increase their length from two to twelve syllables, when one hears the clamor of the death procession, and decrease, returning step by step the same distance, downwards, as the conscience of the protagonist fades]

As we have just seen, we cannot ignore the relevance of sound, of the sound pattern of verse, of the metrical, and of the rhythmic aspects of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. In his attempt at translating this poem Pessoa was well aware of this. We shall now examine Pessoa's version of *The Student of Salamanca* and focus primarily on that feature.

It may be noted that in the translation of the first part Pessoa retains Espronceda's original layout: *romance* (lines 1-48), three or four syllable *romancillo* (lines 49-63), *romance* (lines 64-75), twelve-syllable quatrains or *serventesios* (lines 76-99), *octavillas agudas* (lines 100-139), and *octavas reales* or *ottava rima* [octaves] (vv. 140-179). The rhythmic variety of Espronceda's *El estudiante* remains strong in Pessoa's *The Student*.

It should be of interest to study how Pessoa makes his metrical equivalences. Let's start with the *romance*. As I already noted, the Spanish *romance* is made of eight metrical syllable verses with *asonante* [vocalic] rhymes. Rhyme comes only in the even verses. The "romance" of Pessoa consists mainly of eight metrical syllable verses alternating with a few seven syllable ones and with a very few with six metrical syllables. The law of succession of metric tempos (by which immediately successive stressed syllables are avoided) is respected and very marked accentual rhythms are achieved: English tetrameters and trimeters. The tetrameters tend towards trochaic rhythm:

Mark with fearful howls their passing  
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 14)

Yieldeth full mysterious soundings  
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 17)

The trimeters, to iambic rhythm:

To still and hollow foot-falls  
U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 10)

Pessoa does not retain assonance, whereby the effect of the changing rhyme in line 41 of *El estudiante de Salamanca* is lost: there the *aguda* rhyme marks the passing of Salamanca to the description of the sound of swords followed by the piercing cry of a dying man, as we have already shown. The text of Espronceda does not insist so much on the sounds of swords as in the dead man's crying (the piercing, repeated "¡ay!" and even the gloomy "o" of the *aguda* rhyme):

Súbito rumor de espadas  
 cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó,  
 un ay moribundo, un ay  
 que penetra el corazón,  
 que hasta los tuétanos huela  
 y da al que lo oyó temblor.  
 Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo  
 pronuncia el último adiós.

(Part I, lines 41-48)

Pessoa replaces the interjection "¡ay!" with the noun "moan." This variation and the absence of rhyme prevents the retention of Espronceda's effect. However, like all great translators, Pessoa generates a remarkable equivalence, using the alliteration of 's' and 'sh':

Suddenly of sword the dashing  
 Soundeth, and a moan is heard

(Part I, lines 41-42)

This varies with the original of Espronceda, which at this point evokes the whole set of sounds of the swordfight with the sounds 's' and 'r':

Súbito rumor de espadas  
 cruje [...]

(Part I, lines 41-42)

Instead, with the sounds suggested by Pessoa's use of the alliteration of sibilants, there is the slicing of the air by swords and the sharp clash evoked by the word "dashing." The sequence of short verses with which the murderer escapes – as if on tiptoe – has been elegantly transposed into English by Pessoa, using syncopes (more frequent in English poetry than in Spanish) and apocopes: "pass'd" (Part I, line 52), "Cloak'd" (Part I, line 53), "'Gainst" (Part I, line 60). The effect of pauses and rhymes admirably remains, all the more so because it is not identical:

The sound	
Is <b>done</b> ,	a
A man	
Pass'd <b>on</b>	a
Cloak'd <b>full</b> ,	b
And his hat	
Careful	b
Drew his eyes	
Upon.	a
He glideth	
Close-press'd	
'Gainst the wall	
Of a church,	
And in shadow	
Is <b>gone</b> .	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

The same thing that was said of the *romance* that opened the composition can be said of the *romance* that comes next (Part I, lines 64-75). Quatrains of twelve-syllable verses whose rhyme scheme Pessoa appropriates follow. The English equivalence is the tetrameter, sometimes of eleven syllables and more often of twelve. Most important here might be to point out that in certain stanzas Pessoa creates an English verse very close to the Spanish *verso compuesto* [compound verse], caesura and rhythms included:

The spirit the boldest // of steel to withstand it	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
Had shrunk into caution // had stricken with fear	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
The fiercest, most cursing // and blasphemous bandit	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
Had felt with its terror // his lips find a prayer	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	

(Part I, lines 92-95)

It is true, also, that in the case of the previous quatrain the full delivery of rhyme in lines 92 and 94 ("fear" and "prayer") could collide with the perception of rhythm, prompting a pronunciation clearly diphthongized of "fear" and clearly disyllabic of "prayer."

Pessoa reproduces Espronceda's *octavillas agudas* (oxytonic or masculine octaves of *arte menor* verses). Unlike the latter, which strictly respects the regularity of octosyllabic verses, Pessoa varies the meter without significant consequences and intermingles seven-syllable verses. The *octosílabos* are made into tetrameters or trimeters. Some of them are trochaic:

Fearing nought, all things referring  
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 106)

Others tend to dactylic rhythm:

Always insult in his glances  
/ U U / U U / U

(Part I, line 104)

Other verses of the *octavilla* lack so marked a rhythm, although almost all follow – faithful to the character of the original *romance* – the law of succession of metric tempos, whereby two (or more) adjacent accents are not allowed within the verses.

It should be noted that the structure of the rhymes, which follows the pattern of the *octavilla*, even in the oxytonic (*agudos*) endings of verses 4 and 8, precisely renders that of the original:

Don Juan Tenorio the Second,	a
A proud and insolent spirit	b
Impious, in courage his merit,	b
Quarrelsome in deed and word,	c
Always insult in his glances,	d
His lips e'er irony bearing	e
Fearing nought, all things referring	e
To his valour and his sword.	c

(Part I, lines 100-107)

Finally, stanzas describing the unfortunate Elvira respect the English tradition of the *ottava rima*, prescribing pentameters where Spanish tradition prescribes *endecasílabos*. The structure of the rhyme is the same in both traditions (ABABABCC):

Beautiful, purer than the sky's pure blue	A
With sweet and languid eyes tenderly bright	B
Where haply love hath shone the soft veil through	A
Of modesty that hides their soul's delight	B
A timid star that doth reflect unto	A
The earth brilliant and doubtful rays of light,	B

Love's angel pure, love to inspire unsated	C
Such was Elvira innocent, ill-fated.	C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

Although the third part of *The Student of Salamanca* has arrived to us very incomplete and the dramatic dialogue displays many gaps, Pessoa's intention to create strict and faithful equivalences is clear. Consider, for example, the sequence that goes from line 105a to line 107a:

JUGADOR TERCERO

Yo, la vida. (4)	I my life. (3)
------------------	----------------

D. Félix

No la quiero (4) a	That won't do (3) a
Mirad si me dais dinero, (8) a	Just give me money and you (8) a
y os la llevais. (4 + 1)	May take her. (3)

Pessoa's version probably goes to the extreme of what can be achieved in translation: he does not retain the octosyllabic verse that is divided between the characters of the Third Player and Don Félix: "Yo, la vida" (4 metrical syllables) plus "No la quiero" (4 metrical syllables): 8 metrical syllables. Espronceda's broken octosyllables have simply been transformed by Pessoa into short, trisyllabic verses. What is maintained is the structure of the rhyme: two contiguous lines rhyme, as in the text of Espronceda ("quiero: dinero" in Espronceda's and "do: you" in Pessoa's).

The fourth part offers challenges that Pessoa surmounts with elegance. One senses the magnificent translation that *The Student* would have been had it been completed. Pessoa achieves remarkable results. See, for example, the set of short meters of the sequence between lines 693 and 703:

Fúnebre (2)	a	Mournful (2)	a
llanto (2)	b	Singing (2)	b
de amor, (3)	ć	Love-found (2)	ć
óyese (2)	d	Is heard there (3)	d
en tanto (3)	b	Upspringing (3)	b
en son (3)	ć	A sound (2)	ć
flébil, blando (4)	e	Soft and feeble (4)	e
cual quejido (4)	f	Like a wailing (4)	f
dolorido (4)	f	Unavailing (4)	f
que del alma (4)	g	That the spirit (4)	g
se arrancó (4)	ć	Hath drowned.	ć

In the passage quoted, not only does the close correspondence of meaning between the Spanish and the English texts strike us, but also the incredible fidelity to the

original sound level, especially if one considers not only the strictly metric aspect and the rhymes but also the rhythms. For example, the iambic and anapestic rhythms of lines 693 to 698:

Fúnebre	Mournful
/ U	/ U
llanto	Singing
/ U	/ U
[...]	[...]
en tanto	Upspringing
U / U	U / U

Or the strict trochaic rhythms of lines 699-707,<sup>24</sup> as in:

flébil, blando	Soft and feeble
/ U / U	/ U / U

Pessoa's obsession with finding the most exact equivalences extends to retaining apparently minor details, such as maintaining the oxytonic (masculine, *agudas*) rhymes of the original. Not only does he maintain the layout of the rhymes, but also their character, when in fact he could have found other effective though less precise solutions. For instance, he could have retained the layout of the rhymes alone. Note the translation of lines 942-949:

Y siente un confuso	a	He feels a confused	a
loco devaneo,	b	A wild □ emotion	b
languidez, mareo	b	Calms and deep commotion	b
y angustioso afán:	c	And a bitter woe:	c
y sombras y luces	d	He sees lights and shadows	d
la estancia que gira,	e	The whole mansion reeling	e
y espíritus mira	e	And dim spirits wheeling	e
que vienen y van.	c	Which do come and go.	c

In fact, in Pessoa's text one perceives an desire to deal with the difficulty of rendering the rhythmic pattern. If there are several alternatives, Pessoa will choose the most difficult, which is, at the same time, in his case, the most accurate.

Could it be that Pessoa, reader of Poe's *A Philosophy of Composition*, would have listened to him and privileged sound over word and meaning<sup>25</sup>? It is not so, of course, insofar as Pessoa gives a faithful account of sense through sound effects; nevertheless, it is true that the latter occupies a predominant place in his concerns. For example, as we have before us a "work in progress," fatally unfinished, we can

<sup>24</sup> The strict rendering of the rhythmic pattern of this sequence would probably imply some metric licenses in Spanish: double-stressed words and the accentuation of unaccented words.

<sup>25</sup> "The sound of the *refrain* being thus determined, it became necessary to select a word embodying this sound [...]." (POE, 1902: 664).

identify various stages of writing. Thus, we can discern clearly how Pessoa seems to want to fix the rhymes before completing the whole verse (having first the final word of the line before the others, obviously influences the selection of these). This can be seen in verses 830-833:

And then a □ <i>wearing</i>	A
Good † through his face with the colour of <i>death</i>	B
His breast <i>bearing</i>	A
□ <i>yet</i>	B

The metric constraint, which is clearly visible in the above, can go so far as to change the meaning of Espronceda's text. We can identify at least one example of this, in lines 710-711, where Pessoa completely changes the meaning of the original in order to replace it with an image not provided by Espronceda but instead with one that allows Pessoa to respect the rhyme pattern:

Música triste,	a	Sad music vague	a
lánguida y vaga	b	Languid in motion	b
<i>que a par lastima</i>	c	<i>Plugging the spirit</i>	c
<i>y el alma halaga;</i>	b	<i>In a deep ocean</i>	b

In Espronceda's text, music at the same time harms and flatters; with two verbs, it expresses an effect on the soul that can be seen as contradictory, but does not require an image to manifest itself. In Pessoa's, however, an image is put forth: music plunges the spirit into a deep ocean. It is an image – the spirit submerged in and connected (“plugging”) to the ocean – that demands to be understood metaphorically (“the spirit drowns itself in the deep, connecting itself to an indeterminate zone to the extent that it annuls its being and transforms itself into something indefinite, just as a body immerses and dilutes itself in the sea”). They are, of course, two completely different solutions. Such infidelity in translation in a craftsman as neat as Pessoa could be explained by the need to maintain the original pattern of the rhymes. That is, it is consistent with the translation of the sound level and not with the translation of the meaning level. As Umberto Eco says, every translation is a negotiation (ECO, 2008: 25). In this particular case, we can clearly see what Pessoa's priority was by what he retained and what he set aside.

All in all, this is, as we have seen, a careful and effective appropriation that captures the best effects of the original and proposes elegant equivalences. Without hyperbole, I would include *The Student of Salamanca* in that group of translations that George Steiner calls “a miracle of rare device” (STEINER, 1992: 429).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Steiner includes in this Parnassus G. K. Chesterton's translation of Du Bellay's sonnet *Heureux qui, comme Ulysse*, and Pierre Leyris' translations of G. M. Hopkins' poems (in particular *The Wreck of the "Deutschland"*). (STEINER, 1992: 429).

Considering Pessoa's *oeuvre*, the English translation of *El estudiante de Salamanca* emerges as a curious singularity. One could entertain a simple explanation for its genesis: it was the work of Pessoa's English heteronym Alexander Search or the work of the English heteronym Charles James Search, who only undertook translations.<sup>27</sup> But the late task lists are definitive: *The Student of Salamanca* is a translation by Fernando Pessoa. It must then be considered as such. In principle, it does not make much sense to include this translation within the project of the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, since that collection was directed to the Portuguese-speaking world and *The Student* is written in English. Nor does it seem plausible that the text could fit in the same group as the English poems of Quental, Botto or Pessoa himself. The fact that news of the translation appears recorded in different moments of the artistic and intellectual biography of Pessoa would seem to indicate Pessoa's special interest in the text. Although Saraiva collected in his book several translations from Spanish to Portuguese of excellent quality,<sup>28</sup> Pessoa believed that it was interesting to undertake only difficult translations and saw "graça nenhuma" in translations of languages as close as Spanish and Portuguese (PESSOA, 1993: 221).<sup>29</sup> In other words, Pessoa could have chosen to translate *El estudiante de Salamanca* just for the pleasure of doing so, for the pleasure of undertaking a "difficult" translation and to prove through it his abilities. Other, perhaps more complex reasons can be imagined, such as the links between reading, translation and creation that are made evident by the nexus between the marginalia of Pessoa's personal library and his archive, his *espólio*, as advanced by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro in the entry "Biblioteca" ["Library"] of the *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português* organized by Fernando Cabral Martins. The entry, in fact, discusses one example of this relation, an example that involves *The Student of Salamanca*:

O *Diário de 1906*, que se encontra no espólio e foi publicado por Teresa Sobral Cunha em *Colóquio / Letras* 95, Jan.-Fev. de 1987, e por Richard Zenith, em *Escritos autobiográficos, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal* (2003) traz ainda outras informações e contextualiza a leitura de Keats, cujo nome se encontra referido entre os dias 8 e 16 de Junho de 1906. Nesse diário lê-se, a 9 de Junho: "Espronceda: *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"; e a 10: "Keats e Espronceda". Saliéntamos também o nome de Espronceda, porque ambos surgem associados e porque cerca dum ano depois, a 9 de Maio de 1907, Pessoa tinha quase concluído a tradução da primeira parte de *El Estudiante de Salamanca*: "9th May: Almost

<sup>27</sup> "Nesta medida, e mesmo que possa parecer-nos paradoxal, actualmente Charles Search é menos lembrado como o ambicioso tradutor do *Book of tasks*, do que como autor de uma carta a uma agência literária de Londres, justificando a ausência do seu irmão Alexander." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

<sup>28</sup> Augusto de Campos doesn't think this way: "devo dizer que as versões do espanhol pouco acrescentam a obra tradutória de Pessoa" (CAMPOS, 2015: 8). But that opinion could reflect Campos' bias towards one of the versions: Francisco de Quevedo's *Epístola al Conde [Duque] de Olivares*, which he doesn't like in the first place, even in the Spanish original.

<sup>29</sup> He even despises Miguel de Unamuno's exhortation to write in Spanish (PESSOA, 2011: 129).

finished 1st part *St[udent] of Salamanca*" (Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006: 623). Estes dados factuais, que permitem datar a leitura de Keats e de Espronceda (e a correspondente tradução), são complementados e iluminados por uma nota que se encontra na margem direita do segundo verso de "The Eve of Saint Mark", poema que também figura em *The Poetical Works of John Keats*: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

Se, movidos por estas pistas, continuarmos a seguir as "pegadas" de Pessoa, indo do espólio para a biblioteca e da biblioteca para o espólio, descobriremos ainda os fragmentos que ficaram da tradução de *El Estudiante de Salamanca*, para o inglês. Num desses fragmentos, identificado com a cota (BNP / E3, 74A-65), o décimo verso de Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", é traduzido por Pessoa da seguinte maneira: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP / E3, 74A-65). A leitura de Keats auxilia e informa o labor do poeta-tradutor. A biblioteca torna-se, pois, inseparável do espólio. Talvez por falta desta consciencia a primeira não tem sido tão bem conservada como o segundo.

(FERRARI and PIZARRO, 2008: 87)

[The 1906 *Diary*, extant in the Pessoa archive and published by Teresa Sobral Cunha in *Colóquio/Letras* 95, Jan.- Feb. 1987, and by Richard Zenith, in *Escritos autobiográficas, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal* (2003), reveals still more pieces of information and contextualizes the reading of Keats, whose name is referred to between 8 and 16 June 1906. In the diary, one reads, on June 9<sup>th</sup>: "Espronceda: *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"; and on the 10<sup>th</sup>: "Keats e Espronceda". We should also emphasize Espronceda's name, because both (Espronceda and Keats) are associated and because, about one year later, on 9 May 1907, Pessoa had almost concluded the translation of the first part of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*: "9th May: Almost finished 1st part *St[udent] of Salamanca*" (Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006: 623). These facts, allowing to date the reading of Keats and of Espronceda (and the corresponding translation), are complemented and illuminated by a note on the right margin of the second verse of "The Eve of Saint Mark," a poem that also appears in *The Poetical Works of John Keats*: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

If, impelled by those clues, we keep following the "footsteps" of Pessoa, going from the archive to the library and from the library back to the archive, we will find out the fragments that remained from Pessoa's English translation of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*. In one of those fragments, with call number BNP/E3, 74A-65, the tenth verse of Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", is translated by Pessoa as follows: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP/E3, 74A-65). The reading of Keats helps and informs the work of the poet-translator. The library becomes, thus, inseparable from the archive. Perhaps because of a lack of this awareness, the former has not been as well preserved as the latter.]

Another link between the archive and Pessoa's private library can be made if we inspect the marginalia of one book included in it: Antonio Cortón's *Espronceda* (one of the books in Alexander Search's library,<sup>30</sup> as his signature shows). In it, another

<sup>30</sup> See "Alexander Search's Library" in SEARCH (2014: 208-217). It should be noted that *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* and *The Complete Poetical Works of Shelley* are also part of it. For the complete list of Search's private library see FERRARI (2009).

English Romantic poet appears: Lord Byron. On page 116 of Cortón's book, a vertical line at the left margin of the paragraph marks D. Juan Valera's observation concerning Lord Byron's influence on Espronceda: *Childe Harold's* song to Inez and *A Jarifa*; *The Corsair* and the *Canción del pirata*; Julia's letter in *Don Juan* and Elvira's letter in *El estudiante de Salamanca*; the digressions and genialities of *Don Juan* and *El diablo mundo*. Pessoa writes (my reading) next to the vertical line: "Certo."<sup>31</sup> Cortón's aim, though, is to downplay Byron's influence on Espronceda and to assert Espronceda's originality. Yet the influence is there, as Varela points out. And not only is this bond not ignored by Pessoa, he manifestly acknowledges it when he writes "Certo."

George Monteiro proves how the reading of Browning's works may have constituted an important source for the creation of heteronyms: Browning's aspiration to create "Action in Character rather than Character in Action" seems to be the precedent for the "drama en gente." The relation between Browning and Pessoa is discussed at large by Penteado and Gagliardi in recent works (PENTEADO and GAGLIARDI, 2015: 168 and also FERRARI 2015: 372). This is not an isolated link. It can be verified with other English writers, like Wilde, and, certainly, with Shakespeare. The *Antinous* is strongly tinged by Wilde's decadent sensuality and the 35 *Sonnets* are to some extent the result of Pessoa's desire to become an "ultra-Shakespeare."<sup>32</sup> In short, the reading activity of Pessoa manifests itself in his creations. And in his translations as well.

We don't need to add more heteronyms – Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari have counted 136 to date (PESSOA, 2016) – and it is probably an exaggeration to postulate a "panheteronymism" in relation to the translations, in the sense for example that the translated author disappears to become a heteronym. Nevertheless, the truth is that statements such as those of Saraiva, who maintains that the poetic translations of Pessoa appear as original texts<sup>33</sup> and are in no way inferior to the texts that generated them (SARAIVA, 1996: 46) and of de Sena, who states that António Botto translated by Pessoa becomes a heteronym of Pessoa (SENA, 2000: 274)<sup>34</sup> make one think that in Pessoa both creation and translation

---

<sup>31</sup> Other Pessoaan annotations in Cortón's book include the ones next to two fragments of Espronceda's *Pelayo* (pp. 82-83), fragments that strike Pessoa as similar to *El Estudiante de Salamanca* (he writes, in effect, "cfr. Estudiante" near the marked passages).

<sup>32</sup> This was noted by the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (19 September 1918) who pointed out Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* as "ultra-Shakesperian Shakesperianisms."

<sup>33</sup> Vizcaíno concurs: "Quando lemos *Songs*, depois de termos lido o original em português, não podemos deixar de concluir que Fernando Pessoa acrescenta um pouco mais ao 'emprestar' o seu jeito de escrever, dando a impressão de estarmos a ler um *original* em inglês do próprio Pessoa." [When we read *Songs*, after having read the original in Portuguese, we can only conclude that Fernando Pessoa adds a bit more, 'lending' his manner of writing and giving the impression that we are reading an original text by Pessoa in English] (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 44)

<sup>34</sup> Or a "semi-heterónimo," as Vizcaíno puts it (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 42).

arise from the same matrix.<sup>35</sup> Further, one could posit that this has to do with the “chameleon poet” that Keats foresaw in his correspondence and that Mariana Gray de Castro links with a genealogy that Pessoa shares with Joyce and Eliot (GRAY DE CASTRO, 2015: 155). That is, translation appears as a form of “otherness,” of heteronymy in Pessoaan terms, as if Alvaro de Campos’ *Sensacionista* dictum “Sentir tudo de todas as maneiras” [“live everything in every way”] inhabited every act of translation.

One could suggest another hypothesis, one that makes the phenomenon of heteronymy—of translation as a heteronymic activity (WIESSE, 2013)—something even more complex, explaining at the same time the singularity of *The Student of Salamanca*: knowing the link between Byron’s *Don Juan* and *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa translated Espronceda while looking to Lord Byron. In acousmatic terms, as Patrick Quillier would like it (QUILLIER, 2002), he produces an echo of Espronceda that seeks to be an echo of Byron. The writer of *The Student of Salamanca*, then, is not Pessoa, or not entirely Pessoa, but an English Espronceda, strange and ghostly Byron-like.

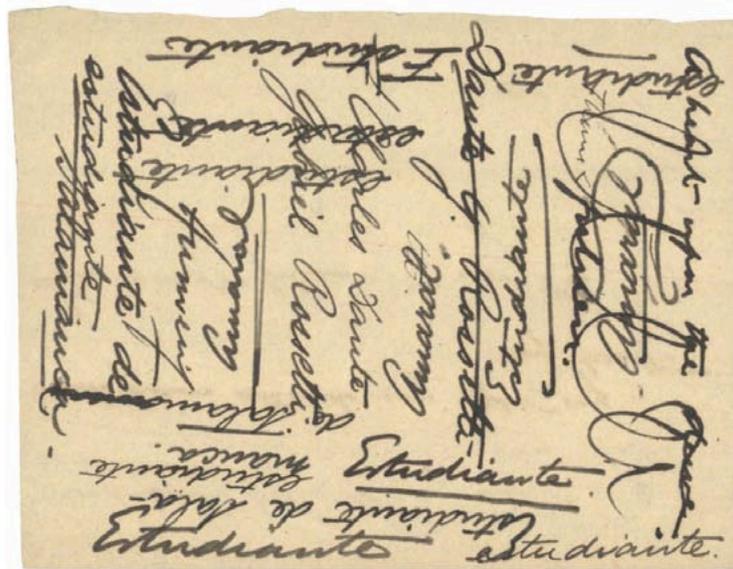


Fig. 2 Notes by Pessoa, including several occurrences of “estudiante.” BNP/E3, 49B<sup>3</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> “Não custa admitir que a diversidade heteronímica terá que ver com a actividade do tradutor, não só com a do leitor, que Pessoa foi desde tenra idade” [It’s not hard to admit that the heteronymic diversity would have to do with the activity of the translator, not only the reader, which Pessoa had been since an early age] (SARAIVA, 1999: 52).



## Bibliography

- BALBÍN, Rafael de (1975). *Sistema de rítmica castellana*. Madrid: Gredos.
- BĚLIČ, Oldrich (2000). *Verso español y verso europeo. Introducción a la teoría del verso español en el contexto europeo*. In collaboration with Josef Hrabák. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- CAMPOS, Augusto de (2015) "Uma redescoberta: traduções de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, n.º 7, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 1-22.
- CLARKE, Dorothy Clotelle (1952). *A Chronological Sketch of Castilian Versification Together with a List of its Metric Terms*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CORTÓN, Antonio (1906). *Espronceda*. Madrid: Casa Editorial Velásquez. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 9-21].
- DOMÍNGUEZ CAPARRÓS, José (1985). *Diccionario de métrica española*. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- ECO, Umberto (2008). *Decir casi lo mismo*. Translated by Helena Lozano Miralles. Barcelona: Lumen.
- ESPRONCEDA, José de (2010). *El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by Benito Varela Jácome. Madrid: Cátedra. [First published in *Poesías*, Madrid, En la imprenta de Yenes, 1840].
- \_\_\_\_ (1962). *Obras poéticas I. Poesías y El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by J. Moreno Villa. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe (Clásicos Castellanos). [First edition 1840].
- \_\_\_\_ (1876). *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato*. Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-175].
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, n.º 8, Carlos Pittella, guest ed., Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431.
- \_\_\_\_ (2009). "A Biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa na génese dos heterónimos: (Dispersão e catalogação 1935-2008); A arte da leitura (1898-1907)." *O Guardador de Papéis*, Jerónimo Pizarro, editor. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Lisbon: Texto Editores, pp. 155-218.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo Pizarro (2008). "Biblioteca Fernando Pessoa." *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, pp. 86-88.
- FUSSELL, Paul (1979). *Poetic Meter and Poetic Form*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- GARCÍA MONTERO, Luis (2001). *Gigante y extraño. Las Rimas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer*. Barcelona: Tusquets.
- GRAY DE CASTRO, Mariana (2015). "Pessoa and Keats." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*. Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- KIERKEGAARD, Sören (1973). *Los estadios eróticos inmediatos o lo erótico musical*. Translated by Javier Armada. Buenos Aires: Aguilar.
- NAVARRO, Tomás (1972). *Métrica española*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- \_\_\_\_ (1964). *Arte del verso*. Mexico: Compañía General de Ediciones.
- PEERS, Edgar Allison (1973). *Historia del movimiento romántico español*. Madrid: Gredos.
- PENTEADO, Flávio Rodrigo and Caio GAGLIARDI (2015). "The Art of Drama According to Browning and Pessoa." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*, Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- PITTELLA Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa pode mudar a sua vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia. 136 Autores Fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."

- \_\_\_\_ (2014). "A Very Original Dinner." Translated by Diego García Sierra in *Un libro muy original/ A Very Original Book*. Bilingual edition and notes by Natalia Jerez Quintero. Medellín: Tragaluz Lusitania Collection.
- \_\_\_\_ (2013). *Iberia. Introducción a un imperialismo futuro*. Translation, introduction, and notes by Antonio Sáez Delgado. Philological note by Jerónimo Pizarro. Epilogue by Humberto Brito and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Valencia: Pre-textos.
- \_\_\_\_ (2011). "Apresentação da colecção 'Anthologia.'" Edgar Allan Poe. *Principais Poemas de Edgar Allan Poe*. Introduction by Fernando Pessoa. Translations by Fernando Pessoa and Margarida Vale de Gato. Lisbon: Guimarães, pp.43-44.
- \_\_\_\_ (2010). *Provérbios portugueses*. Compilation and English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Atica.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993). *Pessoa inédito*. Edited by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Poems, Stories, Essays*. With an Introduction by Charles Baudelaire. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-442].
- PRADO BELLEI, Sérgio Luiz (1991). "O Corvo tropical de Edgar Allan Poe." Malcolm Coulthard and Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard. *Tradução. Teoria e Prática*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- QUENTAL, Antero de (2010). *Os sonetos completos de Antero de Quental*. With a partial English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Preface by J. P. Oliveira Martins. Note, transcriptinos, and postface by Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Guimarães.
- QUILIS, Antonio (1969). *Métrica española*. Madrid: Alcalá.
- \_\_\_\_ (1967). "La percepción de los versos oxítonos, paroxítonos y proparoxítonos en español." *Revista de Filología Española*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, L, pp. 273-286.
- QUILLIER, Patrick (2002). "Pour une acousmatique du signe: éloge du nomadisme de la voix." *Hegel: Zur Sprache, Beiträge zur Geschichte des europäischen Sprachdenkens*. Bettina Lindorfer and Dirk Naguschewski, editors. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, pp. 199-213.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa. Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas. Os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Oporto: Lello Editores.
- SENA, Jorge de (2000). *Fernando Pessoa & Ca. Heterónima*. Lisbon: Edicoes 70.
- STEINER, George (1992). *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- VIZCAÍNO, Fernanda Maria Cardoso Pereira (2012). "Canções / Songs: Fernando Pessoa traduz António Botto." Master dissertation. Oporto: Instituto Politécnico do Porto.
- WIESSE-REBAGLIATI, Jorge (2013). "Heteronimia y traducción: dos futuros de Fernando Pessoa." Jorge Wiesse and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors. *Los futuros de Fernando Pessoa*. Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, pp. 41-46.

# The Enduring Presence of Pessoa

George Monteiro\*

## Keywords

Boyers, Moure, Shapiro, Bernard, Holman, Dickey, Rago, Roditi, *Poetry Magazine*.

## Abstract

Continuing *The Presence of Pessoa* (MONTEIRO, 1998), which offers accounts of how a number of significant English-language writers have reacted to the work of the Portuguese poet in major ways, this piece calls attention to "A Friend of Dr. Reis," a story by Robert Boyers; poems by Eirin Mouré (*Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*), David Shapiro ("At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb"), and April Bernard ("Lisbon: 1989"); Bob Holman's unique way of using Pessoa's poetry in teaching ("Notes Toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'"); and James Dickey's initial enthusiasm over his discovery of Pessoa's creation and employment of various personae, but later sour grapes denigration of Pessoa's poetry.

## Palavras-chave

Boyers, Moure, Shapiro, Bernard, Holman, Dickey, Rago, Roditi, *Poetry Magazine*.

## Resumo

Dando continuidade ao livro *The Presence of Pessoa* (MONTEIRO, 1998), que relata como um número significativo de escritores anglófonos reagiu ao trabalho do poeta português, este artigo chama à atenção o conto "A Friend of Dr. Reis", de Robert Boyers; os poemas de Eirin Mouré (*Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*), David Shapiro ("At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb") e April Bernard ("Lisbon: 1989"); a maneira singular em que Bob Holman emprega a poesia de Pessoa no ensino ("Notes Toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'"); e James Dickey, com seu entusiasmo inicial, ao encontrar a criação de múltiplas personae por Pessoa, e a sua atitude posterior de descrédito amargo da poesia pessoana.

---

\* Brown University.

In *The Presence of Pessoa* I considered, along with other matters, the famous Beat writer Lawrence Ferlinghetti's anarchist banker, my colleague Edwin Honig's confidence-man Pessoa,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Merton's anti-poet of the dark night of the soul, Charles Eglinton's Pessoa as Southern African poet, and Roy Campbell's Homeric Pessoa, a Melvillean poet of the sea (MONTEIRO, 1998).

Here I take note of a half dozen other instances of writers who, in one way or another and in more recent years, have paid homage to the Portuguese poet. Of course this constitutes no more than a drop in the bucket, given his ever-widening appeal to readers and writers alike. But they do represent the different ways in which his audience has chosen to regard Pessoa's work.

Taking his hint from Pessoa's fictive world surrounding Ricardo Reis, the Horatian heteronym (PESSOA, 2016a), José Saramago took full imaginative possession—if only for a spell—of that world. He devoted to him what turned out to be his most widely admired novel, *O Ano da Morte de Ricardo Reis*, published in 1984, and, in 1992, in an English translation by Giovanni Pontiero, as *The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*. But as things go in such matters, Saramago's own presumptive rule (in this, admittedly, his own favorite among his many novels) over the life of Ricardo Reis engendered, twenty some years later, a notable sequel. In 2005, Robert Boyers, the editor of the American journal *Salmagundi*, brought to light "A Friend of Dr. Reis," a long short story employing characters from Saramago's novel. Published in the *Michigan Quarterly Review*, Boyer's story is told from the viewpoint of a Henry James-like observer who, after the death of Ricardo Reis in Lisbon in 1937, becomes intimately involved with the hotel maid created by Saramago. She is called Lidia, and is Ricardo Reis's companion, perhaps lover, but certainly, at least, the patient listener to his, at times, dismal complaints. Another writer has found her inspiration in Alberto Caeiro. *The Keeper of Sheep* [*O Guardador de Rebanhos*] (PESSOA, 2016b) has come in for a radical re-doing, a re-personalizing, if you will, by a Canadian poet and translator, Erin Mouré.<sup>2</sup> She calls her book-length parody, *Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person* (MOURE, 2001), describing it as a "transelation" of Caeiro's famous sequence of poems.

More modestly and on a lesser scale, the art historian and literary critic David Shapiro, inspired by the presence of the names of Pessoa's three major heteronyms—Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos—on the three visible sides of the square that constitutes the marker for Fernando Pessoa's bones,

---

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: Poet, translator, critic, and professor of English and Comparative Literature at Brown University from 1957 until his retirement in 1982, Edwin Honig (1919-2011) is responsible for the first US translation of a *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* (PESSOA, 1971). Among his papers, held at The John Hay Library of Brown University, figure unpublished material regarding the preparation of this translation and other writings on the Portuguese poet.

<sup>2</sup> As translator of this book Erin Mouré signed Eirin Moure, which is another way of writing her name in Galician.

disinterred from the cemetery called Prazeres in 1988 and reinterred below the stones of a passageway bordering the courtyard at the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos—wrote a short poem in which he gives voice, briefly, to the three heteronyms.

“At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb”

1. *Caeiro*

Do not shelter me like any day’s all day  
 Or push me toward the fields of a river.  
 Don’t say it is enough the theme of shelter  
 As if work and happiness were carnivores and a flower.

2. *Reis*

Is it enough for the interior to seem vast. Nothing  
     Exaggerated but multiplicity itself?  
 Does everything fall into one thing? Like the weak poet counting  
     Quantities or fatally subdivided like a minute?  
 Is it enough to fall like everything late  
     Shining, and shining with the light at the bottom of a heteronym?

3. *Campos*

No, and again you wanted nothing green or marvelous  
 Like writing a great agreement in the middle of the street.  
 Nothing, but the most youthful night of no conclusions, but for him,  
 Then, the unique conclusion of dying (as if one existed, ever) to the everyday.

(SHAPIRO, 1999: 69)

Then there’s Bob Holman, a poet, translator and former professor of creative writing at Columbia University, who brings in Pessoa when he advocates teaching poetry through performance. “Teach [Charles] Olson’s ‘Projective Verse’ and [Frank] O’Hara’s ‘Personism: A Manifesto’ back to back,” he suggests. “Toss in some Surrealist and Futurist Manifestos. Then have the class invent schools of poetry, characters who write in that style, and write ‘their’ poems.” Then comes, rather strikingly, a plug for the Portuguese poet. “Pessoa is great here,” he interjects. “Physicalizing Pessoa’s heteronyms is a great performance. I had a student, Amanda Graham, who wrote a ‘Dating Game’ play where she was the contestant and Pessoa’s heteronyms were her suitors. Pessoa personifies the performance of writing” (HOLMAN, 2006: 295-96). Now that’s a script I’d like to see.

But not everybody is a fan of Pessoa’s poetry. Let me tell you, briefly, about the American poet James Dickey (1923-1997) and what he called Pessoa’s “terrific idea.” Although Dickey is perhaps best known now as the author of *Deliverance* (1972), a novel made into a popular movie starring Burt Reynolds (with Dickey himself playing a sheriff), in his day Dickey was considered to be a poet of stature

and a critic of major influence. In the 1960s, it has been observed, “Dickey’s best work as a poet and critic” was done, “and while it may be difficult for us to remember now, he looked hard to beat in the American poetry sweepstakes” (MASON, 2006: 669). It was in his guise as poet that in 1963 he tried out his new idea on the editor of *Poetry Magazine*. He offered to send Henry Rago poems (not yet written) to be published under pseudonyms:

I want to write some poems under another name—a couple of other names, in fact—to see if I can take on different ‘writing personalities’ in case I get tired of the one I have. I’d like to send some of these to you and see what you think of them, but, in case of publication, I wouldn’t want my real identity known. Is this a legitimate kind of pursuit, in letters? A Portuguese poet named Pessoa did this some time ago—he had four alter egos!—and I wanted to try it, just to see what would happen.

(DICKEY, 1999: 195, n. 527)

Curiously, in mentioning Fernando Pessoa to Henry Rago, Dickey was carrying coals to Newcastle, for *Poetry Magazine* had already published, under Rago’s direction, several of Pessoa’s poems, some of them in Edouard Roditi’s translation, eight years earlier, the poems accompanying Roditi’s essay entitled “The Several Names of Fernando Pessoa” (RODITI, 1955: 26-29 and 40-44).<sup>3</sup>

I do not know what sort of answer Dickey received from Rago regarding his offer to imitate Pessoa’s creation of multiple “alter egos.” What is known is that Pessoa’s great project in heteronomy continued to interest Dickey—but with a caveat. In an interview he granted to the *New York Times* in 1970, he stated: “I think it’s important, as you get older, to discover and energize different parts of yourself. I like to think about a Portuguese poet named Fernando Pessoa, who spread himself out into four personalities, and tried to create a completely separate body of work for each of the four. Unfortunately, I believe none of the four turned out to be very good, but what a terrific idea!” (1970: 298). At the last, though, Dickey’s notion of adapting Pessoa’s “terrific idea” to his own work came to nothing, for he published no poems under the names of “Jesse Shields” and “Boyd Thornton,” two of his stillborn pseudonyms.

Decidedly more ambiguous in its reference to Pessoa than Dickey’s fox-and-grapes write-off, is April Bernard’s “Lisbon, 1989,” a poem published in the *New York Review of Books* on November 6, 2014. The author, formerly the senior editor of the splashy journal *Vanity Fair*, is now identified as a member of the faculty of the Master of Fine Arts Program at Bennington College. The question for me is how does the reference to Pessoa that closes out the poem, replete, as it is, with

---

<sup>3</sup> Roditi’s piece was accompanied by examples, in translation, of Pessoa’s poetry: Pessoa’s “Autopsycography,” Alberto Caieiro’s “Discontinuous Poems” and “The Herdsman,” and two of Ricardo Reis’s odes.

unfavorable descriptions of “how it was” in Portugal’s capital city nearly thirty years ago, actually work.

“Lisbon, 1989”

The new year lurched  
 on a clamor of horns  
 trash cans and firecrackers  
 rising up from the harbor  
 over the window sills  
 into a hotel room where  
 civility had just died.  
 Next day we went for lunch  
 to a pricey restaurant  
 filled with leftover Nazis  
 and I was sick in the ladies’ room  
 where the walls were zebra skins  
 and the vanity stools moth-eaten  
 leopard. So I left alone

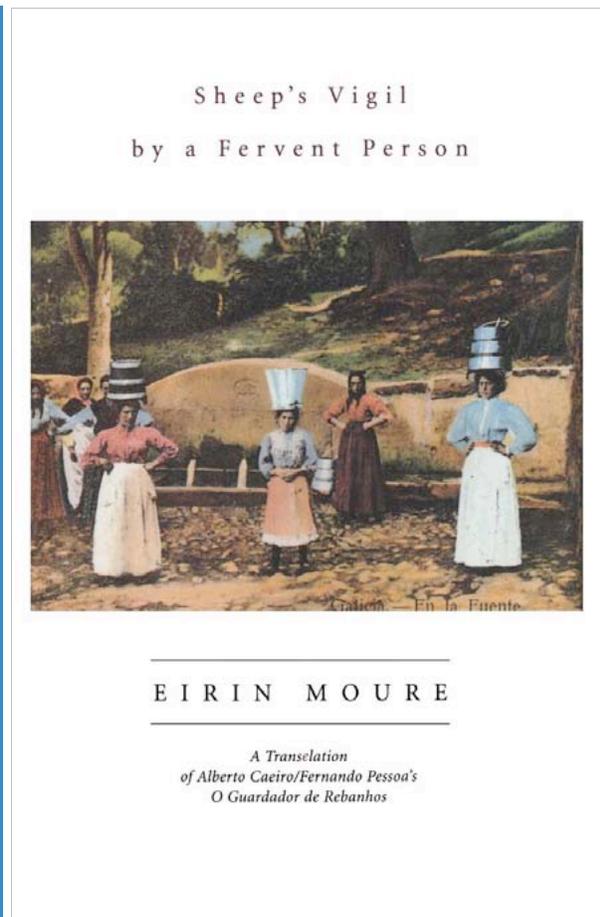
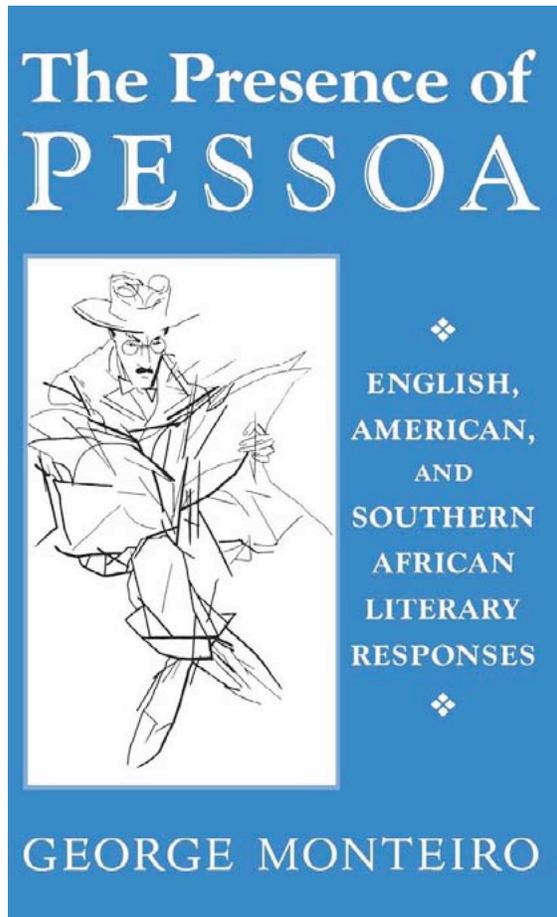
for a walk, drank a cold  
 espresso in a cold café  
 and reckoned my losses  
 in the face of lowering rain.  
 At a bookstore I opened a book  
 of poems: a few tender lines  
 about the emerald sea, memory  
 bringing a smell of salt and roses—  
 before the words swam back into  
 Portuguese, indecipherable.  
*Querido Pessoa*, your voice  
 was clear as music for those  
 few moments I could read  
 all the poems ever written.

(BERNARD, 2014: 10)

Poetry manifests itself on the page, though the words themselves, in Portuguese, are indecipherable, even those of the “dear” Pessoa. The question that I am left with is “has the bookstore moment” had the effect of saving for the poet a day that she has rued. Is this, thus, an experience remindful of Robert Frost’s poem “Dust of Snow,”<sup>4</sup> in which the day is saved by the way a crow shakes snow on him from above? Of is the focus on the loss of “those few moments” when the poet could read “all the poems ever written.” Caveat emptor.

---

<sup>4</sup> According to the Robert Frost encyclopedia online, this poem was first published as “Favour” in the *London Mercury* in December 1920 and later reprinted as “Snow Dust” in the *Yale Review* in January 1921 before it was collected in the book *New Hampshire* (1923).



Figs. 1 & 2. Covers of books by MONTEIRO (1998) and MOURÉ (2001).

## Bibliography

- BERNARD, April (2014). "Lisbon, 1989." *New York Review of Books*, vol. 61, n. 17, 6 November, p. 10.
- CLEMONS, Walter (2014). "James Dickey, Novelist." *New York Times*, 22 March, p. 298.
- DICKEY, James (1999). *Crux: The Letters of James Dickey*. Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman. NY: Knopf.
- HOLMAN, Bob (2006). "Notes toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'." *Poetry & Pedagogy: The Challenge of the Contemporary*. Edited by Joan Retallack and Juliana Spahr. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 295-98.
- MONTEIRO, George (1998). *The Presence of Fernando Pessoa: English, American, and Southern African Literary Responses*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- MASON, David (2006). "The Inner Drama of James Wright." *Hudson Review*, 58, Winter, p. 669.
- MOURÉ, Eirin (2001). *Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*. Toronto: Anansi.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Obra Completa de Ricardo Reis*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (2016b). *Obra Completa de Alberto Caeiro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- \_\_\_\_ (1971). *Selected Poems by Fernando Pessoa. Including poems by his heteronyms Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Alvaro de Campos as well as some of his English sonnets and selections from his letters*. Translated by Edwin Honig. With an introduction by Octavio Paz. Bilingual edition. Chicago: The Swallow Press.
- RODITI, Edouard (1955). "The Several Names of Fernando Pessoa." *Poetry Magazine*, 87, October, pp. 40-44.
- SARAMAGO, José (1984). *O Ano da Morte de Ricardo Reis*. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho. [English translation by Giovanni Pontiero as *The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*, published in 1992].
- SHAPIRO, David (1999). "At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb." *American Poetry Review*, 28 May-June, p. 69.

# The Poems of Frederick Wyatt

Patricio Ferrari\* & Carlos Pittella\*\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, English poetry, Frederick Wyatt, Thomas Wyatt, Tottel, Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search, pseudonym, *Final Image*, *Waves*, Songs and Sonnets.

## Abstract

If Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese works contain a coterie of heteronyms, his English poetry also displays an array of fictitious authors: besides Pessoa himself, one finds Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search and—with his poems compiled here for the first time—Frederick Wyatt. After Alexander Search's presence, which dominated the English juvenilia of Pessoa, and before *The Mad Fiddler*, submitted for publication (but rejected) in 1917, Pessoa created Frederick Wyatt, noting that "of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he." Circa 1913, Pessoa introduced Wyatt in a preface and attributed to him 21 poems previously assigned to Alexander Search. Here we present the preliminary texts and poems of Frederick Wyatt, including new transcriptions and significant updates from previous editions.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Poesia inglesa, Frederick Wyatt, Thomas Wyatt, Tottel, Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search, pseudônimo, *Final Image*, *Waves*, Canções e Sonetos.

## Resumo

Se a obra em Português de Fernando Pessoa contém uma *coterie* de heterónimos, a sua poesia inglesa também exibe uma coleção de autores fictícios: além do próprio Pessoa, encontramos Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search e – com seus poemas compilados aqui pela primeira vez – Frederick Wyatt. Após a presença de Alexander Search, que dominou a juvenília inglesa de Pessoa, e antes de *The Mad Fiddler*, enviado para publicação (mas rejeitado) em 1917, Pessoa criou Frederick Wyatt, notando que "of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he" [dentre os sonhadores, ninguém foi maior sonhador do que ele]. Por volta de 1913, Pessoa introduziu Wyatt num prefácio, atribuindo-lhe 21 poemas anteriormente conferidos a Alexander Search. Aqui apresentamos os textos preliminares e poemas de Frederick Wyatt, incluindo novas transcrições e significativas atualizações de edições anteriores.

---

\* University of Lisbon, Center for Comparative Studies (Postdoctoral Fellowship funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) [the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research and technology] between 2013-2015. Currently in the MFA program at Brown University.

\*\* Postdoctoral Research Associate at Brown University; affiliated with the Centre for Theatre Studies at the University of Lisbon.

Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he.  
 Fernando Pessoa  
 [BNP/E3, 14E-93v]<sup>1</sup>

## I. Introduction

### Frederick Wyatt

It is not only Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese poetry that casts fictitious authors in a complex "drama em gente, em vez de em actos" ["drama in people, instead of in acts"], to employ the term coined by Pessoa himself in a biographical note (PESSOA, 1928: 10). If Alberto Caeiro, Álvaro de Campos, Ricardo Reis—the heteronyms—and Fernando Pessoa himself—the oronym—are the protagonists of Pessoa's Portuguese coterie, his English poetry also displays an array of fictitious authors: besides Pessoa himself (or his other self as English poet), one finds Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search and—with his poems compiled here for the first time—Frederick Wyatt.<sup>2</sup>

In a "Preface to Wyatt's Poems" (document 1.1 of this dossier), Pessoa introduces someone who "preferred the pseudonym because (he used to say) there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry" (PESSOA, 2016: 359). If the playful reference to Sir Thomas Wyatt<sup>3</sup> is clear, the author's pseudonym is never directly disclosed. Was Fernando Pessoa toying with the idea of another name associated with Frederick Wyatt?<sup>4</sup> Another document (1.5 in this dossier) is titled "Frederick Wyatt Cypher," and perhaps "Cypher" could be the pseudonym—or meta-pseudonym, as "cypher" means "a secret or disguised way of writing, a code" (*New Oxford American Dictionary*).

Also in the "Preface to Wyatt's Poems," we learn of other traits of this fictitious English author who resided in Lisbon and whose autograph had letters separated (see document 1.1). In Pessoa's own English we are told that "he was as original [...] in his literary manner [...] as he was propense to imitation in his every day life," and that he would walk "panting up the steepness [*sic*] of the Calçada da Estrella, in his black suit"—this last attribute resembling very much Pessoa's own appearance.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pessoa's documents are located at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal/Espólio 3 [National Library of Portugal/Archive 3], henceforth given as BNP/E3.

<sup>2</sup> In his French works, Pessoa distinguished between his oronymic writings and the ones by Jean Seul de Méluret; see PESSOA (2006).

<sup>3</sup> For the relationship between Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt and Sir Thomas Wyatt, see Stephen Foley's article "Pessoa's Wyatt," also in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*.

<sup>4</sup> An earlier example of this meta-naming is found with Alexander Search, whose pseudonym was William Search. In a document revealed by Pizarro in 2010 we read: "Quando o meu amigo A[lexander] S[earch] se pseudonyma em Will[iam] Search" [When my friend Alexander Search uses the pseudonym of William Search]. See PESSOA (2016: 284).

Besides the preface and loose notes about Frederick Wyatt, there exists a list of poems Pessoa attributed to him. But how did this complex and unique poet—among all of Pessoa’s English fictitious authors—come about? And, what is more, what role did his body of work—one single book of 21 poems—play for Pessoa in 1913? Before introducing “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” let us review the archival discoveries leading to our work.

### State of the Art

As far as we know, the first publication of a document mentioning Frederick Wyatt was made by Teresa Sobral Cunha, as an annex to her edition of Pessoa’s *Fausto* (PESSOA, 1988: 202). It is a list of English projects by Pessoa, including “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt” (see document 2.1 in this dossier).

In 1990, Teresa Rita Lopes edited the description of Frederick Wyatt beginning with “Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he” (PESSOA, 1990: 240), which we cite as an epigraph and present as document 1.2. In the essayistic volume released at the same time as her edition of Pessoa’s unpublished works, Lopes listed Frederick Wyatt—together with his relatives Alfred Wyatt and Rev. Walter Wyatt—among 72 fictitious authors created by Pessoa (see LOPES, 1990: 131 and 179).

In 1997, João Dionísio prepared the critical edition of Alexander Search’s poetry, briefly referring to a letter directed to Christopher Wyatt, a member of the fictitious Wyatt coterie (PESSOA, 1997: 12 and 382-383). Although Dionísio never mentions Frederick Wyatt, his edition included (then attributed to Search) the 21 poems Pessoa would later assign to Wyatt.

In 2009, Michaël Stoker revisited Pessoa’s archive, extending the list of Pessoaan dramatis personæ from the 72 named by Lopes to 83 (cf. STOKER, 2009). Stoker’s work was given prominence in 2011 by José Paulo Cavalcanti Filho’s biography of Pessoa, which included biographical notes for four members of the “Wyatt” clan: Alfred, August, Frederick, and Rev. (or Sir) Walter Wyatt—though no texts by any Wyatt were transcribed (CAVALCANTI FILHO, 2011: 461, 469, 493-494 and 538).

Two other works augmented the list of Pessoaan characters: Fernando Cabral Martins and Richard Zenith counted 106 (PESSOA, 2012b), and Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari summed 136 (PESSOA, 2016 [2013]). Pizarro and Ferrari wrote the most extensive biography of Frederick Wyatt to date, followed by a dossier that includes: one poem attributed to him, three texts in prose about him, and ten different documents bearing signatures of members of the “Wyatt” family (PESSOA, 2016: 359-370). Pizarro and Ferrari also presented a list of the 21 texts that constitute “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” published here in full as document 2.2 (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 360).

## The Corpus

If Pessoa constructs a personality for Frederick Wyatt in the paratexts (“Preface to Wyatt’s Poems and Other Preliminary Texts”; DOCUMENTS, SECTION I), it is a list datable to 1913 that grants Wyatt a distinctive body of work (see document 2.2). In the same way that Alexander Search inherited a series of poems first attributed to Charles Robert Anon,<sup>5</sup> Frederick Wyatt inherited poems from Search: “ladrão que rouba ladrão...” [a thief who steals from a thief], as the Portuguese proverb goes. The evolution of these poems—up to their attribution to Wyatt—is an intricate web. TABLE A summarizes essential developments of this web by synthesizing four different listings prepared by Pessoa—the last one being the document that ascribes to Wyatt 21 poems previously bearing the signature of Search. Note that this last document, datable to 1913, includes all poem titles (CORPUS), a fact TABLE A represents by the marks “X” in COLUMN D. Before 1913, however, we find three intermediary groupings containing these poems (COLUMNS A, B and C).

[TABLE A]

CORPUS [POEMS]	COLUMN A “Final Image” [BNP/E3, 144V-21 <sup>v</sup> to 23 <sup>r</sup> ] (btw. 26 Oct. 1908 & 25 Feb. 1909)	COLUMN B “FF” & other marks [BNP/E3, various documents; see section 3] (c. May 1907-1909)	COLUMN C “Waves” [BNP/E3, 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> ] (btw. 29 Mar 1909 & 1910)	COLUMN D “Frederick Wyatt” [BNP/E3, 144P-2 <sup>r</sup> & 3 <sup>r</sup> ] (c. 1913)
The Game		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Little Bird		*S[ongs]	X	X
Spirits to Fanny		G	X	X
Song		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Baby’s Death		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Sunset-Song		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Requiescat		<i>n/a</i>	X	X
Build me a cottage		<i>n/a</i>	X	X
The Last of things		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
The Maiden		F	X	X
Nirvâna	X	Delirium	X / + (Before Sense)	X
Farewell		<i>n/a</i>	+ (Before Sense)	X
Was...		F		X
The Apostle	*	F		X
O, solitary star	*	F[inal] I[mage]		X
Perfection	*	F[inal] I[mage]		X
Adorned	*	*S[onnets]		X
Sonnet	*	F		X
A day of Sun	?	Delirium		X
On the road	?	Delirium		X
Beginning	X	Ag[ony]	+ (Before Sense)	X

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Search also claimed works initially attributed to David Merrick, such as “Old Castle,” “Ode to Music,” “Woman in Black,” and “Gahu”—as well as a series of “Early Fragments.” Among the latter texts we find *Marino*, an unfinished drama also associated with Charles Robert Anon in at least one document (cf. 13-1<sup>v</sup>; PESSOA, 2016: 126).

(COLUMN A) The “Final Image” project, created between October 1908 and February 1909, was initially subtitled “Alexander Search’s first book” (BNP/E3, 144V-22<sup>r</sup>). It includes the poems we marked “X,” questions the inclusion of poems we marked “?,” and possibly includes the poems we marked “\*” —for the latter (“\*”) are all sonnets, and the project states the inclusion of “7 sonnets.”

(COLUMN B) On the top left corner of some documents—copied in unusually neat handwriting on grid paper—Pessoa draws curious signs to mark poems then attributed to Alexander Search. These signs are indicative of groups or subgroups of poems; though some have deducible meanings (such as “Del[irium]” or “Ag[ony]”), others are less evident (such as “F[inal] I[mage]”); some still elude us (such as “\*S,” “G,” and “F”). João Dionísio, who prepared the critical edition of Search’s poetry, believes that Pessoa created those projects between May 1907 and an undetermined date after 28 March 1909 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 12).

The discrepancies between COLUMNS A and B reveal that Pessoa had not decided as to which project the poems should belong to: the two poems unequivocally assigned to “Final Image” in A (“Nirvana” and “Beginnings”) are marked “Delirium” and “Ag[ony]” in B, and poems not listed in “Final Image” in A are marked “F[inal] I[mage]” in B.

(COLUMN C) “Waves” is a list presented together with “Before Sense” (BNP/E3, 48C-21<sup>r</sup>), perhaps as a counterpoint (or counter-project). Eleven out of the 12 poems in “Waves” (marked “X”) will make it into the corpus of Frederick Wyatt—the only exception being the sonnet “Blind Eagle,” as noted by Ferrari and Pizarro (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 360). “Farewell” and “Beginning” (marked “+”) were destined, not to “Waves,” but to “Before Sense”; still, they are bequeathed to Wyatt—as is “Nirvana,” which figured in both “Waves” and “Before Sense.”

There are still other lists created prior to 1913 that add to the history of the poems Pessoa attributed to Wyatt (see TABLE B, in ANNEX IA). Although Pessoa would not claim the poems of Frederick Wyatt for later poetry projects, he did use “Before Sense” as a subtitle to *The Mad Fiddler*, around 1918, as noted by editors Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes (cf. BNP/E3, 31-95; PESSOA, 1999: 13). While none of Wyatt’s poems made it into *The Mad Fiddler* (not even the poems in “Before Sense” in COLUMN C of TABLE A), Pessoa could easily have recycled “Waves” of “Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” morphing them into other projects. The first poem in Wyatt’s corpus (“The Game”) illustrates this possibility: Pessoa revised it after the creation of Wyatt (modifying 6 of the 12 verses) and changed its title from “The Game” to “Ombre Chinoise”; this probably happened c. 1916-1917, as the piece of paper with “Ombre Chinoise” also lists poems for *The Mad Fiddler*. Since the list of poems of Frederick Wyatt includes “The Game” and not “Ombre Chinoise,” it is possible that the second title could belong to a different project altogether.

## A Coherent Corpus?

Considering the selection of poems Pessoa attributed to Wyatt—and paying attention to the fact that some of these poems had been assigned to previous projects—we may raise the following questions: is there a pattern to the works Wyatt inherited from Search? Given that Alexander Search penned more than 100 poems, what drove Pessoa to choose *these* 21 pieces for Wyatt? What makes them a coherent corpus, if coherent at all?

These questions are open to all readers who will now encounter the poetry of Frederick Wyatt for the first time. Some patterns emerge at first sight, and Pessoa himself offers a few clues. In the preface and other preliminary texts for Wyatt's poems, Pessoa (in the pen of an unknown prefacer) describes an author whose only consistency seems to be inconsistency itself, with an "attitude before things [...] always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme"—with "political opinions [...] in perpetual fluctuation" (BNP/E3, 14E-93). Alongside this state of flux, there is the portrait of Wyatt as a dreamer: "Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he" (*idem*). The view of reality as a dream is put forth in the very first poem in Wyatt's oeuvre: "The Game" (of reality?), later renamed "Ombre Chinoise," with platonic connotations (the shadow puppetry theater of reality?).

Individual poems may seem familiar to Pessoa's readers, for they foreshadow motifs later developed in his Portuguese poetry. To give one example, the poem "A Day of Sun" exhibits a love of the sun ("with a child's natural delight") that makes us think of the poetry of Alberto Caeiro, the master-heteronym Pessoa brought to life in March 1914. As a song with many layers, "A Day of Sun" is also an *ars poetica* for Pessoa's heteronymic project, describing the aspiration of the poet to lose his ego, his individuality, or, as Frederick Wyatt puts it in the last three stanzas of the poem:

Be swallowed of the sun and spread  
     Over the infinite expanse,  
 Dissolved, like a drop of dew dead  
     Lost in a super-normal trance;

Lost in impersonal consciousness  
     And mingling in all life become  
 A selfless part of Force and Stress  
     And have a universal home

And in a strange way undefined  
     Lose in the one and living Whole  
 The limit that I am to my mind,  
     The place wherefrom I dream my soul.

(see poem 3.19 of this dossier)

Regarding the poetic forms appropriated by Wyatt, one finds short poems—mostly songs and sonnets—never exceeding 40 verses, in a variety of stanza arrangements: 20 poems with stanzas ranging from tercets to octets, and the final poem containing a single 12-line stanza. All poems display rhyme schemes, and one would be tempted to see the influence of Keats or Blake in Frederick Wyatt, though Pessoa claims (rather playfully) that Frederick “was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature” (BNP/E3, 14E-94<sup>r</sup>).

Fernando Pessoa, though, had no such ignorance—and we cannot forget to mention the influence the historical Wyatt—Sir Thomas—may have had on the poetry of the fictitious Frederick. As far as we were able to assess, only three books extant in Pessoa’s private library include references to Sir Thomas Wyatt: (1) *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language*, with the short poem “The Lover’s Appeal” (PALGRAVE, 1926: 21);<sup>6</sup> (2) *A Thousand and One Gems of English Poetry*, featuring one short and three longer poems with the editor’s titles “A description of such a one as he could love,” “Complaint of the absence of his love,” “The longer life the more offence,” and “The aged lover renounceth love” (MACKAY, 1896: 15-18); (3) *A First Sketch of English Literature*, the most important of these books for our query, presenting not only excerpts of Wyatt’s poetry, but also a brief biography that emphasizes how Wyatt was influenced by Italian poetry and became one of the first reformers of English meter and style (cf. MORLEY, 1901: 285-290)—as the author summarizes towards the end of the section on Wyatt:

Wyatt’s songs and sonnets, balades, rondeaux, complaints, and other little poems, closely and delicately imitate, with great variety of music, the forms fashionable in his time among poets of Italy and France. His sonnets, accurate in their structure, are chiefly translated from Petrarch, many of his epigrams are borrowed from the “Strambotti” (fantastic conceits) of Serafino d’Aquila, a Neapolitan poet, who died in 1500 [...].

(MORLEY, 1901: 289)

We do find songs, sonnets, ballads, etc., among the poems of Frederick Wyatt—much like the “little poems” of Thomas Wyatt, which were presented as “Songs and Sonnettes” in *Tottel’s Miscellany*, which first appeared in 1557. Thomas Wyatt authored 96 out of the 310 poems compiled by Tottel (more than twice the number contributed by any other poet featured in the miscellany). Pessoa also compiled his “Songs and Sonnets” in a list<sup>7</sup> that included eight of the poems later attributed to Frederick Wyatt—and the designation “Songs and Sonnets” would surely befit Wyatt’s poems as a whole.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This book was published after 1913 and, thus could not have influenced Pessoa’s creation.

<sup>7</sup> BNP/E3, 48C-7 and 8; see ANNEX IB, TABLE B.

<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, the edition of John Donne’s poems extant in Pessoa’s private library begins with the

### “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt”

The dossier here presented comprises three sections of documents associated with Frederick Wyatt: (1) Preface to Wyatt’s Poems And Other Preliminary Texts; (2) Frederick Wyatt Book Project and Index of Poems; and (3) Poems Attributed to Frederick Wyatt. Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari noted that “Wyatt,” much like “Search,” was a name used for multiple fictitious figures. Although Frederick was the only one endowed with a body of work, the “Wyatt” clan counted eight other members. In Pessoa’s archive we find various signatures with the same surname: besides Frederick Wyatt, resident of Lisbon, one finds: Rev. Walter Wyatt (BNP/E3, 144V-27<sup>v</sup>), resident of Sandringham, England; Sir Alfred Wyatt (144V-47<sup>v</sup>), resident of Paris (thus, sometimes referred to as “Monsieur”); Charles Wyatt (57-8<sup>v</sup>); Stanley Wyatt (110-9<sup>v</sup>); Francis Wyatt (49B<sup>5</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>); Arthur C. Wyatt (14D-34<sup>v</sup>); Augustus C. Wyatt (14D-34<sup>v</sup>); and Christopher Wyatt (14D-34<sup>v</sup> & 78A-42<sup>v</sup>)—the last six without known residences; the call numbers were identified by Pizarro and Ferrari (*cf.* PESSOA, 2016: 704-705), who also noted:

Tanto os Wyatt, como os Search foram múltiplos e é-nos difícil estabelecer se cada Wyatt (ou cada Search) foi uno, ou se alguns foram as prefigurações de outros. A contabilidade, neste mundo da fantasia, é sempre inexacta.

(PESSOA, 2016: 705)

[Both the Wyatts and the Searches were multiple, and it is difficult for us to establish if each Wyatt (or each Search) was one, or if some were prefigurations of others. An appraisal, in this world of fantasy, is always inexact.]<sup>9</sup>

Frederick Wyatt reconfigures the corpus attributed to Alexander Search, thus calling for a revision that should pay special attention to the development of projects such as “Final Image,” “Before Sense,” and “Waves.” But Alexander Search cannot be fully understood without an edition of the poetry of Charles Robert Anon, who was assigned some of the same projects Pessoa gave to Search (e.g., “Death of God”).

Besides making available the work of Pessoa’s last fictitious English poet, we hope that this dossier may shed light on our understanding of the works of Anon and Search—in the same way that an understanding of Caeiro is essential to understanding Campos and/or Reis in Pessoa’s Portuguese poetry.

---

section “Songs and Sonnets” (DONNE, *c.* 1904).

<sup>9</sup> Unless noted otherwise, all translations are ours.

## Bibliography

- CAVALCANTI FILHO, José Paulo (2011). *Fernando Pessoa—uma quase autobiografia*. Rio de Janeiro: Record.
- CENTENO, Yvette K. and Stephen RECKERT (1978). *Fernando Pessoa. Tempo. Solidão. Hermetismo*. Lisbon: Moraes.
- CHATTERTON, Thomas (1885). *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*. London: Walter Scott, “The Canterbury Poets edited by William Sharp” [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-105].
- DONNE, John (undated) [c. 1904]. *Poems of John Donne*. Edited by E. K. Chambers. 2 vols. London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. “The Muse’s Library” [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-158].
- EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1902). *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essays, first and second series; Representative men; Society and solitude; English traits; The conduct of life; Letters and social aims; Poems; Miscellanies; Embracing nature; Addresses, and lectures*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-172].
- FERREIRA, António Mega (1986). *Fernando Pessoa—O Comércio e a Publicidade*. Lisbon: Cinevoz/Lusomedia.
- HAYES, Bruce (1995). *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- JENNINGS, Hubert Dudley (1984). *Os Dois Exílios. Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida / Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos.
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London, New York: Frederick Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- \_\_\_\_ (1990). *Pessoa por Conhecer, vol. I. Roteiro para uma Expedição*. Lisbon: Estampa.
- LOURENÇO, Eduardo and António Braz de OLIVEIRA (eds.) (1988). *Fernando Pessoa no seu tempo*. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- MACKAY, Charles (ed.) (1896). *A Thousand and One Gems of English Poetry*. Selected and arranged by Charles Mackay. 23<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: George Routledge & Sons [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-2].
- MERRIAM-WEBSTER, INC. (1995). *Merriam-Webster’s Encyclopedia of Literature: a comprehensive and authoritative guide to the world of literature—authors, works, terms, and topics—from all eras and all parts of the world*. Springfield: Merriam-Webster, Inc. Publishers.
- MORLEY, Henry (1901). *A First Sketch of English Literature; with supplement bringing the work down to the end of Queen Victoria’s Reign*. 35<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Cassell and Company [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-379].
- New Oxford American Dictionary*. (2010) Edited by Angus Stevenson and Christine A. Lindberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition [1<sup>st</sup> edition: 2001, edited by Elizabeth J. Jewell and Frank Abate; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 2005, edited by Erin McKean].
- PALGRAVE, Francis Turner (ed.) (1926). *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language. Selected and arranged by Francis Turner Palgrave*. Oxford: University Press, “The World’s Classics, n.º 103” [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-409].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa “Collection.” [1<sup>st</sup> edition: 2013].
- \_\_\_\_ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream—Selected English Poems*. Edited by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Lisbon: Tell-a-story [1<sup>st</sup> edition: 2014].
- \_\_\_\_ (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edited by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012a). *Prosa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello, in

- collaboration with Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Ática. Works of Fernando Pessoa. New Series.
- \_\_\_\_ (2012b). *Teoria da Heteronímia*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins and Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- \_\_\_\_ (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume XII.
- \_\_\_\_ (2006). *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret*. Edited by Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume VIII.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1997). *Poemas Ingleses. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume V, tome II.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- \_\_\_\_ (1990). *Pessoa por Conhecer, vol. II. Textos para um Novo Mapa*. Edited by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Estampa.
- \_\_\_\_ (1988). *Fausto—Tragédia subjectiva (fragmentos)*. Edited by Teresa Sobral Cunha. Lisbon: Presença.
- \_\_\_\_ (1934). *Mensagem*. Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira.
- \_\_\_\_ (1928). "Tábua bibliográfica." *Presença: fôlha de arte e crítica*, n.º 17, Coimbra, December, p. 10.
- \_\_\_\_ (1913). "Na Floresta do Alheamento." *A Águia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, n.º 20, Oporto, August, pp. 38-42.
- \_\_\_\_ (1912a). "A Nova Poesia Portuguesa no seu Aspecto Psicológico." *A Águia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, n.ºs 9, 11 & 12, Oporto, September, pp. 86-94, November, pp. 153-157, and December, pp. 188-192.
- \_\_\_\_ (1912b). "Reincidindo." *A Águia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, n.º 5, Oporto, May, pp. 137-144.
- \_\_\_\_ (1912c). "A Nova Poesia Portuguesa Sociologicamente Considerada." *A Águia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, n.º 4, Oporto, April, pp. 101-107.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- SHARP, William (as Fiona Macleod) (1915). *Runes of Woman*. Portland [Maine]: Thomas Bird Mosher.
- STAACK, Maria (1981). "Um pseudónimo de Fernando Pessoa." *Persona* n.º 6, Oporto, Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos, pp. 39-41.
- STOKER, Michaël (2009). *Fernando Pessoa: De fictie vergezelt mij als mijn schaduw*. Utrecht: IJzer.
- TOTTEL, Richard (ed.) (1870). *Tottel's miscellany. Songes and sonnets by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, Nicholas Grimald and uncertain authors*. Edited by Edward Arber. London: n/a. [1<sup>st</sup> edition: 1557].
- WILDE, Oscar (1911). *The Poems of Oscar Wilde*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, "Collection of British authors" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-585].
- \_\_\_\_ (1881) *Poems*. Boston: Robert Brothers.
- YEATS, William Butler (1913). *A Selection from the Poetry of W. B. Yeats*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. "Collection of British authors; no 4384" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-591].

## ANNEX IA. Lists including poems of Wyatt (excluding the information in TABLE A).

[TABLE B]

CORPUS [POEMS]	“Titles of Poems” [48B-146r to 147r] (c. 7 Sept. 1907)	“Dates of Sonnets” [153-63]	<i>untitled</i> [48B-94 to 102] (btw. 7 & 20 Sept. 1907)	“Songs and Sonnets” [48C-7r & 8r] (btw. 29 Dec 1907 & 2 Jan 1908)	“Delirium” [48C-15r to 17r & 48B-93] (btw. 29 Dec 1907 & 2 Jan 1908)	“Delirium” [78B-64] (btw. 18 Jan & 19 Mar 1908)	Other lists [featuring individual poems]
The Game					X		
Little Bird							
Spirits to Fanny	X		X	X			
Song			X	X			
Baby’s Death				X			
Sunset-Song							
Requiescat			X		X		
Build me a cottage					X		
The Last of things					X		
The Maiden					X		
Nirvâna			X		X	X	
Farewell			X				144V-50r
Was							
The Apostle		X	X	X		X	
O, solitary star		X	X	X			
Perfection	X	X	X	X			
Adorned		X	X	X		X	
Sonnet		X	X	X			
A day of Sun							
On the road							
Beginning						X	48C-19r

## ANNEX IB. Table C and Some Listings of Poems Pre-Wyatt

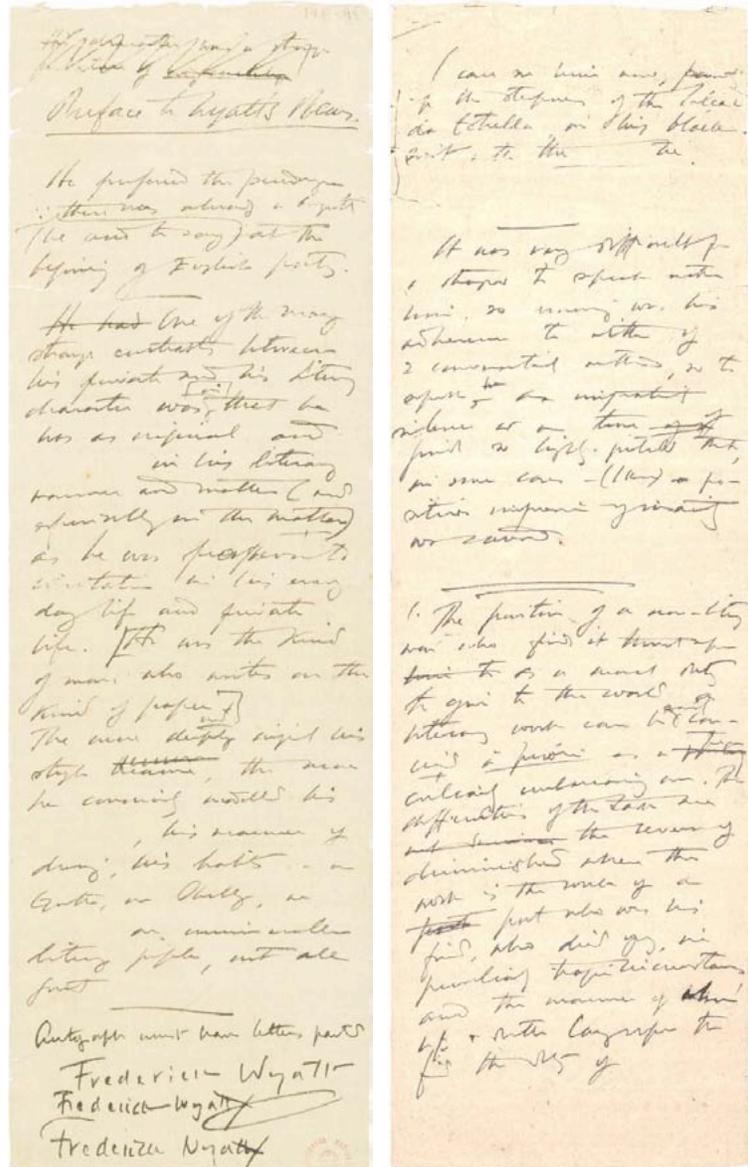
[TABLE C] *Poems transcribed, mss. and publications.*

POEM TITLE	DOCUMENTS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS	LISTS
The Game	144J-43 <sup>r</sup> , 78A-1 <sup>r</sup> , 48D-42 <sup>v</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 144-146 & 1997: 132	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> ,
Little Bird	78A-14 <sup>r</sup> to 16 <sup>r</sup> ,	PESSOA, 1995: 158-160 & 1997: 133-134	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> ,
Spirits to Fanny	78B-2 <sup>r</sup> & 3 <sup>r</sup> ,	PESSOA, 1995: 196-198 & 1997: 134-135	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> ; 48C-7 <sup>r</sup> , 48B- 95 <sup>v</sup> , 48B-147 <sup>r</sup>
Song	78-33 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 88 & 1997: 135	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-7 <sup>r</sup> , 48B- 98 <sup>r</sup>
Baby's Death	78B-1 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 196 & 1997: 136	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-7 <sup>r</sup> ,
Sunset-Song	49B <sup>3</sup> -21 <sup>r</sup> , 78-104 <sup>r</sup>	STAACK, 1981: 40; PESSOA, 1995: 144 & 1997: 136	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> ,
Requiescat	144T-32 <sup>r</sup> & 31 <sup>v</sup> , 78-57 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 108-110 & 1997: 137	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-16 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-93 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-102 <sup>r</sup> ,
Build me a cottage	144J-34 <sup>r</sup> , 78-96 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 138 & 1997: 137	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-16 <sup>r</sup> ,
The Last of things	144J-37 <sup>v</sup> & 38 <sup>r</sup> , 78-97 <sup>r</sup> & 98 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 138-140 & 1997: 138	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-17 <sup>r</sup>
The Maiden	144J-40 <sup>v</sup> & 41 <sup>r</sup> , 78-102 <sup>r</sup> & 103 <sup>r</sup> [frag 79-1 <sup>r</sup> ]	CENTENO/RECKERT, 1978: 101- 102; PESSOA, 1995: 142-144 & 1997a: 139-140	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-17 <sup>r</sup> ,
Nirvâna	78-27 <sup>r</sup> & 28 <sup>r</sup>	CENTENO/RECKERT, 1978: 173- 174; PESSOA, 1995: 84-86; 1997: 131-132; & 2015: 27-28	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 144V-21 <sup>r</sup> & 22 <sup>v</sup> , 78B-64 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-16 <sup>r</sup> , 48C- 15 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-98 <sup>r</sup> ,
Farewell	78-53 <sup>r</sup> & 54 <sup>r</sup> , 78- 56 <sup>r</sup> , 78-55 <sup>r</sup> ,	PESSOA, 1995: 108 & 1997: 287	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 144V-50 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-21 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-101 <sup>r</sup> (S),,
Was	144J-37 <sup>r</sup> , 78-101 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 140-142; 1997: 311	144P-2 <sup>r</sup>
The Apostle	79 <sup>1</sup> -5 <sup>v</sup> , 78-43 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 98; 1997: 243 & 2015: 29.	144P-2 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-8 <sup>r</sup> ,
O, solitary star	78B-5 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 198 & 1997: 290	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-8 <sup>r</sup> ,
Perfection	77-66 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 38; LOURENÇO/OLIVEIRA, 1988: 88; PESSOA, 1997: 289-290	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 48B-146 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-8 <sup>r</sup>
Adorned	78-41 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 96 & 1997: 243-244	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-8 <sup>r</sup> ,
Sonnet	78-35 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 90 & 1997: 292-293	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-8 <sup>r</sup> ,
A day of Sun	78A-30 <sup>r</sup> & 31 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 172-174 & 1997: 208-209	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 144V-21 <sup>v</sup>
On the road	144J-36 <sup>v</sup> , 78A-44 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 186 & 1997: 209- 210	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 144V-21 <sup>v</sup>
Beginning	77-76 <sup>r</sup> & 77 <sup>r</sup>	PESSOA, 1995: 50 & 1997: 107-108	144P-3 <sup>r</sup> , 78B-64 <sup>r</sup> , 48C-19 <sup>r</sup> , 144V-23 <sup>r</sup>

II. Documents: The Poetry of Frederick Wyatt.<sup>10</sup>

1. Preface to Wyatt's Poems And Other Preliminary Texts

1.1. [14E-96]. Datable to 1913. Lose piece of paper written in black ink. Partially unpublished; the second paragraph of this text, as well as the signature trials, appeared in PESSOA (2016: 359 & 361).



Figs. 1 & 2. BNP/E3, 14E-96<sup>r</sup> & 96<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Unless specified, variants adopted in the critical text are the last written by the author. Also, unless specified, punctuation will not be restored. We thank Jerónimo Pizarro, José Barreto and Stephanie Leite for their assistance with parts of these transcriptions.

*Preface to Wyatt's Poems.*<sup>1</sup>

The position of a non-literary man who finds it thrust upon as<sup>2</sup> a moral duty to give to the world a literary work can be easily /conceived/ *a priori* as a peculiarly<sup>3</sup> embarrassing one. The difficulties of the task are the<sup>4</sup> reverse of diminished when the work is the work of a poet<sup>5</sup> who was his friend, who died young, in peculiarly tragic circumstances, and the manner of which life & death lay upon the friend the duty of □<sup>6</sup>

He preferred the pseudonym because<sup>7</sup> (he used to say)<sup>8</sup> there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry.

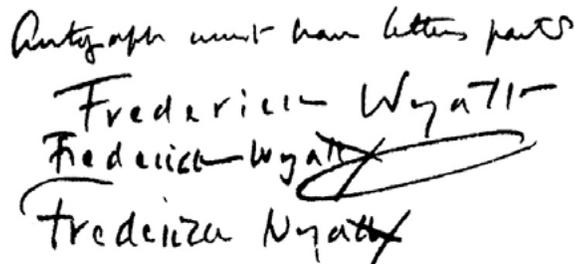
---

One<sup>9</sup> of the many strange contrasts between his private and his literary character was in that<sup>10</sup> he was as original and □ in his literary manner and matter (and especially in the /matter/) as he was propense to imitation in his every day life and private life. /He was the kind of man who writes on the kind of paper \*used □/

The more deeply original his style became,<sup>11</sup> the more he consciously modelled his □, his manner of dressing, his habits... on Goethe, on Shelley, on □ on innumerable literary people, not all great<sup>12</sup>

---

Autograph must have letters parted<sup>13</sup>



[Fig. 3. BNP/E3, 14E-96r. Detail.]

I can see him now, panting<sup>14</sup> /up the steepness of the Calçada da Estrella,<sup>15</sup> in his black suit with the □ the □/

---

It was very difficult for a stranger to speak with him, so \*unnerving was his adherence to either of 2 conversational methods, so to speak—an<sup>16</sup> \*impatient silence or a tone of<sup>17</sup> period so highly-pitched that, in some cases—(I know) a<sup>18</sup> positive impression of insanity was caused.<sup>19</sup>

## Notes

- 1 <His character was a strange mixture of <\*ingenuity >] written above and likely prior to the title.  
 2 upon <him to> as a moral duty  
 3 [↑ easily] /conceived/ *a priori* as a <peculiarly> [↑ peculiarly]  
 4 the task are <not diminis> the  
 5 a <poet> poet  
 6 *The entire unfinished paragraph is written on the verso and it is preceded by the figure 1., which indicates that these lines open the preface.*  
 7 ∴ (sign for because) in the original.  
 8 pseudonym ∴ [↓ (he used to say)] there  
 9 <He had> One  
 10 was [↑ in] that  
 11 became [↑ <\*became>],  
 12 *Although there is no period, a horizontal line below could indicate the end of this paragraph.*  
 13 *Three signature trials of Frederick Wyatt with letters parted.*  
 14 <†>/pa\nting  
 15 *Between 1906-1907 Fernando Pessoa lived at 100 Calçada da Estrella, 1<sup>st</sup>.*  
 16 to speak <,>/— \ [↑ <he>] an  
 17 as tone <of so> of period so highly-pitched ] for example, a full stop conveyed with the intonation of a question mark.  
 18 -/a\  
 19 *Below this passage the author drew two short horizontal lines and penned the paragraph that opens the text.*

1.2. [14E-93]. Datable to 1915. Typescript on a piece of unidentified dustcover, with handwritten emendations in red pen. Published for the first time by Teresa Rita Lopes, without a conjectured date and with a few differences (PESSOA, 1990: 240). Our transcription is based on the one by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, 2016: 364-365).

Fdk. Wyatt.

Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he. He was eternally incompetent to take stock of reality. His attitude before things was always a false and uneasy one, always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme. This concerned just as much and as deeply his fundamental views - if we can speak of the fundamental views of one who had none - as his most trifling actions. It is possible to consider him an idealist (I use the word in its metaphysical sense) as a materialist: he would be the first to wonder which he was. His political opinions were in a perpetual fluctuation between an excessive anarchism and ~~an aristocratic~~ <sup>the ~~ambition~~ of a ~~thrust~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~ambition~~</sup>. In his life - his unreal life as he would have called it sometimes - he was sure to be either of a childish and morbid shyness or of an impetuous and clumsy boldness. The worst was that he was not even consistent in the line of action he chose: sometimes he would shrink into a

14E-93

a sudden and incongruous shyness in the midst of a recklessly insane act, at others he would suddenly break out from shyness in the strangest and insanest manner.

My great and sincere friendship for him cannot hinder me from being still rather amused ~~at~~ ~~on~~ on recalling the way several Portuguese poor people - the washerwoman, for instance - <sup>community</sup> ~~expressed~~ <sup>expressed</sup> a preference for him when speaking to me: O seu amigo, coitadinho! (Your friend, poor gentleman!). They would very possibly have been perplexed to explain what the coitadinho (so untranslatable Portuguese!) meant there. But they all felt, in their characteristic warm-heartedness, that there was some inexplicable thing to be said about him. Now that I remember this, I cannot omit a still sadder expression that a neighbouring barber once used and which was reported to him and to me and stung him greatly: It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived, because it hit his character off

so justly and yet showed how terribly evident was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from the eyes of others.

STUDIED BY

Figs. 4 & 5. BNP/E3, 14E-93<sup>v</sup> & 93<sup>r</sup>.

F[re]d[eric]k Wyatt.

Of dreamers<sup>1</sup> no one was a greater dreamer than he. He was eternally incompetent to take stock of reality. His attitude before things was always a false and uneasy one, always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme. This concerned just as much and as deeply his fundamental views—if we can speak of the fundamental views of one who had none—as his most trifling actions. It is as possible<sup>2</sup> to consider him an idealist (I use the word in its metaphysical sense) as a materialist: he would be the first to wonder which he was. His political opinions were in a perpetual fluctuation between an excessive anarchism and the arrogance of a thorough aristocrat.<sup>3</sup> In his life—his *unreal* life as he would have called it sometimes—he was sure to be either of a childish and morbid shyness or of an impetuous and clumsy boldness. The worst was that he was not even consistent in the line of action he chose: sometimes he would shrink into a sudden and incongruous shyness in the midst<sup>4</sup> of a recklessly insane act, at others he would suddenly break out from shyness in the strangest and insanest manner.

My great and sincere friendship for him cannot hinder me from being still rather amused on recalling<sup>5</sup> the way several Portuguese poor people—the washerwoman, for instance—used, with a curious and evidently spontaneous community of expression<sup>6</sup>, to refer to him when speaking to me: *o seu amigo, coitadinho!* (Your friend, poor gentleman!). They would very possibly have been perplexed to explain what the *coitadinho* (so untranslatably Portuguese!) meant there.<sup>7</sup> But they all felt, in their characteristic warm-heartedness, that there was some inexplicable thing to be pitied about him. Now that I remember this, I cannot omit a still cuter expression that a neighbouring barber once used and which was reported to him and to me and stung him greatly: It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived, because it hit his character off so justly and yet showed how terribly evident even to casual & uninterested dreamers was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from all eyes.<sup>8</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 dremers [sic] as a typo.
- 2 It is [↑ as] possible
- 3 <an aristocratic □.> [↑ the arrogance of a thorough aristocrat.]
- 4 midst [sic] as a typo.
- 5 amused <at the w> on recalling
- 6 spontaneous [↑ community of] expression,
- 7 *coitadinho* is a diminutive of 'coitado,' often employed in spoken Portuguese even today. It is used both as an adjective and as an interjection.
- 8 [← so justly and yet showed how terribly evident [↑ even to [↓ casual &] uninterested dreamers] was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from <the> [↑ all] eyes <of others>.]

1.3. [14E-94]. Datable to 1915. Piece of unidentified dustcover similar to the one of document 14E-93, likely written in black ink (faded to brown). Our transcription is based on the one by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, 2013: 362).

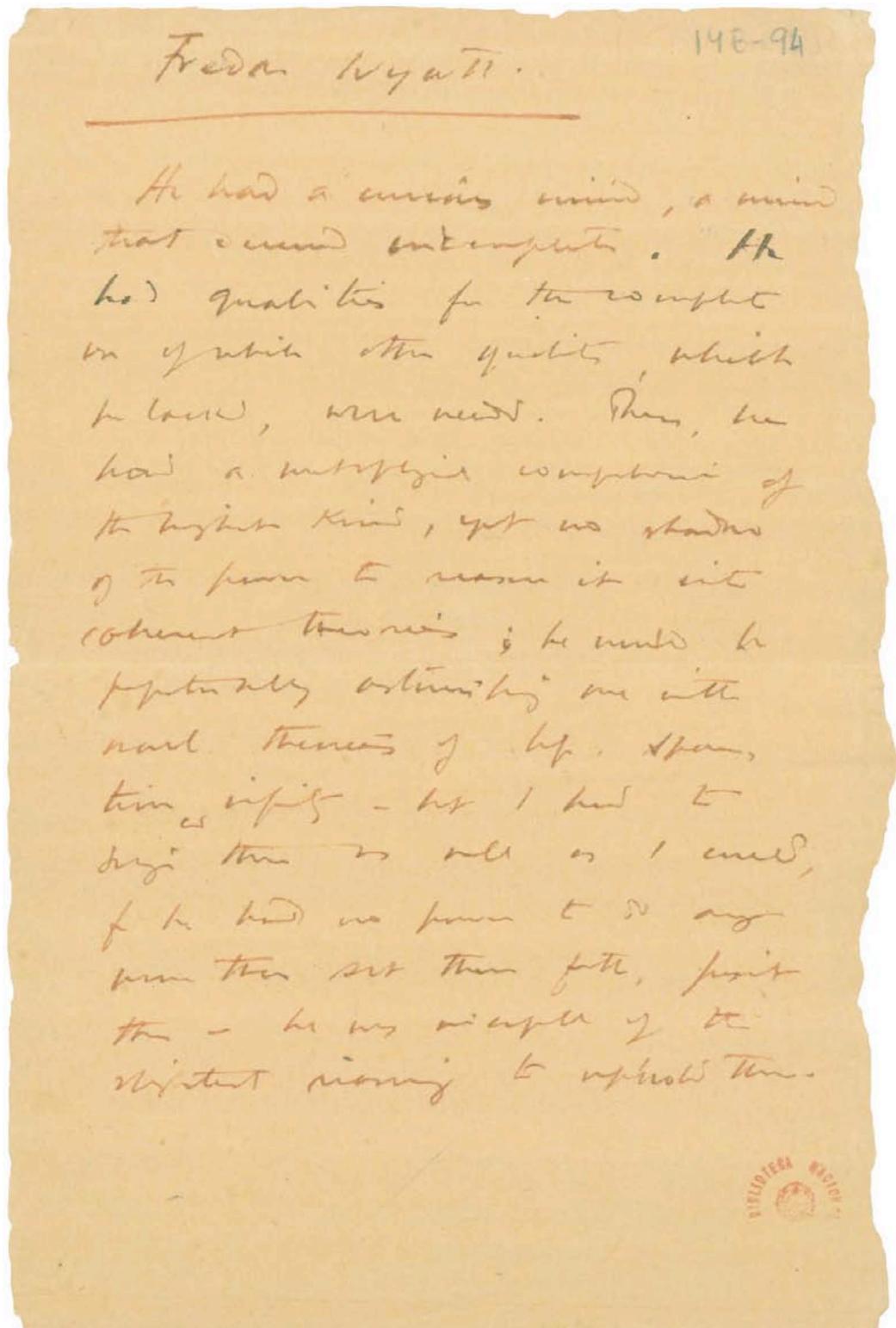


Fig. 6. BNP/E3, 14E-94r.

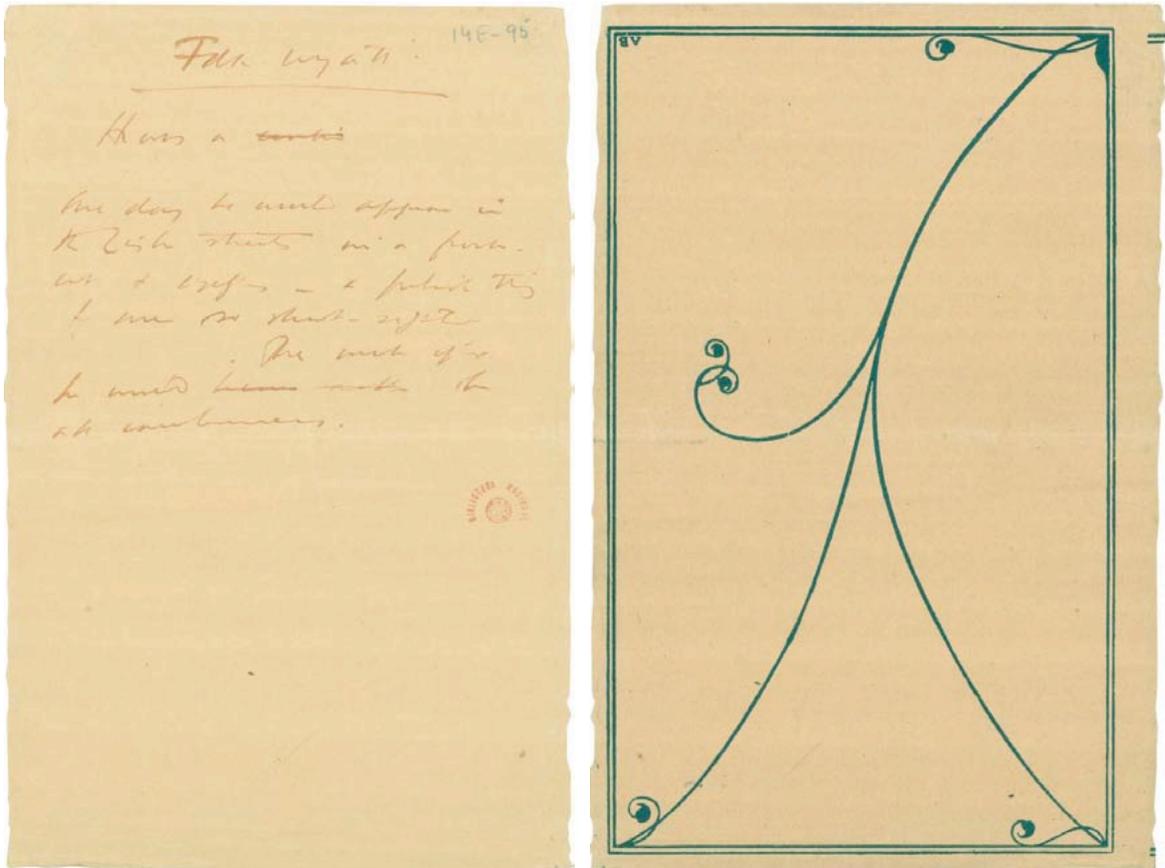
*Freder[ick] Wyatt*

He had a curious mind, a mind that seemed incomplete. He had qualities for the complete use of which other qualities, which he lacked, were needed. Thus, he had a metaphysical comprehension of the highest kind, yet no shadow of the power to reason it into coherent theories; he would be perpetually astonishing me with moral theories of life, space, time or infinity<sup>1</sup>—but I had to seize them as well as I could, for he had no power to do any more than set them forth, posit them—he was incapable of the slightest reasoning to uphold them.

Note

1      time [↓ or] infinity

**1.4. [14E-95<sup>r</sup>].** *Unpublished. Datable to 1915. Written in the same ink as the previous text, but on a piece of dustcover we were able to identify (perhaps documents 1.2 and 1.3 are pieces of the same dustcover). Given the pattern on the outside of the paper (see Figure 8), the antiquarian booksellers' community in the UK helped us to identify the book in question as Runes of Woman (SHARP [as MACLEOD], 1915), with cover design by Aubrey Beardsley; Fiona Macleod, the known author of the book until 1905, was revealed to be a pseudonym of William Sharp (1855-1905) after his death; a Scottish poet, literary biographer and editor, Sharp wrote more than 40 books and coordinated the collection "The Canterbury Poets edited by William Sharp," which included The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton, extant in Pessoa's private library (CHATTERTON, 1885); Fiona Macleod, with a writing style different from his creator's, would perhaps be more appropriately called a heteronym (and not a simple pseudonym) of William Sharp.*



Figs. 7 & 8. BNP/E3, 14E-95<sup>r</sup> & 95<sup>v</sup>.

F[re]d[eric]k Wyatt:

He was a □<sup>1</sup>

One day he would appear in the Lisbon streets in a frock-coat & eyeglass<sup>2</sup>— a foolish thing for one so short-sighted □. The week after he would<sup>3</sup> be all carelessness.

#### Notes

- 1 a <combin> □
- 2 *In a few of his known photographs, Fernando Pessoa appears to wear a frock-coat (for example, the images of the poet walking in the streets of Lisbon, including the photo chosen as the logo of the House of Fernando Pessoa). Pessoa's heteronym Alvaro de Campos exhibits a monocle (or eyeglass) in a number of his poems (e.g. "Opiário" and "Saudação a Walt Whitman") and in Pessoa's famous letter from 13 January 1935, about the origins of the heteronyms: "Campos entre branco e moreno, typo vagamente de judeu portuguez, cabelo, pore, liso e normalmente apartado ao lado, monoculo" (PESSOA, 2012a: 27).*
- 3 he would <become restless> be all

**1.5. [133G-10].** Datable to 1913. The recto of this document was published in PESSOA, 2013: 363, with edition by Pizarro and Ferrari, in which we base our transcription. The verso of this document, containing a ciphered message, is transcribed and reproduced here for the first time.

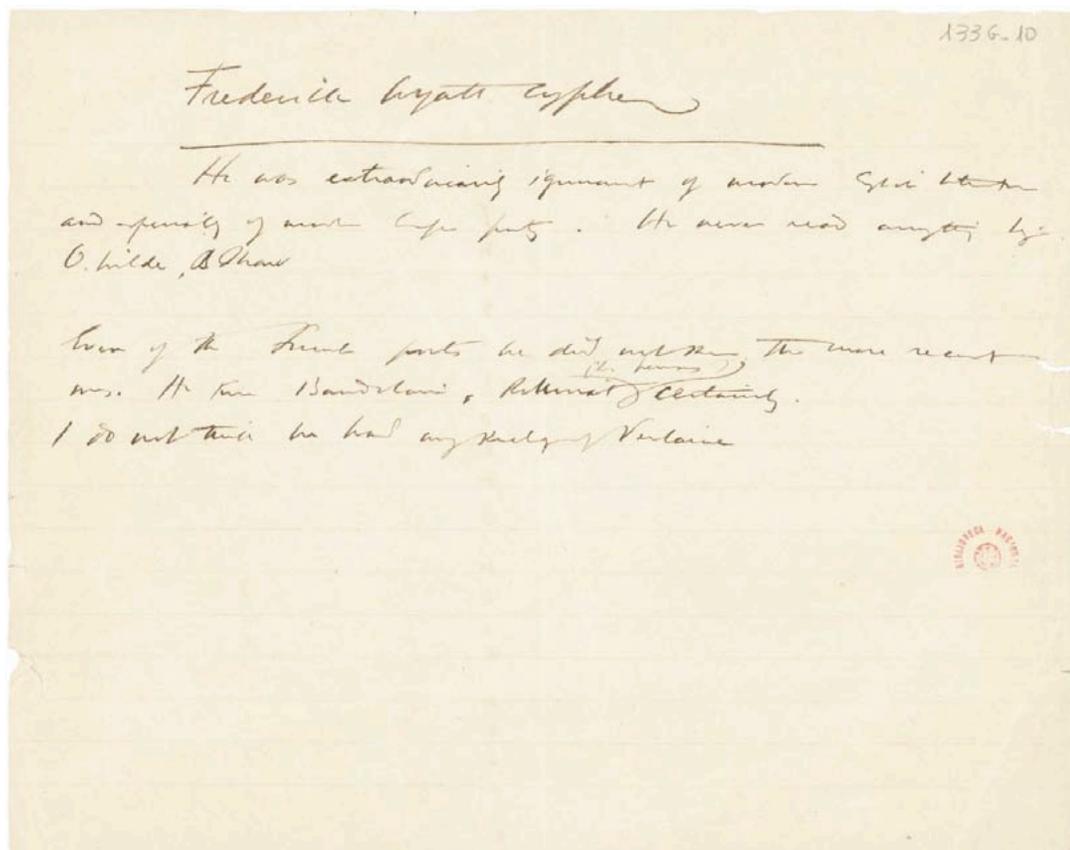


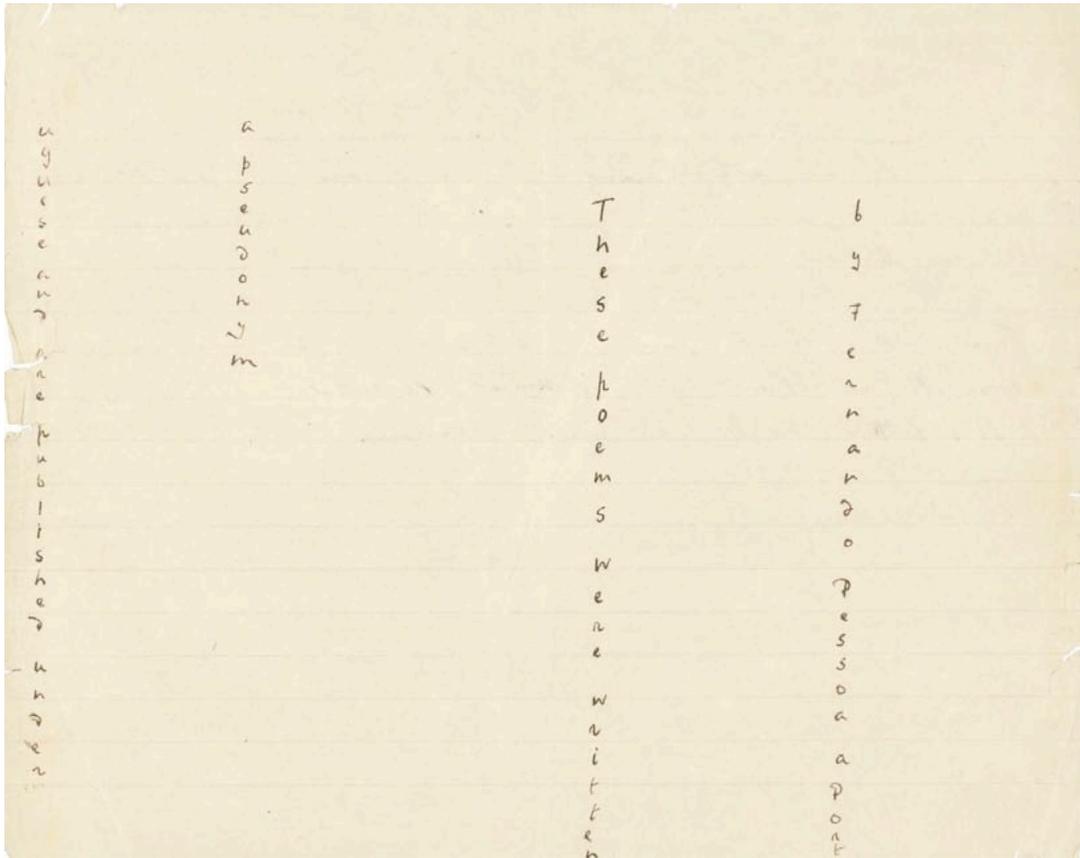
Fig. 9. BNP/E3, 133G-10.

### Frederick Wyatt Cypher

He was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature and especially of modern English poets. He never read anything by O[scar] Wilde, B[ernard] Shaw □

Even of the French poets he did not know the more recent ones. He knew Baudelaire, Rollinat (“Les Névroses”) certainly.<sup>1</sup>

I do not think he had any knowledge of Verlaine □

Fig. 10. BNP/E3, 133G-10<sup>v</sup>.

These poems were written by Fernando Pessoa a Portuguese and are published under a pseudonym<sup>2</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Baudelaire<.>/,\ Rollinat [↑ (“Les Nevroses”)] certainly. ] the title *Névroses* is written without the accent. The latter book and at least one title by Baudelaire are extant in Pessoa’s private library (see Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardielo: 2010). For Pessoa’s relation with French literature as well as his own French writings, see *Poèmes français* (PESSOA, 2014).
- 2 Text written vertically, from top to bottom, beginning with the two columns on the right, then continuing with the two columns on the left (see Fig. 10).

## 2. Frederick Wyatt Book Project and Index of Poems

2.1. [144D<sup>2</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>]. Datable to 1913. Published by Teresa Sobral Cunha in Fausto (PESSOA, 1988: 202-203).

JANEIRO 31 DIAS		144D <sup>2</sup> -7
9-356		Segunda feira 9
<u>Poesia.</u>		
	<u>Portuguez</u>	
<u>Livros:</u> Gladio.		(1)
Agua Estagnada.		(2)
Trilogia dos Gigantes.		(3) - a, b, c.
Fausto.		(4)
Inez de Castro - Tragedia.		(5)
 <u>Inglez</u>		
Ascension, and other poems.		(6)
The Voyage, and other poems.		(7)
The Poems of Frederick Wyatt.		(8)
The Duke of Parma - A Tragedy.		(9)
Marino - A Tragedy.		(10)
Promethus Rebound.		(11)

Fig. 11. BNP/E3, 144D<sup>2</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>.

*Poesia.*

*Portuguez*

<i>Livros:</i> Gladio.	(1)
Agua Estagnada.	(2)
Trilogia dos Gigantes.	(3) – a, b, c. <sup>1</sup>
Fausto.	(4)
Inez de Castro – Tragedia.	(5)
□	

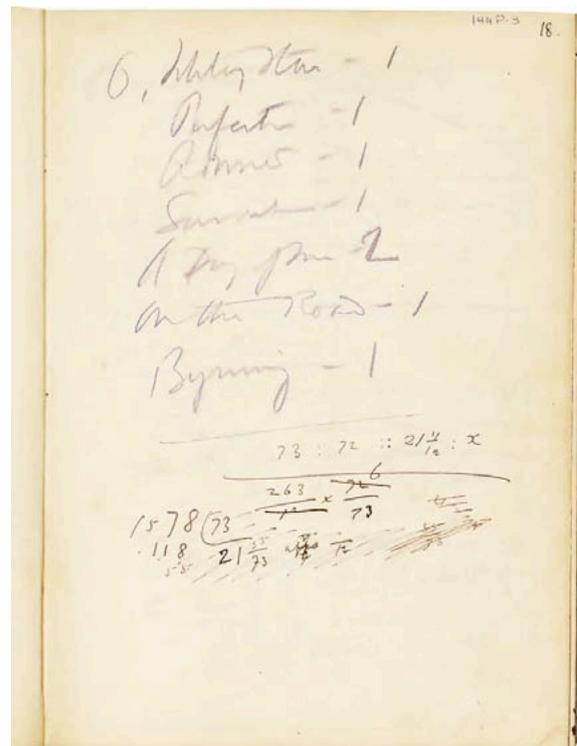
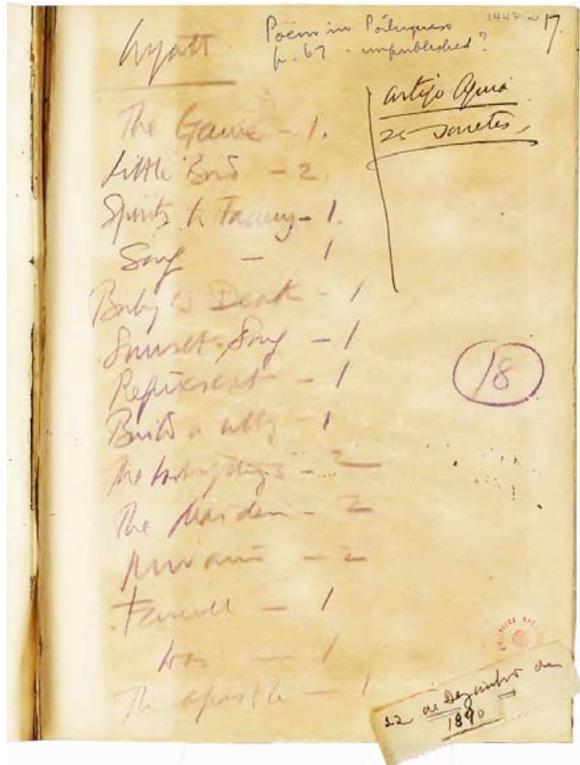
*Inglez*

Ascension, and other poems.	(6)
The Voyage, and other poems.	(7)
The Poems of Frederick Wyatt.	(8)
The Duke of Parma – A Tragedy.	(9)
Marino – A Tragedy.	(10)
Prometheus Rebound.	(11)
□	

Notes

- 1     *The three letters, indicating parts, are written in a different ink and therefore likely added at a later time.*

**2.2. [144P-2<sup>r</sup> & 3<sup>r</sup>].** Datable to 1913. Unpublished. This list is mentioned in the biographical note of Frederick Wyatt by Pizarro and Ferrari (PESSOA, 2013: 360). The 21 English poems listed had originally been attributed by Pessoa to Alexander Search. The Search poems were first critically edited by João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997), without mention to Frederick Wyatt. On 144P-2<sup>r</sup>, besides the list, we find the number 18 inside a circle, i.e., the number of pages required up to “The Apostle” (if we add up all the figures on the right side of the poems); the rest of the titles appear on 144P-3<sup>r</sup>. Above the indication “18” on 144P-2<sup>r</sup>, in a different writing instrument, we read *Artigo Agua* | 25 sonetos; Pessoa submitted a series of polemic articles to the journal *A Agua* in 1912, proclaiming “*A Nova Poesia Portuguesa*” [The New Portuguese Poetry]; in August 1913, *A Agua* printed Pessoa’s “*Na Floresta do Alheamento*,” which would later integrate his *Livro do Desasociego* [Book of Disquiet] (PESSOA, 2010); in Pessoa’s archive one finds drafts also intended for *A Água* featuring the heteronym Alberto Caeiro, who would only be conceived in March 1914 (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 237-250); at the end of 1914, Pessoa would distance himself from *A Agua*, who declined to publish his static drama *O Marinheiro*; thus, the note *Artigo Agua* situates this document between 1912 and 1914. The inscription 25 sonetos could suggest that Pessoa intended to submit 25 Portuguese sonnets to the journal. A small paper, pinned to 144P-2<sup>r</sup>, reads 22 de Dezembro de 1890 [22 December 1890]; would that be the birthdate Pessoa imagined for Frederick Wyatt? (Pessoa’s heteronym Álvaro de Campos would have his birthdate fixated by Pessoa on 15 October 1890). On the top of 144P-2<sup>r</sup> we find a remark regarding Portuguese poetry that is not in Pessoa’s own hand.



Figs. 12 & 13. BNP/E3, 144P-2<sup>r</sup> & 3<sup>r</sup>.

Wyatt.<sup>1</sup>

The Game – 1.

Little Bird – 2.

Spirits to Fanny – 1.

Song – 1

Baby's Death – 1

Sunset-Song – 1

Requiescat – 1

Build me a cottage – 1

The Last of things – 2

The Maiden – 2

Nirvâna – 1

Farewell – 1

Was – 1

The Apostle – 1

O, solitary star – 1

Perfection – 1

Adorned – 1

Sonnet – 1

A day of Sun – 2<sup>2</sup>

On the road – 1

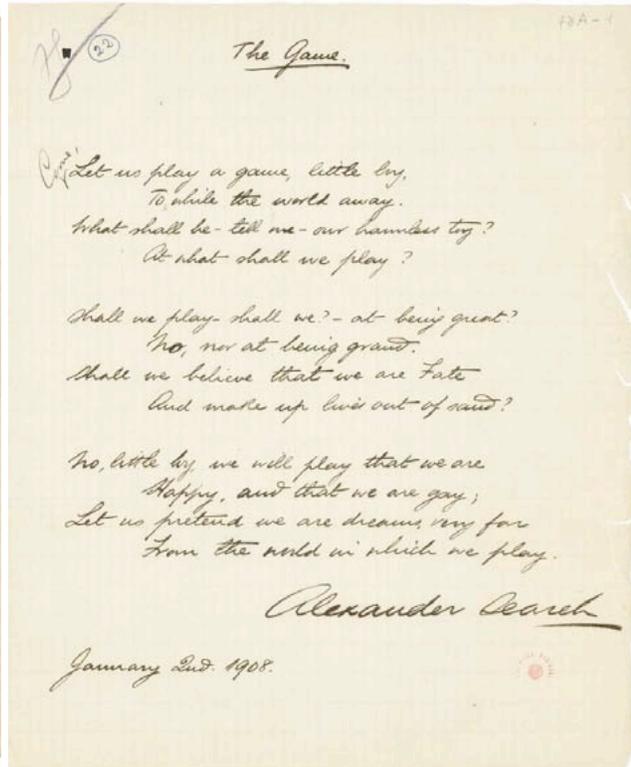
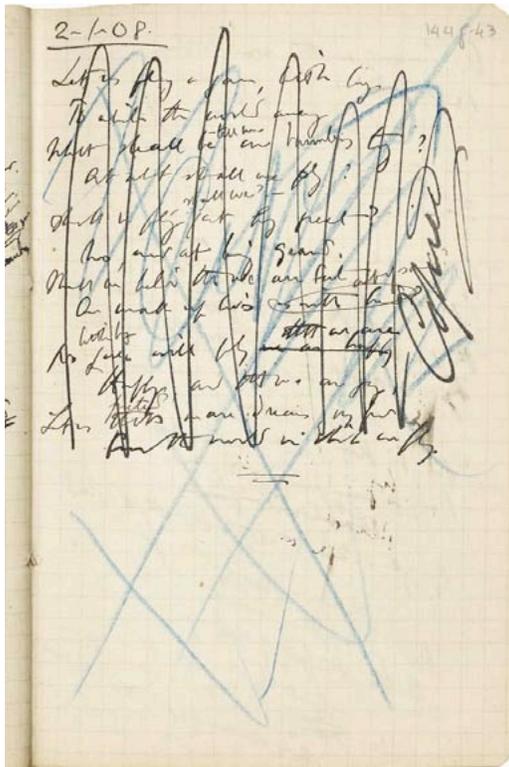
Beginning –<sup>3</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 *The numbers next to the titles of the poems/incipits refer to the number of pages each poem was to occupy.*
- 2 <1>/2\
- 3 *Below and in a different writing instrument we find mathematical calculations, perhaps related to the numerology of Wyatt's birthdate.*

### 3. The Poems Attributed to Frederick Wyatt

**3.1a. [144J-43<sup>r</sup>, 78A-1<sup>r</sup>].** Dated 2 January 1908. There are three documents with versions of this poem: 144J-43<sup>r</sup> (**A**), 78A-1<sup>r</sup> (**B**) and 48D-42<sup>v</sup> (**C**). **A** is clearly a draft of **B**, which presents all the signs of a finished copy of a poem. **A** and **B** display the same date (formatted “2-1-08” and “January 2<sup>nd</sup> 1908,” respectively). **B** is titled “The Game” and signed by “Alexander Search,” while **A** is untitled and unsigned. While **A** is a single 12-verse stanza, **B** is organized in 3 quartets. **A** is a loose piece of paper, written in black ink with amendments in another black ink, entirely crossed out in blue pencil and black pen. **B** is written on grid paper in black ink, displaying two notes on the upper left corner: “F[inal] I[image],” a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled “22” (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. **C**, though having the same first stanza as **A** and **B**, develops as a very different poem, receiving a different title—thus, we edit **C** separately, instead of considering **C** as a the final version of **B**.



Figs. 14 & 15. BNP/E3, 144J-43<sup>r</sup>, 78A-1<sup>r</sup>.

*The Game*

1 Come, let us play a game, little boy,  
 2 To while the world away.  
 3 What shall be—tell me—our harmless toy?  
 At what shall we play?  
  
 5 Shall we play—shall we?—at being great?  
 6 No, nor at being grand.  
 Shall we believe that we are Fate  
 8 And make up lives out of sand?  
  
 No, little boy, we will play that we are  
 10 Happy, and that we are gay;  
 Let us pretend we are dreams, very far  
 From the world in which we play.

## Notes

- title* A □ B *The Game*  
 1 A Let B [← Come,] Let  
 2 A away B away.  
 3 A be [↑ —tell me—] our B be—tell me—our  
 5 A play [↑ —shall we—] at B play—shall we?—at  
 6 A No, nor B N<or>/o\, nor  
 8 A lives as with \*hand? [↑ out of sand?] B lives out of sand?  
 9 A No, [↑ little boy] we will play <we are happy> [↑ that we are] B No, little boy, we will play that we are  
 10 A gay, B gay;  
 11 A Let us think [↑ pretend] B Let us pretend

**3.1b. [48D-42<sup>v</sup>].** Datable to 1916-1917. Unsigned. Fragment of a paper presenting, in the recto, a list of poems from *The Mad Fiddler* and samples of hardly legible mediumistic writing (see Annex with facsimiled recto and transcribed list); on the verso, more mediumistic writings, and the title “Ombre Chinoise” (in a ink different from the one in which the poem was written). Dionísio considers 48D-42<sup>v</sup> (C) as posterior to both 144J-43<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78A-1<sup>r</sup> (B); nevertheless, believing C to be fragmentary, Dionísio edits B as the last complete rendering of “The Game” (PESSOA, 1997: 132). Though we agree with Dionísio in C being posterior to A and B, we differ in two points: 1) we believe C to be complete and 2) due to its different title and 50% different poem (6 out of 12 verses of C differ from B), we consider that C should stand as a separate poem (PESSOA, 1997: 409). Curiously, the list of poems by Wyatt includes the B’s title (“The Game”) and not C’s (“Ombre Chinoise”), which suggests that C could have been written after Pessoa listed the poems of Frederick Wyatt.

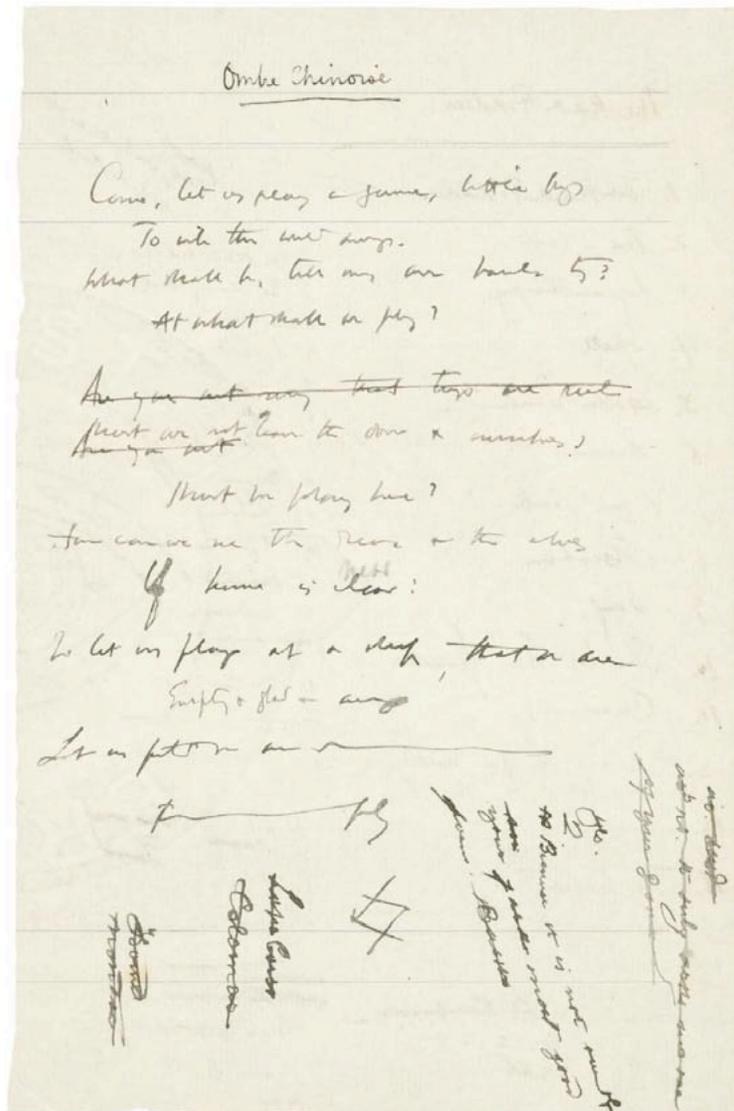


Fig. 16. BNP/E3, 48D-42<sup>v</sup>.

Ombre Chinoise

Come, let us play a game, little boy,  
 To while the world away.  
 What shall be, tell me, our harmless toy?  
 At what shall we play?

5 Must we not leave the \*den & ourselves?  
 Must we play here?  
 How can we see the dream & the elves

8 If home is near?

So let us play at a sleep, that we are

10 Empty & glad & away

11 Let us pretend we are [dreams, very far]

12 From [the world in which we] play.

Notes

- 5 <Are you not \*sorry that toys are real> [↓ <Are you not>] [↑ Must we not learn the & ourselves] *Dionísio edits "seeing" and "learn the +"* instead of "sorry" and "leave the \*den" (PESSOA, 1997: 409).
- 8 clear [↑ near]?
- 11-12 *The author left lines, instead of empty spaces, on lines 11 and 12, which we interpret as a shorthand indication of repetition, i.e., the repetition of words as they were written in the previous version of the poem; Dionísio edits those lines as blank spaces (PESSOA, 1997: 409).*

Annex [48D-42r]: *This list is not referred to in PESSOA, 1999. Mediumistic scribbles are not transcribed.*

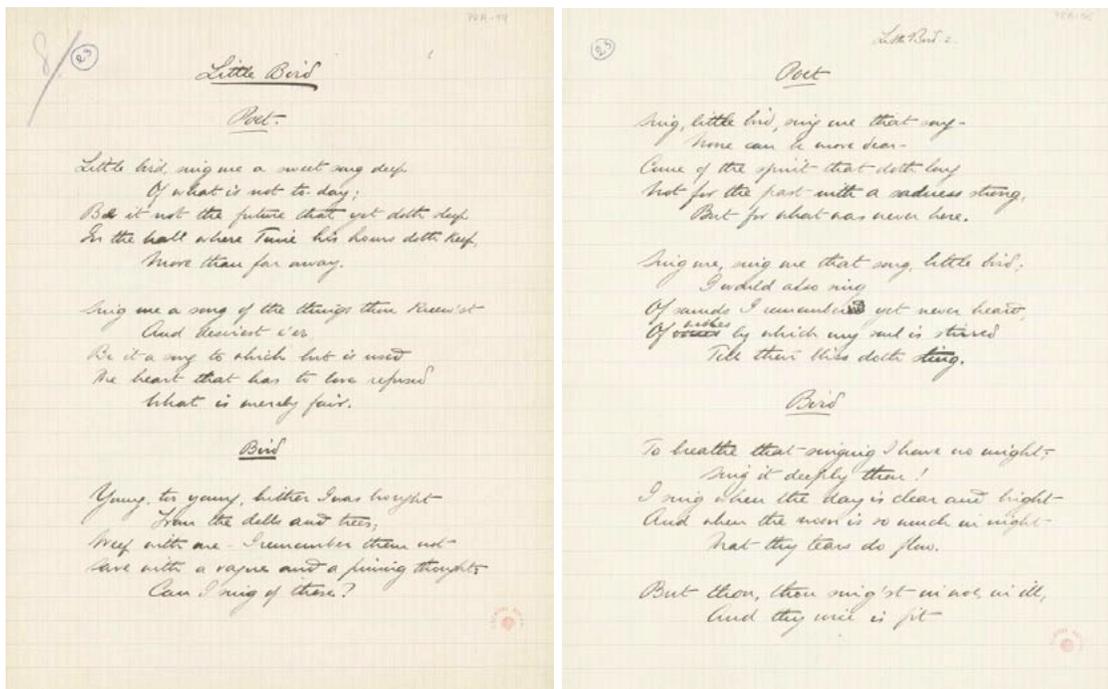


Fig. 17. BNP/E3, 48D-42r.

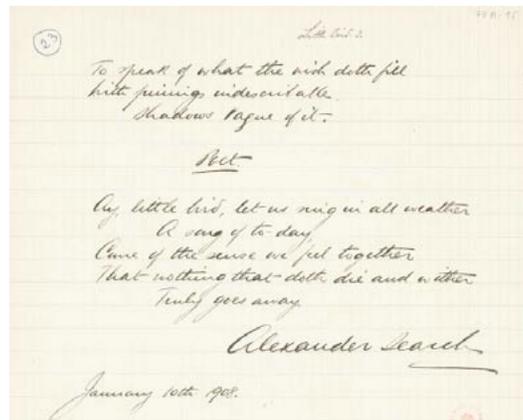
The Mad Fiddler

- |                         |                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. The Mad Fiddler.     | 1. The Mad Fiddler                   |
| ✓ 2. The Island.        | 2. The Shining Pool.                 |
| 3. Lycanthropy.         | 3. The Island.                       |
| 4. Spell.               | 4. Lycanthropy                       |
| 5. Goblin Dance.        | 5. Song.                             |
| 6. Dream.               | 6. Spell.                            |
| 7. "I feel pale..."     | 7. Goblin Dance.                     |
| 8. Elsewhere            | 8. Dream                             |
| 9. Song                 | 9. Elsewhere                         |
| 10. She let her ?...    | 10. "I feel pale" ...                |
| 11. Anamnesis.          | 11. <Moonside> [↑ Frenzy to go away] |
| 12. "Frenzy to go away" | 12. Moonside.                        |
| 13. □                   | * 13. Anamnesis.                     |
| 14. The Depart.         | 14. The Depart                       |

**3.2. [78A-14<sup>r</sup> to 16<sup>r</sup>].** Dated "January 10th. 1908." Written on three pieces of grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on the last page; all three pages are numbered and present the title "Little Bird." On the upper left corner of the first page, the document displays two notes: "\*S," perhaps indicative of "Songs" (in purple pencil) and the number "23" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter doesn't seem to be in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on the one by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 133-134), who raises the possibility of this poem serving as inspiration for "Sing me a song of the sweetness of love" (49A<sup>2</sup>-1<sup>r</sup>). The poem is structured as a "chanson à personnages" (song with characters), a "medieval French song in the form of a dialogue, often between a husband and a wife, a knight and a shepherdess, or lovers parting at dawn" (Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature, 1995: 227), although Pessoa makes it between Poet and Bird.



Figs. 18 & 19. BNP/E3, 78A-14<sup>r</sup> & 15<sup>r</sup>.



Figs. 20. BNP/E3, 78A-16<sup>r</sup>. Detail.

*Little Bird**Poet.*

Little bird, sing me a sweet song deep  
     Of what is not to-day;  
 3 Be it not the future that yet doth sleep  
 In the hall where Time his hours doth keep,  
 5       More than far away.

Sing me a song of the things thou knew'st  
     And desirest e'er,  
 Be it a song to which but is used  
 The heart that has to love refused  
 10       What is merely fair.

*Bird*

Young, too young, hither I was brought  
     From the dells and trees;  
 Weep with me—I remember them not  
 Save with a vague and a pining thought:  
 15       Can I sing of these?

*Poet*

Sing, little bird, sing me that song—  
     None can be more dear—  
 Come of the spirit that doth long  
 Not for the past with a sadness strong,  
 20       But for what was never here.

Sing me, sing me that song, little bird;  
     I would also sing  
 23 Of sounds I remember yet never heard,  
 24 Of wishes by which my soul is stirred  
 25       Till their bliss doth sting.

*Bird*

To breathe that singing I have no might;  
     Sing it deeply thou!  
 I sing when the day is clear and bright

30           And when the moon is so much in night  
                  That thy tears do flow.

          But thou, thou sing'st in woe, in ill,  
                  And thy voice is fit  
          To speak of what the wish doth fill  
35           With pinings indescribable;  
                  Shadows vague of it.

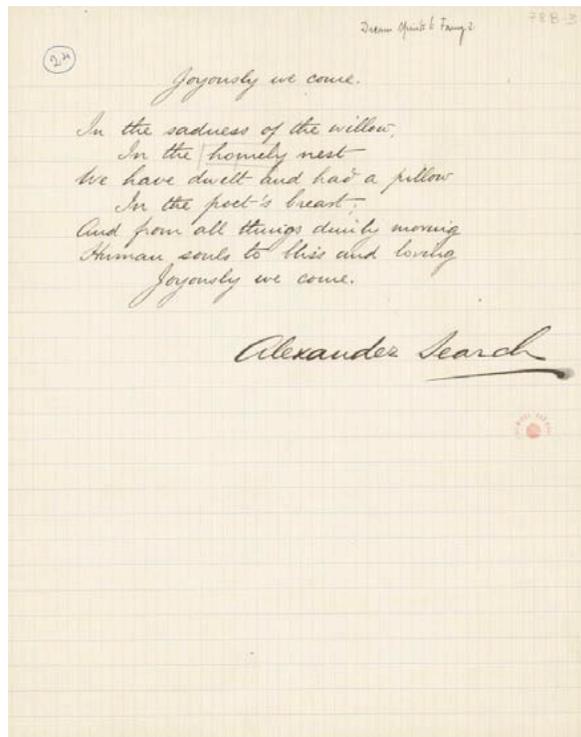
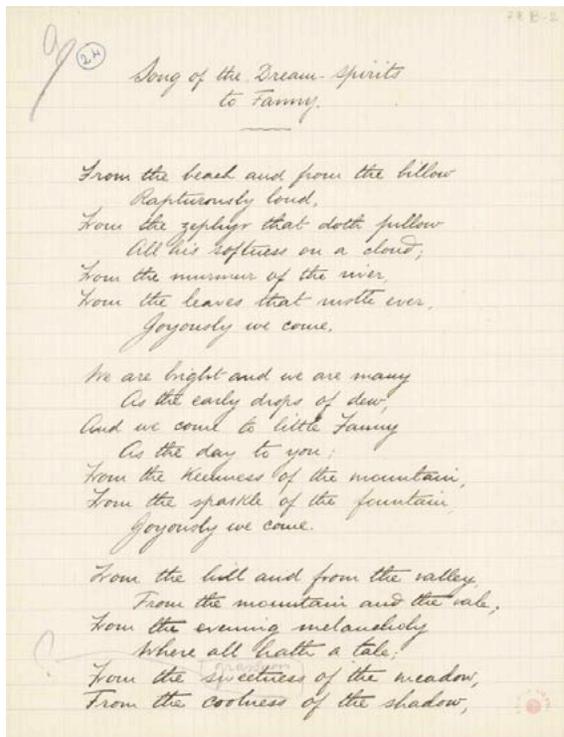
*Poet.*

          Ay, little bird, let us sing in all weather  
                  A song of to-day,  
          Come of the sense we feel together  
          That nothing that doth die and wither  
40           Truly goes away.

#### Notes

- 3        B<el>/e\ it not  
22        I remember<ed>  
24        Of <voices> [↑ wishes]  
40        away[.] *the final punctuation mark is an editorial intervention.*

3.3. [78B-2<sup>r</sup> & 3<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "March, 1906" on list 48B-95<sup>r</sup>, in which this poem received the initial title "Lyric to Fanny." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on the second page; the first page presents the full title "Song of the Dream-Spirits to Fanny" and the second, the abbreviated indication "Dream Spirits to Fanny -2.". On the upper left corner of the first page, there are two notes: "G" (in purple pencil), probably indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "24" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter doesn't seem to be in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on the one by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 134-135), who published the poem as being undated. The romantic language of this piece is reminiscent of John Keats (1795-1821), and the "Fanny" of the title may be "Fanny Brazne" (1800-1865), known as Mrs. Frances Lindon at the time of her death, but revealed in 1872 to have been a lover of John Keats (Fanny and Keats had met in the autumn of 1818, about three years before Keats died); in 1903, when Pessoa won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, *The Poetic Works of John Keats* was among the books the young Portuguese poet received as part of his prize (cf. JENNINGS, 1984: 39).



Figs. 21 & 22. BNP/E3, 78B-2<sup>r</sup> & 3<sup>r</sup>.

*Song of the Dream-Spirits to Fanny*

From the beach and from the billow  
     Rapturously loud,  
 From the zephyr that doth pillow  
     All his softness on a cloud;  
 5 From the murmur of the river,  
 From the leaves that rustle ever,  
     Joyously we come.

We are bright and we are many  
     As the early drops of dew,  
 10 And we come to little Fanny  
     As the day to you;  
 From the keenness of the mountain,  
 From the sparkle of the fountain,  
     Joyously we come.

15 From the hill and from the valley,  
     From the mountain and the vale;  
 From the evening melancholy  
     Where all hath a tale;  
 19 From the sweetness of the meadow,  
 20 From the coolness of the shadow,  
     Joyously we come.

In the sadness of the willow,  
     In the /homely/ nest  
 We have dwelt and had a pillow  
 25 In the poet's breast;  
 And from all things dimly moving  
 Human souls to bliss and loving  
     Joyously we come.

## Notes

- 19 sweetness [↑ /grassness/] as the second variant was explicitly doubted by the poet, we edit the initial one (though we understand it to also have been doubted, implicitly, by the mere existence of the second variant).

**3.4. [78-33<sup>r</sup>].** Dated 1906. Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations both in black ink and in pencil, bearing the signature “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there are two notes: “F[inal] I[image]” (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled “25” (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 135). It should be noted that, though the list Poems of Frederick Wyatt (144P-2<sup>r</sup>) only refers “Song” by this generic title, we are fairly certain that the “Song” in question is “Sun to-day,” due to the following reasons: (1) “Song” is the given title on the manuscript of “Sun to-day”; (2) a poem is listed as “Song / Sun to-day” and as “Song-Sun to-day &c” in 48C-7<sup>r</sup> and 49B-98<sup>r</sup>, respectively; (3) the list Waves (48C-21<sup>r</sup>) includes “Sun to-day” among its twelve poems—and only one of those pieces didn’t make into the corpus of Wyatt listed in 144P-2<sup>r</sup> (the sonnet “Blind Eagle”). Therefore, if reasons #1 and #2 associate the title “Song” with “Sun to-day,” reason #3 shows that it is very likely that “Sun to-day” should have been attributed to Wyatt, as most of the poems in Waves; since Wyatt’s corpus lists a “Song,” one can deduce that it should be “Sun to-day.” Under the date, the document displays the phrase “Vulnerat omnes, ultima caecat” (literally, “all hurt, the last blinds”), a variation of the Latin maxim “vulnerat omnes, ultima necat” [“all the (hours) hurt, the last one kills”], an epigraph a posteriori befitting the poem.

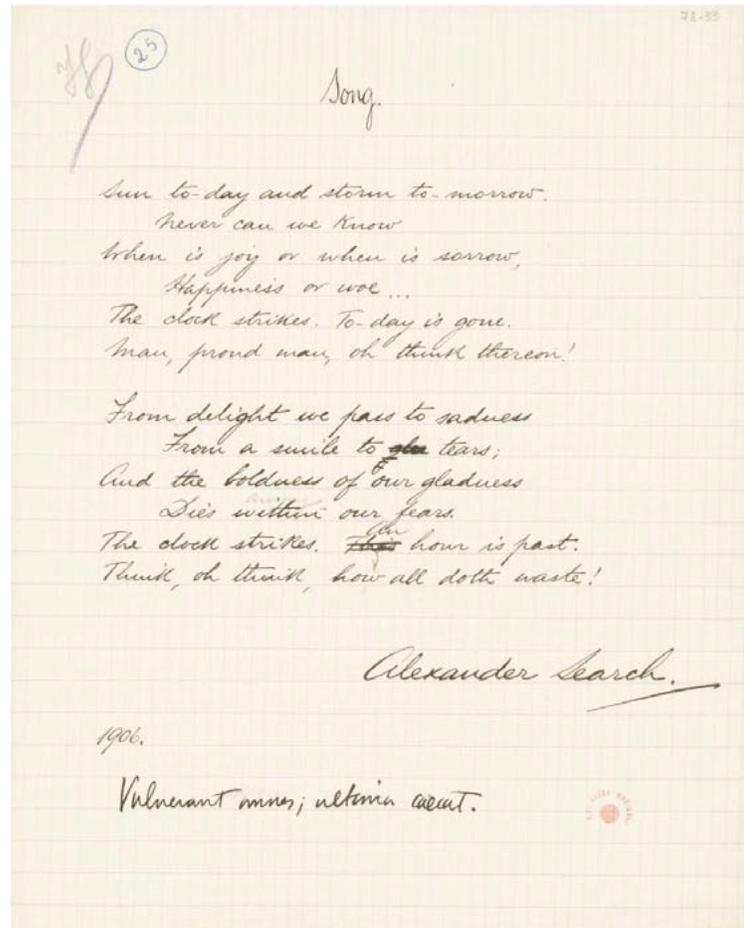


Fig. 23. BNP/E3, 78-33<sup>r</sup>.

Song.

Sun to-day and storm to-morrow.  
Never can we know  
When is joy or when is sorrow,  
Happiness or woe...  
5 The clock strikes. To-day is gone.  
Man, proud man, oh think thereon!

From delight we pass to sadness  
8 From a smile to tears;  
And the boldness of our gladness  
10 Dies among our fears.  
11 The clock strikes. An hour is past.  
Think, oh think, how all doth waste!

Notes

- 8 From a smile to <glee> tears;  
10 Dies within [↑ among] our fears.  
11 The clock strikes. <This> [↑ An] hour is past.

**3.5. [78B-1<sup>r</sup>].** Datable to c. 1907, for the oldest list in which the poem appears (48C-8<sup>r</sup>) was created between 29 December 1907 and 2 January 1908 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 258); moreover, Pessoa started using grid paper to copy poems attributed to Alexander Search in May 1907 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 12), which reinforces our conjectured date (although the poem could have been written before 1907). Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, there are two notes: "[F]inal [I]mage" (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled "26" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 136).

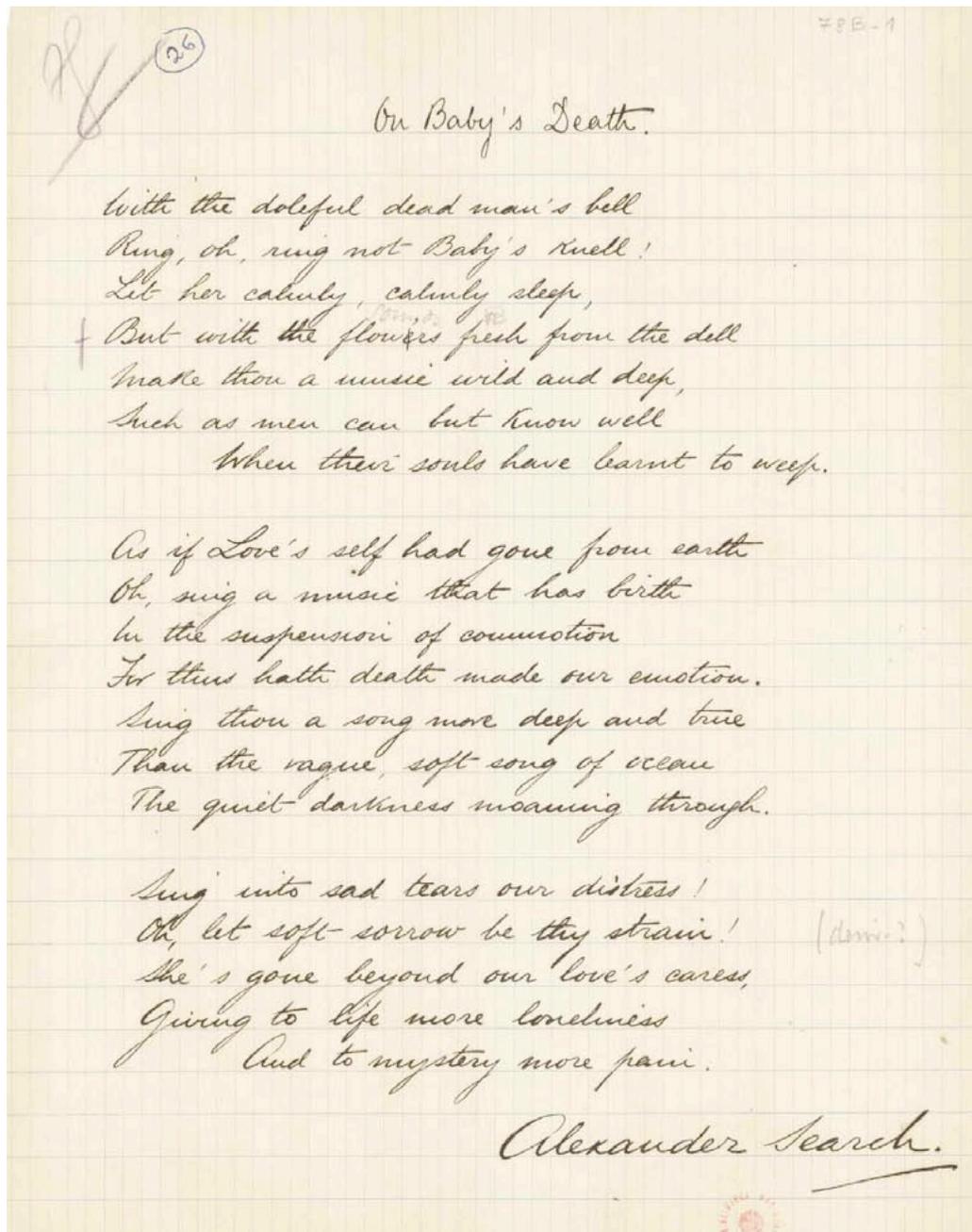


Fig. 24. BNP/E3, 78B-1<sup>r</sup>.

## On Baby's Death.

With the doleful dead man's bell  
 Ring, oh, ring not Baby's knell!  
 Let her calmly, calmly sleep,  
 4 /But with the sounds on from the dell/  
 5 Make thou a music wild and deep,  
 Such as men can but know well  
     When their souls have learnt to weep.

As if Love's self had gone from earth  
 Oh, sing a music that has birth  
 10 In the suspension of commotion  
 For thus hath death made our emotion.  
 Sing thou a song more deep and true  
 Than the vague, soft song of ocean  
 14 The quiet darkness moaning through.

15 Sing into sad tears our distress!  
 16 Oh, let soft sorrow be thy strain!  
 She's gone beyond our love's caress,  
 Giving to life more loneliness  
     And to mystery more pain.

## Notes

- 4 flow<e>[↑]rs [↑ sounds] fresh <\*far>/on\ from
- 14 *Though the first and third stanzas end in an indented line, the second doesn't appear to have any distinguishable indentations.*
- 16 *To the right we read "(deriv.?)"—suggesting that Pessoa questioned the verse as being derivative.*

**3.6. [49B<sup>3</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, 78-104<sup>r</sup>].** Dated "1907." There are two documents with versions of this poem, 49B<sup>3</sup>-21<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78-104<sup>r</sup> (B). **A**, a loose piece of paper, presents only the last verses of the poem in question, on top of another text titled "Moments" (not included here); the document was written in black ink and graphite pencil, with a blue pencil used to cross out the verses; **B**, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in graphite and purple pencils, bearing the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner, there are two notes: "F[inal] I[image]" (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled "27" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand; it also displays a crossed-out <Dec> before the indication of year. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 136). The initial image evoked by this song (the poet supporting his chin on his hands and looking to sea) would later be recreated by Pessoa in the opening poem of Mensagem, with incipit "A Europa jaz, posta nos cotovelos" (Europe rests, leant on elbows), first written in 1928 and published in 1934.

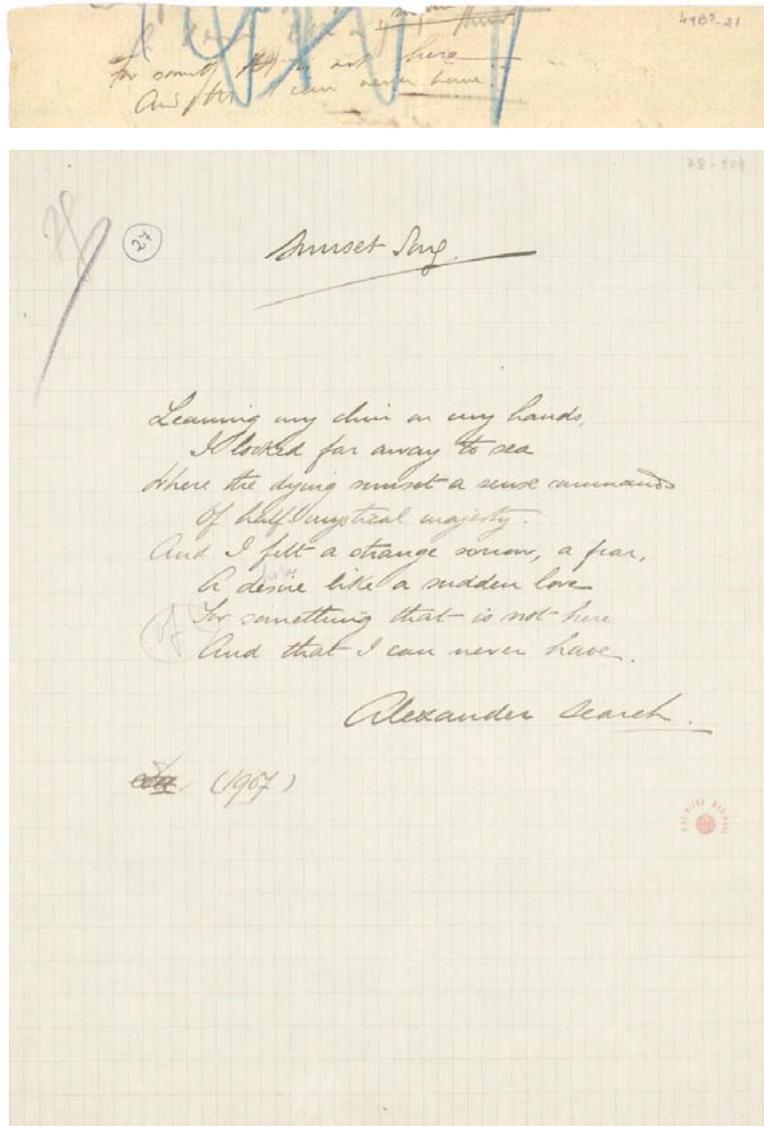


Fig. 25 & 26. BNP/E3, 49B3-21<sup>r</sup> (detail), 78-104<sup>r</sup>.

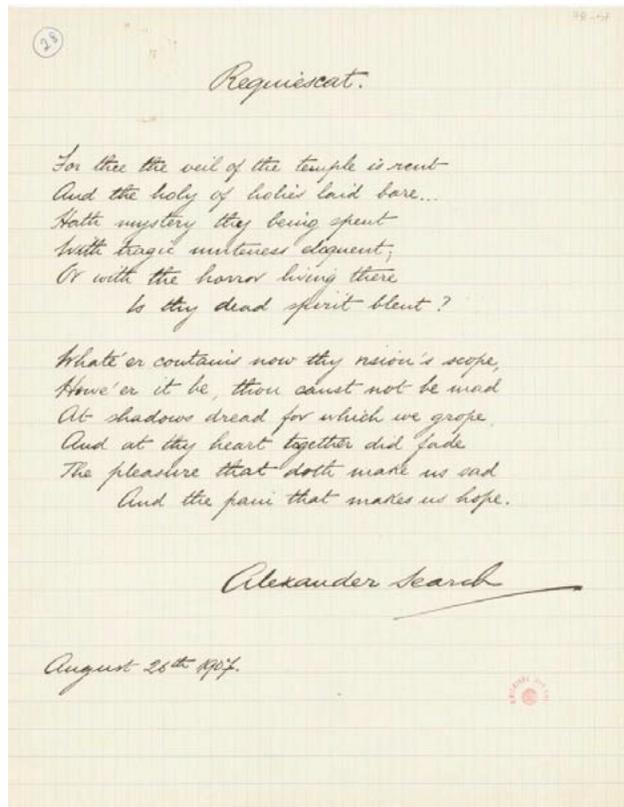
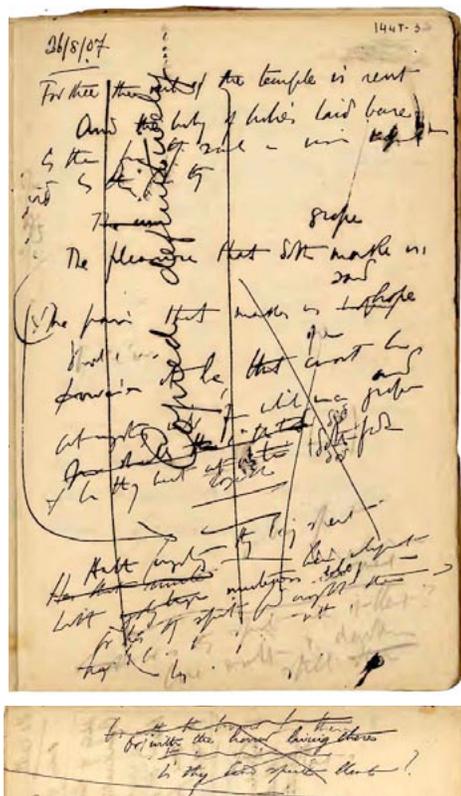
*Sunset Song.*

Leaning my chin on my hands,  
     I looked far away to sea  
 Where the dying sunset a sense commands  
     Of half mystical majesty.  
 5 And I felt a strange sorrow, a fear,  
 6      A hope like a sudden love  
 7      Of something that is not here  
     And that I can never have.

## Notes

- 6    **A** A desire like a <† thrust> [↑ sudden] *end of paper* **B** A desire [↑ hope] like a sudden love  
 7    **A** For **B** [←Of] For

3.7. [144T-32<sup>r</sup> & 31<sup>v</sup>, 78-57<sup>r</sup>]. Dated 26 August 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144T-32<sup>r</sup> & 31<sup>v</sup> (A) and 78-57<sup>r</sup> (B). A comprises two pages of a notebook, written in black ink and pencil, with the lines pertaining to the poem entirely crossed out and displaying, on 144T-32<sup>r</sup>, the date “26/8/07” and the note “copied definitively” perpendicularly to the verses; João Dionísio noted that, above the first verse, Pessoa indicated the rhyme scheme intended for the first stanza (abaaba) and, on the left margin of the same page, annotated the rhymes planned for the second stanza (ope ad ope ad ad ope); the last lines of the poem, on 144T-31<sup>v</sup>, share the page with notes on science and religion; B, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature “Alexander Search” and the date “August 26<sup>th</sup> 1907”; on the upper left corner, there is an encircled “28” (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 137). The title “Requiescat” is short for the Latin expression “Requiescat in pace” (commonly abbreviated as “R.I.P”), “a wish or prayer for a dead person” (New Oxford American Dictionary); Oscar Wilde has a well-known poem with the same title, originally published in 1881—though the edition of The Poems of Oscar Wilde extant in Pessoa’s private library is from 1911 and, thus, posterior to Pessoa’s “Requiescat.”



Figs. 27 to 29. BNP/E3, 144T-32<sup>r</sup> & 31<sup>v</sup> (detail), 78-57<sup>r</sup>.

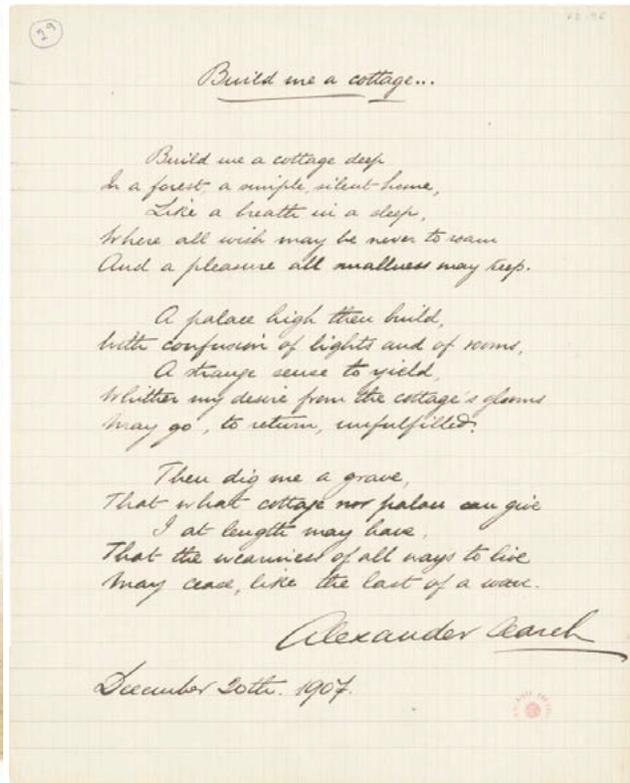
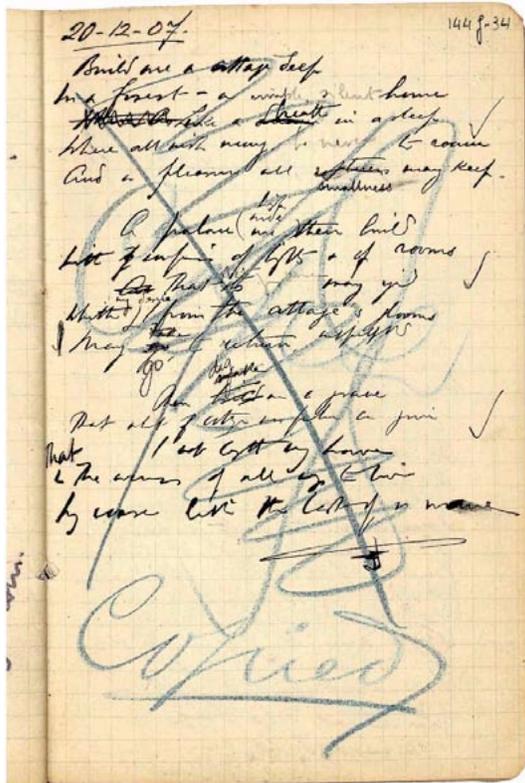
## Requiescat.

For thee the veil of the temple is rent  
 2 And the holy of holies laid bare...  
 3 Hath mystery thy being spent  
 4 With tragic muteness eloquent;  
 5 Or with the horror living there  
 6 Is thy dead spirit blent?  
  
 7 Whate'er contains now thy vision's scope,  
 8 Howe'er it be, thou canst not be mad  
 9 At shadows dread for which we grope,  
 10 And at thy heart together did fade  
 11 The pleasure that doth make us sad  
 12 And the pain that makes us hope.

## Notes

- 2 A bare B bare...  
 3 A Is the form of soul a vain \*repent [*bottom marg.* Hath mystery thy being spent] B Hath mystery thy being spent  
 4 A Is this form thy □ [*bottom marg.* <Has that mute □ \*being eloquent> [↓ With <mystery> tragic muteness <†>/eloquent\ ] ] B With tragic muteness eloquent;  
 5 A [*bottom marg.* <Or has thy spirit \*found aught then?>] [31<sup>v</sup> → <Or with the horror living there> [↓ Or with the horror living there]] B Or with the horror living there  
 6 A [*bottom marg.* <Aught> Or is thy spirit with it blent [↓ <One>/Is\ doubt & \*drunkenness still there]] [31<sup>v</sup> → <Is thy dead spirit blent?> [↓ Is thy dead spirit blent?]] B Is thy dead spirit blent?  
 7 A <The †> □ grope [↓ Whate'er □ ope] B Whate'er contains now thy vision's scope,  
 8 A The pleasure that doth make us sad [↓ Howe'er it be, that canst be mad] B Howe'er it be, thou canst not be mad ] *note that the first version of this line becomes verse 11.*  
 9 A [←&] The pain that makes us <hope> [↑ hope] [↓ At mystery wild for which \*we grope] B At shadows dread for which we grope, ] *note that the first version of this line becomes verse 12.*  
 10 A <Nor shadows there in the †> [↓ [←&] In thy heart <at one time> [↓ together] <doth> [↑<did>/did\ ] [↓<did>/do\ ] fade] B And at thy heart together did fade  
 11 A Cf. verse 8 B The pleasure that doth make us sad  
 12 A Cf. verse 9 B And the pain that makes us hope.

3.8. [144J-34<sup>r</sup>, 78-96<sup>r</sup>]. Dated 20 December 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144J-34<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78-96<sup>r</sup> (B). A is a page of a grid notebook, written in black ink, with emendations in pencil, displaying the date “20-12-07”; the poem was entirely crossed out in blue pencil—the same utensil with which the poet wrote the letters “c c,” over the verses, and the word “copied,” on the bottom margin; B, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature “Alexander Search” and the date “December 20<sup>th</sup>. 1907”; on the upper left corner, there is an encircled “29” (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 137). Perhaps Pessoa was aware, in 1907, of Yeats’s poem “The Lake Isle of Innisfree,” although the collection of poems by Yeats extant in Pessoa’s private library is from 1913 (cf. YEATS, 1913: 15).



Figs. 30 & 31. BNP/E3, 144J-34<sup>r</sup>, 78-96<sup>r</sup>.

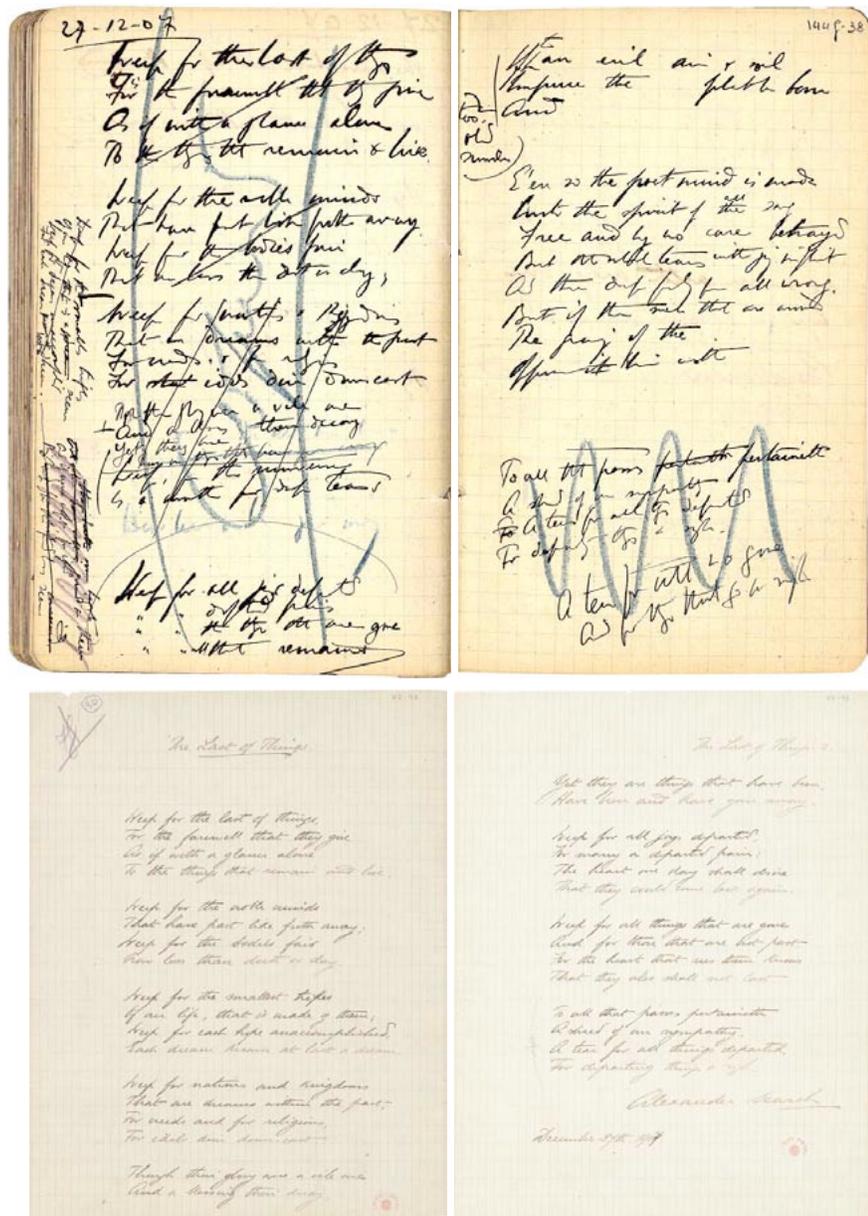
*Build me a cottage...*

Build me a cottage deep  
 2 In a forest, a simple, silent home,  
 3 Like a breath in a sleep,  
 Where all wish may be never to roam  
 5 And a pleasure all smallness may keep.  
  
 6 A palace high then build,  
 7 With confusion of lights and of rooms,  
 8 A strange sense to yield,  
 9 Whither my desire from the cottage's glooms  
 10 May go, to return, unfulfilled.  
  
 11 Then dig me a grave,  
 12 That what cottage nor palace can give  
 13 I at length may have,  
 14 That the weariness of all ways to live  
 15 May cease like the last of a wave.

## Notes

2 A forest—a simple **B** forest, a simple  
 3 A <Where †> Like a <dream> [† breath] **B** Like a breath in a sleep  
 5 A all <softness> [↓ smallness] may keep. **B** all smallness may keep.  
 6 A A palace \*me [† made [† high] ] then build **B** A palace high then build ] in A, “\*me” and  
 “made” are within parentheses.  
 7 A With <\*p> confusion of lights & of rooms **B** With confusion of lights and of rooms,  
 8 A <As> That its [† strange sense] may yield **B** A strange sense to yield  
 9 A Whither [† my desire] from **B** Whither my desire from  
 10 A <\*I> May <go> [† <take>] [↓ go], to return, unfulfilled **B** May go, to return, unfulfilled.  
 11 A Then <build> [† <make> [† dig] ] me a grave **B** Then dig me a grave,  
 12 A That what <\*f> cottage **B** That what cottage  
 13 A have **B** have,  
 14 A [† That] the weariness **B** That the weariness  
 15 A May cease like **B** May cease<,> like

3.9. [144]-37<sup>v</sup> & 38<sup>r</sup>, 78-97<sup>r</sup> & 98<sup>r</sup>. Dated 27 December 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144]-37<sup>v</sup> & 38<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78-97<sup>r</sup> & 98<sup>r</sup> (B). A comprises two pages of a grid notebook, written in black ink, displaying the date “27-12-07”; save for the two stanzas on 38<sup>r</sup> (belonging to a different poem), all lines were crossed out in black ink, purple pencil and blue pencil—the latter also used to write “copied” perpendicularly to the verses on 37<sup>v</sup>; B, the later version, consists of two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature “Alexander Search” and the date “December 27th. 1907” (on 98<sup>r</sup>); on the upper left corner of 97<sup>r</sup>, there are three inscriptions: “F[inal] I[image],” a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), with a “Y” written over it (also in purple pencil), and an encircled “30” (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 138).



Figs. 32 to 35. BNP/E3, 144J-37<sup>v</sup> & 38<sup>r</sup>, 78-97<sup>r</sup> & 98<sup>r</sup>.

*The Last of Things*

1 Weep for the last of things,  
 2 For the farewell that they give  
 As if with a glance alone  
 To the things that remain and live.

5 Weep for the noble minds  
 6 That have past like froth away;  
 Weep for the bodies fair  
 8 Now less than dust or clay.

Weep for the smallest trifles  
 10 Of our life, that is made of them;  
 11 Weep for each hope unaccomplished,  
 12 Each dream known at last a dream.

Weep for nations and kingdoms  
 14 That are dreams within the past,  
 15 For creeds and for religions,  
 16 For idols dim down-cast.

Though their glory were a vile one  
 18 And a blessing their decay,  
 19 Yet they are things that have been,  
 20 Have been and have gone away.

21 Weep for all joys departed,  
 22 For many a departed pain:  
 23 The heart one day shall desire  
 24 That they could come back again.

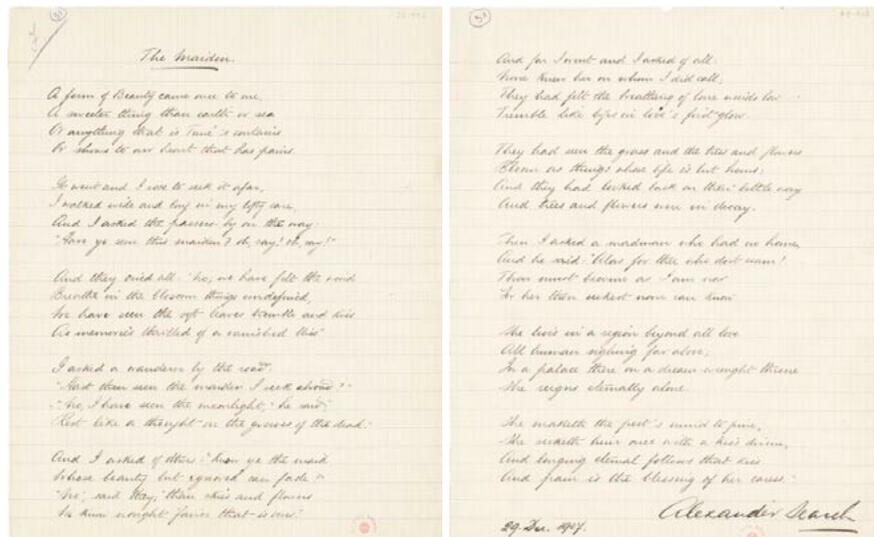
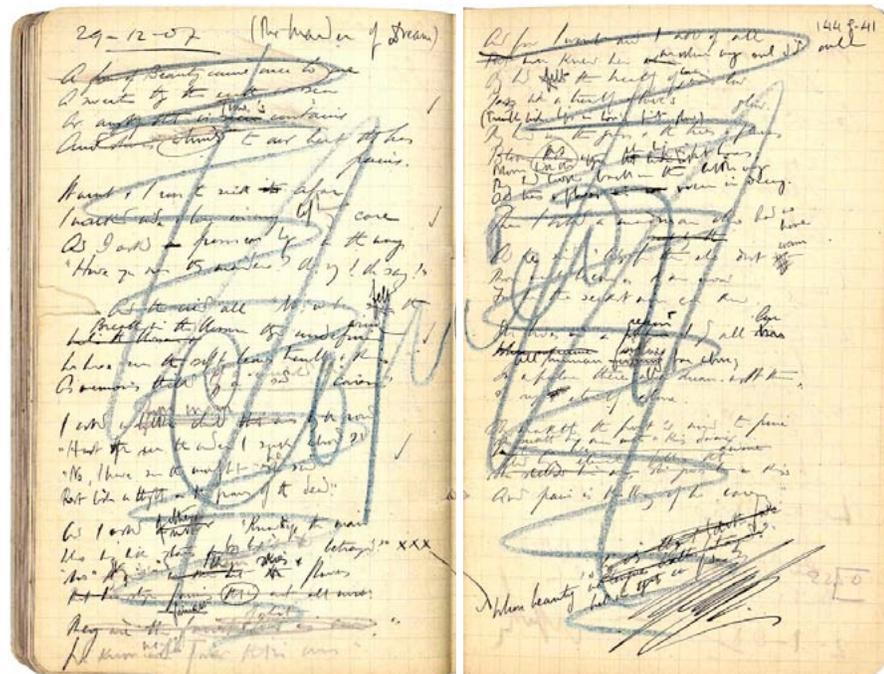
25 Weep for all things that are gone  
 And for those that are not past,  
 For the heart that sees them knows  
 That they also shall not last.

29 To all that passes pertaineth  
 30 A shred of our sympathy,  
 31 A tear for all things departed,  
 32 For departing things a sigh.

## Notes

- 1     **A** things **B** things,  
 2     **A** For [↑ 'Tis] the farewell **B** For the farewell  
 6     **A** away **B** away;  
 8     **A** That are less than dust or clay; **B** Now less than dust or clay.  
 10    **A** [←Of our life, that is a <dream> \*screen;] **B** Of our life, that is made of them;  
 11    **A** [←Weep for dreams unaccomplished] **B** Weep for each hope unaccomplished,  
 12    **A** [←For each dream [↑ known at] last a dream. **B** Each dream known at last a dream. ] *in*  
     *A, this stanza is linked to other verses, barely legible, written on the same margin:*  
     □ <their death> \*some heart  
     <At \*whose \*being all is> † on them  
     As if none wept, for \*ignored  
     \*By <And \*for \*what □ \*conceived.> [↓ \*weep to the † \*less seen]  
 14    **A** with the past **B** within the past,  
 15    **A** religions **B** religions,  
 16    **A** For <\*stat> idols dim down-cast **B** For idols dim down-cast.  
 18    **A** /And a blessing their decay/ **B** And a blessing their decay,  
 19    **A** been **B** been,  
 20    **A** These are things that have gone away [↓ Have been and have gone away] **B** Have been  
     and have gone away.  
 21    **A** Weep, for the universe [↓ Weep for all joys departed] **B** Weep for all joys departed,  
 22    **A** Is a \*worth for \*deep tears [↓ [Weep for] departed pains] **B** For many a departed pain  
 23    **A** [Weep for] the things that are gone **B** The heart one day shall desire  
 24    **A** [Weep for] all that remains **B** That they could come back again.  
 25-28 *This quartet doesn't seem to exist in A, but Dionísio noted that it is possible that the stanza linked to*  
     *v. 12 was an incipient draft (see note to v. 12) (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 417).*  
 29    **A** <pertaineth> pertaineth **B** pertaineth  
 30    **A** sympathy **B** sympathy,  
 31    **A** <To> A tear for all things departed [↓ A tear for all † gone] **B** A tear for all things  
     departed,  
 32    **A** For departing things a sigh [↓ And for things that go a sigh] **B** For departing things a  
     sigh.

**3.10. [144J-40<sup>v</sup> & 41<sup>r</sup>, 78-102<sup>r</sup> & 103<sup>r</sup>].** Dated 29 December 1907. There are two versions of this poem, 144J-40<sup>v</sup> & 41<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78-102<sup>r</sup> & 103<sup>r</sup> (B). **A** comprises two pages of a grid notebook, written in black ink and pencil, displaying (on 40<sup>v</sup>) the date "29-12-07" and the title "The Maiden of Dreams"; both pages were crossed out in blue pencil, which the poet also used to write the word "copied"; **B**, the later version, titled "The Maiden," consists of two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "29 Dec. 1907" (on 103<sup>r</sup>); on the upper left corner of 102<sup>r</sup>, there are two inscriptions: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled "31" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 139-140), whose also edited a loose fragment associated with "The Maiden" (see Annex 3.10A).



Figs. 36 to 39. BNP/E3, 144J-40<sup>v</sup> & 41<sup>r</sup>; 78-102<sup>r</sup> & 103<sup>r</sup>.

*The Maiden*

1     A form of Beauty came once to me,  
       A sweeter thing than earth or sea  
 3     Or anything that is Time's contains  
 4     Or shows to our heart that has pains.

5     It went and I rose to seek it afar,  
 6     I walked wide and long in my lofty care,  
 7     And I asked the passers-by on the way:  
 8     "Have ye seen this maiden? oh, say! oh, say!"

9     And they cried all: "No, we have felt the wind  
 10    Breathe in the blossom things undefined,  
       We have seen the soft leaves tremble and kiss  
 12    As memories thrilled of a vanished bliss."

13    I asked a wanderer by the road:  
 14    "Hast thou seen the maiden I seek abroad?"  
 15    — "No; I have seen the moonlight," he said,  
       "Rest like a thought on the graves of the dead."

17    And I asked of others: "Know ye the maid  
 18    Whose beauty but ignored can fade?"  
 19    "No", said they; "than skies and flowers  
 20    We know nought fairer that is ours."

21    And far I went and I asked of all:  
 22    None knew her on whom I did call;  
 23    They had felt the breathing of lone winds low  
 24    Tremble like lips in love's first glow.

25    They had seen the grass and the trees and flowers  
 26    Bloom as things whose life is but hours;  
 27    And they had looked back on their little way  
 28    And trees and flowers were in decay.

29    Then I asked a madman who had no home,  
 30    And he said: "Alas for thee who dost roam!  
       Thou must become as I am now  
       For her thou seekest none can know."

33 She lives in a region beyond all love  
 34 All human sighing far above;  
 35 In a palace there on a dream-wrought throne  
 36 She reigns eternally alone.

37 She maketh the poet's mind to pine,  
 38 She seeketh him once with a kiss divine,  
 39 And longing eternal follows that kiss  
 40 And pain is the blessing of her caress."

## Notes

- 1 A to me B to me,  
 3 A that is <seen> [↑ Time's] contains B that is Time's contains  
 4 A And shows or hints to our heart B Or shows to our heart ] in A, or hints *is encircled*.  
 5 A It went & I rose to seek <†>/it\ afar B It went and I rose to seek it afar,  
 6 A in my [↑ lofty] care B in my lofty care,  
 7 A I asked <so> passers by on the way B And I asked the passers-by on the way:  
 8 A maiden? Oh, say! Oh, say!" B maiden<—>/?\ oh, say! oh, say!"  
 9 A cried all "No, we have <seen> [↑ felt] the wind B cried all: "No, we have felt the wind  
 10 A <† the blossom &> [↑ Breathe in the blossom] things undefined B Breathe in the blossom things undefined,  
 12 A thrilled <by a sad caress> [↑ of a vanished bliss.]" B thrilled of a vanished bliss."  
 13 A I asked a <little child> [↑ poor man] <that was> by the road B I asked a wanderer by the road:  
 14 A Ha<ve>/st\ <y>/thou\ B Hast thou  
 15 A —"No, I have seen the moonlight" <she> [↑ he] said B —"No; I have seen the moonlight," he said,  
 17 A And I asked another [↑ of others] "Know<st> ye the maid B And I asked of others: "Know ye the maid  
 18 A Who was like stars <\*past> [↑ by light <\*to>] betrayed?" [→Whose beauty <no tongue hath betrayed?"> [↑ by its thought doth fade] [↓ but in thought can fade]] B Whose beauty but ignored can fade?"  
 19 A "No" they cried [↑ they said] "<we know but> <the> [↑ than skies &] flowers B "No", said they; "than skies and flowers  
 20 A <That her strange fairness [↓ fairness] that is \*not all ours"> [↓ <They are the fairest † [↑ of what] is ours>."] [↓ We know <not> [↑ nought] fairer that is ours"] B We know nought fairer that is ours." ] in the first variant of A, that is *is encircled*.  
 21 A of all B of all:  
 22 A <But> none know her <whom> [↑ on whom] my soul did call B None knew her on whom I did call;  
 23 A They had <seen>/felt\ the breathing of [↑ lone] winds low B They had felt the breathing of lone winds low  
 24 A Pa<\*ssing>/ss\ like a trembling of love's □ glow [↓ (Tremble like lips in love's first glow)] B Tremble like lips in love's first glow.

- 26 A <Bloom like [↑ as] a> [↓ Bloom like the things] <that \*lived at> [↑ whose life is but hours];  
 B Bloom as things whose life is but hours;
- 27 A They B And they
- 28 A And trees & flowers <in †> were in decay. B And trees and flowers were in decay.
- 29 A who <sat by the> had no home B who had no home,
- 30 A dost <†> [↑ roam] B dost roam!
- 33 A a <palace> [↑ region] beyond all <time> [↑ love] B a region beyond all love
- 34 A <Whose supreme> [↓ All human <feigning> [↑ sighing] far above;] B All human sighing  
 far above;
- 35 A throne, B throne
- 36 A She reigns [↑ <\*all>] B c
- 37 A pine B pine,
- 38 A <With a love □ divine> [↑ She seeketh him once with a kiss divine] B She seeketh him  
 once with a kiss divine,
- 39 A And longing eternal follows that [↓ <She \*seeks him on, she gives him a> kiss B And  
 longing eternal follows that kiss

**Annex 3.10A. [79-1<sup>r</sup>]** *Loose piece of paper titled "D."—perhaps indicative of the project "Delirium"; transcribed by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 141).*

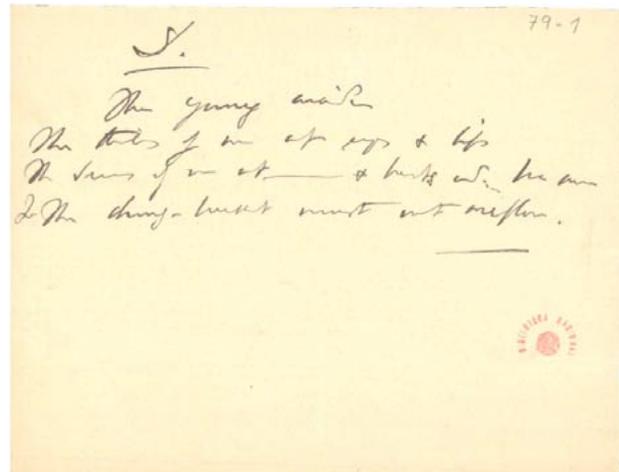
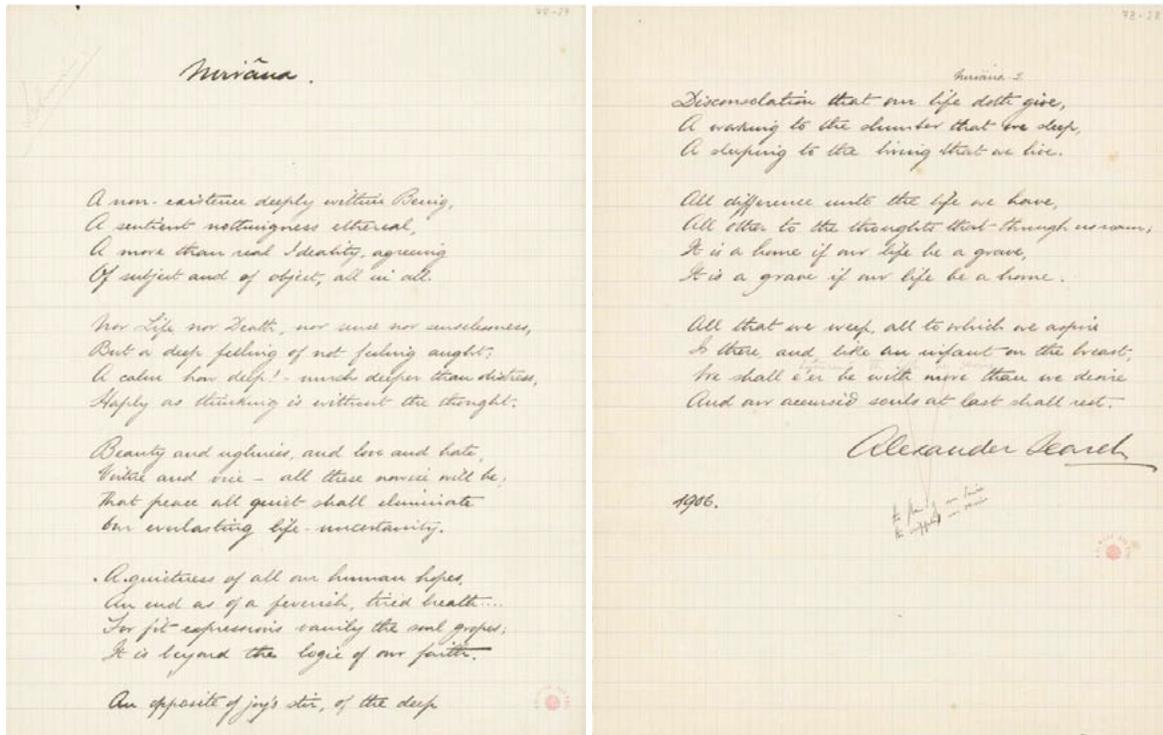


Fig. 40. BNP/E3, 79-1<sup>r</sup>.

D.

The young maiden  
 She thinks of me \*after eyes & lips  
 She dreams of me \*after □ & \*heart's end... her \*arm  
 [←\*So] The \*clung-bucket must not overflow.

3.11. [78-27<sup>r</sup> & 28<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "1906." Two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, with emendations in pencil and black ink on the second page, which also displays the signature "Alexander Search;" both pages present the title "Nirvâna," which is followed by the number "2" on 28<sup>r</sup>. On the upper left corner of 27<sup>r</sup>, one reads the note "Delirium" (in pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 131-132). While living in Durban, the young Pessoa studied the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with multiple references to Eastern thought, including the poem "Brahma" — in which Emerson develops a series of antinomies that may have inspired Pessoa's "Nirvâna" (EMERSON, 1902: 518).



Figs. 41 & 42. BNP/E3, 78-27<sup>r</sup> & 28<sup>r</sup>.

### Nirvâna.

A non-existence deeply within Being,  
 A sentient nothingness ethereal,  
 A more than real Ideality, agreeing  
 Of subject and of object, all in all.

- <sup>5</sup> Nor Life, nor Death, nor sense nor senselessness,  
 But a deep feeling of not feeling aught;  
 A calm how deep! — much deeper than distress,  
 Haply as thinking is without the thought.

Beauty and ugliness, and love and hate,  
 10 Virtue and vice—all these nowise will be;  
 That peace all quiet shall eliminate  
 Our everlasting life-uncertainty.

A quietness of all our human hopes,  
 An end as of a feverish, tired breath...  
 15 For fit expressions vainly the soul gropes;  
 It is beyond the logic of our faith.

An opposite of joy's stir, of the deep  
 Disconsolation that our life doth give,  
 A waking to the slumber that we sleep,  
 20 A sleeping to the living that we live.

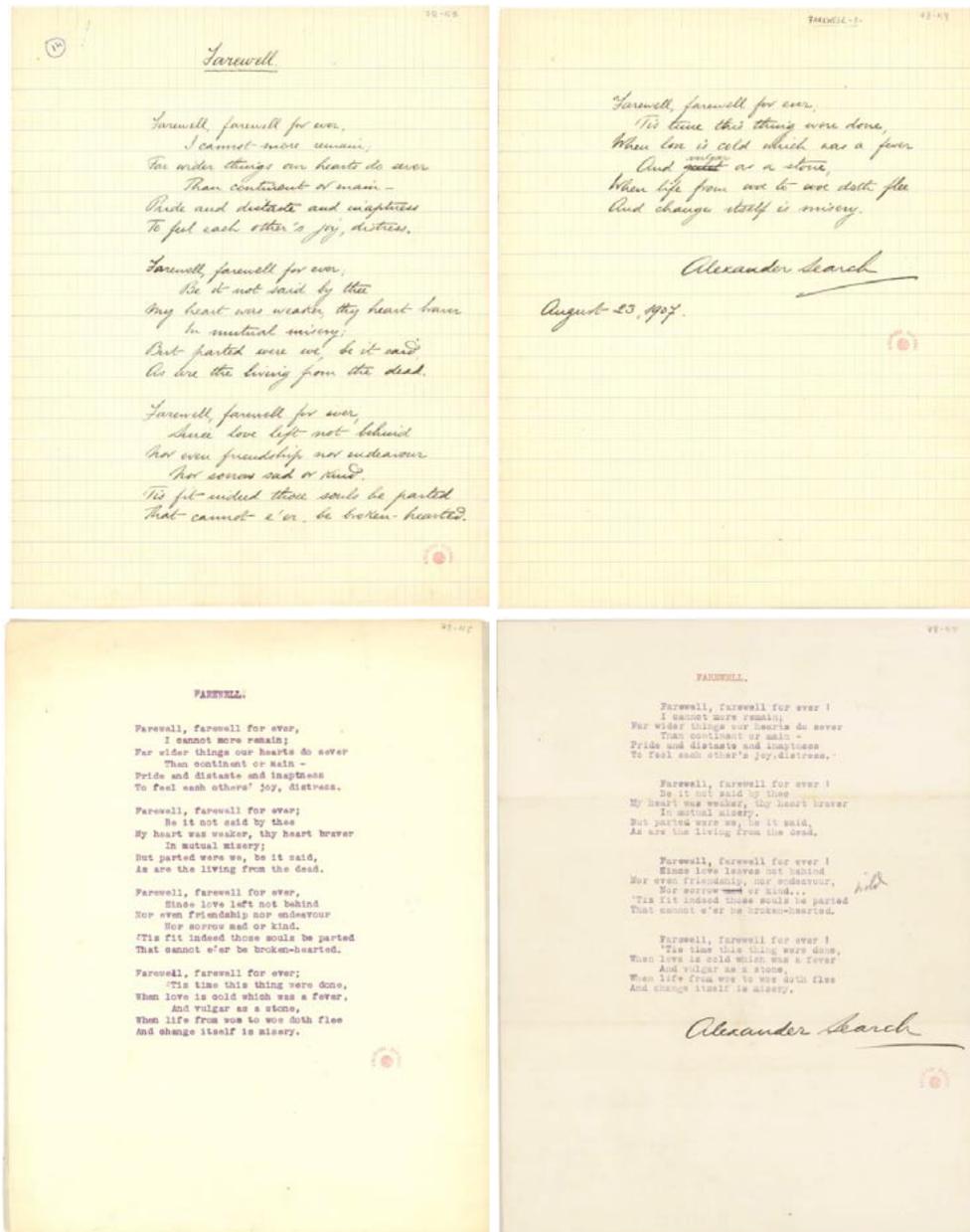
All difference unto the life we have,  
 All other to the thoughts that through us roam;  
 It is a home if our life be a grave,  
 It is a grave if our life be a home.

25 All that we weep, all to which we aspire  
 Is there, and, like an infant on the breast,  
 27 We shall transcend the nipple we desire  
 And our accursed souls at last shall rest.

#### Note

27 We shall e'er be with more than we desire [↑ transcend the little we desire] [↓ the flaw of our desire [↓ the nipple<d> we desire] ] *we diverge from previous editions of this verse: Freire edited the 1<sup>st</sup> variant "We shall e'er be with more than we desire" (PESSOA, 1995: 86); Dionísio, as well as the duo Pizarro and Ferrari (PESSOA, 1997: 132 and 2015: 28, respectively) decided for a combination of variants: the first four words of the first variant ("We shall e'er be"), together with the last variant, which he read as "the cripple we desire" (while we read it as "the nipple we desire"); we understand the third and last variants to be additions to the second—not to the first—variant, thus transforming the verse "We shall transcend the little we desire" and developing further the image of the "infant on the breast" from the previous verse; moreover, it should be noted that we were unable to find uses of the word "cripple" in Pessoa's poetry, but did find an instance of "nippled" in the poem "Antinous" (and, in this verse, we understand the poet to have written "nipple<d>", crossing out the termination in "d").*

3.12. [78-53<sup>r</sup> & 54<sup>r</sup>, 78-56<sup>r</sup>, 78-55<sup>r</sup>]. Dated 23 August 1907. There are three versions of this poem, 78-53<sup>r</sup> & 54<sup>r</sup> (A), 78-56<sup>r</sup> (B) and 78-55<sup>r</sup> (C). A comprises two pieces of grid paper, written in black ink, displaying (on 54<sup>r</sup>) the date "August 23, 1907" and the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner of 53<sup>r</sup>, there is an encircled "14" (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. B and C are both typescripts on paper with the watermark "Jhannot et Cie / Linex Bank"; C presents a series of textual developments from B, plus the signature "Alexander Search" and an emendation in purple pencil, constituting the final known version of the poem. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 39-40). Pessoa also drafted a poem referred to as "Farewells, departures..." (in list 48C-17<sup>r</sup> for example), which constitutes a different text, with a different date and, in its manuscript, with a different title, i.e. "Endings" (PESSOA, 1997: 287).



Figs. 43 to 46. BNP/E3, 78-53<sup>r</sup> & 54<sup>r</sup>, 78-56<sup>r</sup>, 78-55<sup>r</sup>.

## Farewell.

1           Farewell, farewell for ever!  
               I cannot more remain;  
 Far wider things our hearts do sever  
               Than continent or main —  
 5       Pride and distaste and inaptness  
 6       To feel each other's joy, distress.

7           Farewell, farewell for ever!  
               Be it not said by thee  
 My heart was weaker, thy heart braver  
 10          In mutual misery.  
 But parted were we, be it said,  
               As are the living from the dead.

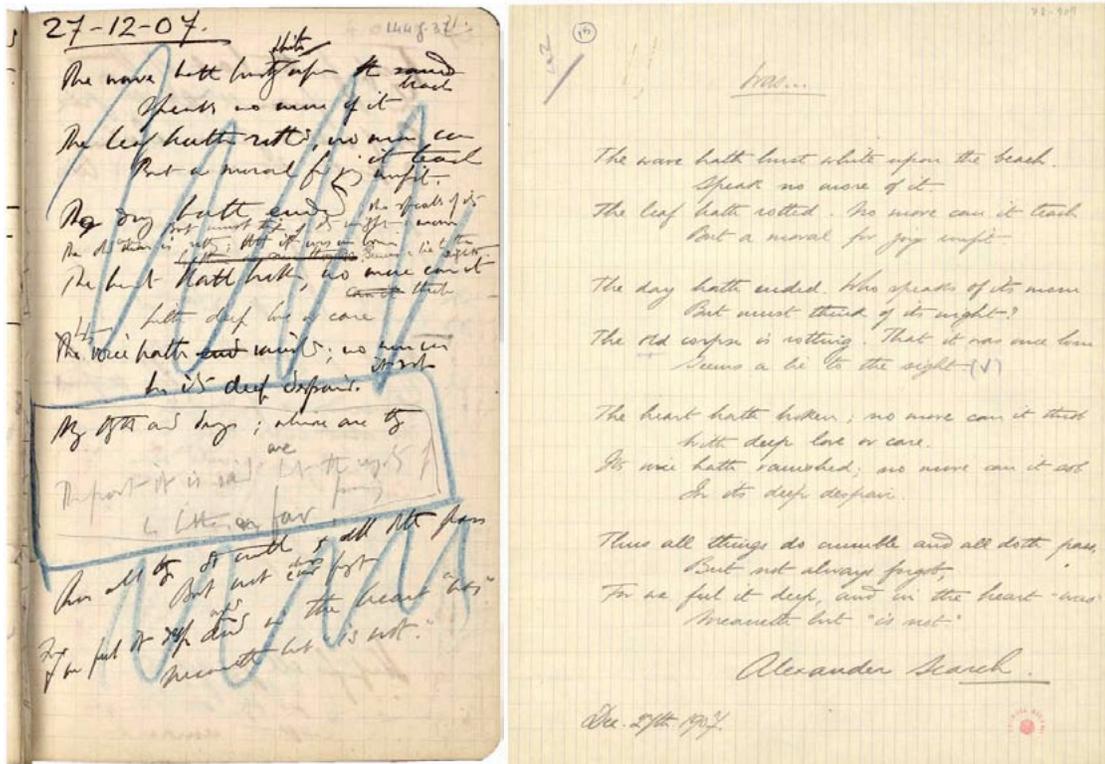
13           Farewell, farewell for ever!  
 14           Since love leaves not behind  
 15       Nor even friendship, nor endeavour,  
 16           Nor sorrow wild or kind...  
       'Tis fit indeed those souls be parted  
       That cannot e'er be broken-hearted.

19           Farewell, farewell for ever!  
 20           'Tis time this thing were done,  
 21       When love is cold which was a fever  
 22           And vulgar as a stone,  
       When life from woe to woe doth flee  
       And change itself is misery.

## Notes

- 1       **AB** for ever, **C** for ever!  
 6       **A** other's **B** others' **C** other's  
 7       **AB** for ever; **C** for ever!  
 10      **AB** misery; **C** misery.  
 13      **AB** for ever, **C** for ever!  
 14      **AB** left **C** leaves  
 15      **AB** friendship nor endeavor **C** friendship, nor endeavor,  
 16      **A** sorrow sad or kind. **B** sorrow mad or kind. **C** sorrow <mad> [→wild] or kind...  
 19      **AB** for ever; **C** for ever!  
 21      **A** a fever **B** a fever, **C** a fever  
 22      **A** <quiet> [↑ vulgar] **B** vulgar **C** vulgar

**3.13. [144J-37<sup>r</sup>, 78-101<sup>r</sup>].** Dated 27 December 1907. There are two versions of this poem, 144J-37<sup>r</sup> (A) and 78-101<sup>r</sup> (B). **A** comprises a page from a grid notebook, written in black ink and pencil, displaying the date “27-12-07” and being almost entirely crossed out in blue pencil (except by one stanza, around which the poet drew a square also using the blue pencil; see annex 3.13A); **B**, the later version (titled “Was...”) consists of a piece of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature “Alexander Search” and the date “Dec. 27th. 1907”; on the upper left corner of **B**, there are two inscriptions: “F,” indicative of a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled “15” (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 311).



Figs. 47 & 48. BNP/E3, 144J-37<sup>r</sup>, 78-101<sup>r</sup>.

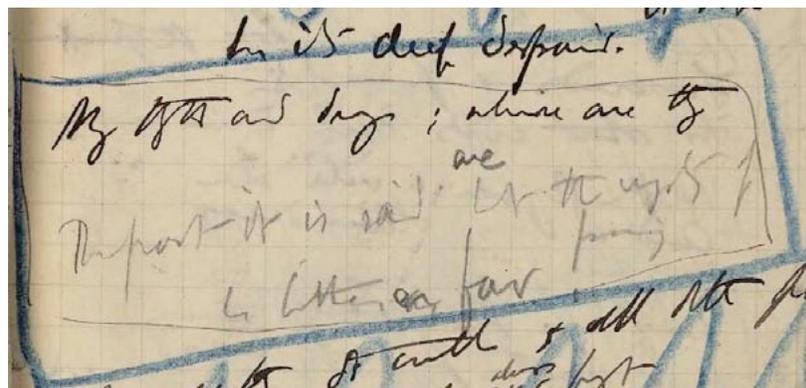


Fig. 49. BNP/E3, 144J-37<sup>r</sup>. Detail.

Was...

1 The wave hath burst white upon the beach.  
     Speak no more of it.  
 3 The leaf hath rotted. No more can it teach  
     But a moral for joy unfit.  
 5 The day hath ended. Who speaks of its morn  
     But must think of its night?  
 7 The /old/ corpse is rotting. That it was once born  
 8      Seems a lie to the sight.  
 9 The heart hath broken; no more can it throb  
 10      With deep love or care.  
 11 Its voice hath vanished; no more can it sob  
     In its deep despair.  
 13 Thus all things do crumble and all doth pass,  
 14      But not always forgot;  
 15 For we feel it deep, and in the heart "was"  
     Meaneth but "is not."

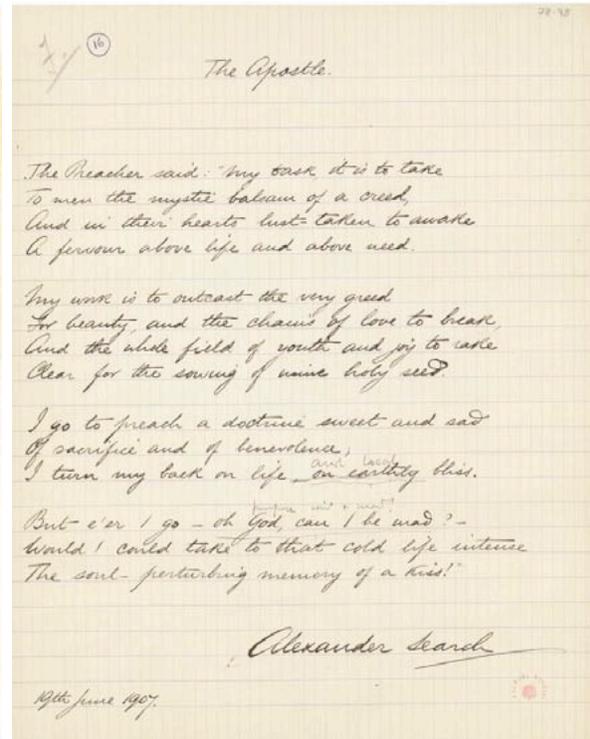
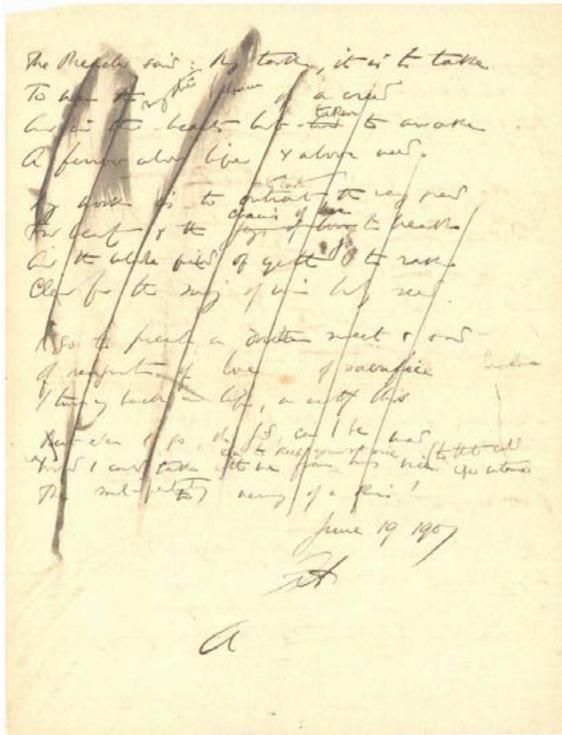
#### Notes

- 1 A burst [↑ white] upon the <sand> beach B burst white upon the beach.  
 3 A hath rotted, no more B hath rotted. No more  
 5 A <+>/The\ day hath ended; who speaks of its morn B The day hath ended. Who speaks of its morn  
 7 A The old <man> [↑ corpse] is rotting; that it was B The /old/ corpse is rotting. That it was  
 8 A <Is then or now thought?> [→Seems a lie to the sight] B Seems a lie to the sight. ] *there is a check mark to the right of this verse, perhaps cancelling the hesitation in "/old/" in the previous line.*  
 9 A broken, no more can it [↓ <can it>] throb B broken; no more can it throb  
 10 A care B care.  
 11 A <The> [↑ Its] voice hath <end> vanished B Its voice hath vanished;  
 13 A pass B pass,  
 14 A ever [↑ always] forgot B always forgot;  
 15 A & [↑ For] we feel it deep and [↑ for] [↑ and] B For we feel it deep, and

**Annex 3.13A. [79-101<sup>r</sup>, detail]** *Verses hardly legible but not crossed out in the paper featuring the first draft of "Was" (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 532). See Figure 49.*

My thoughts and days; [↓ are] \*above \*are \*they  
 The past it is said \*but the mystery of passing  
 Is bitter<as>/er\ \*fair.

3.14. [79<sup>1</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>, 78-43<sup>r</sup>]. Dated 19 June 1907. There are two documents with versions of this sonnet, 79<sup>1</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> (A) and 78-43<sup>r</sup> (B), with the same date. **A**, a loose piece of paper, written in black ink and completely crossed out, bearing the signature “AS” (Alexander Search) and the single letter “A” (which could stand for the project of poems titled “Agony”) on the lower part of the paper. **B**, the later version, written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in a finer black ink and the signature “Alexander Search”; on the upper left corner, **B** also displays two notes: “F” (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number “16” inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa’s hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme abab, baba, cde, cde). Our transcription is based on Dionísio’s (PESSOA, 1997: 243).



Figs. 50 & 51. BNP/E3, 79<sup>1</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>, 78-43<sup>r</sup>.

## The Apostle.

1 The Preacher said: "My task, it is to take  
 2 To men the mystic balsam of a creed,  
 3 And in their hearts lust-taken to awake  
 A fervour above life and above need.

5 My work is to outcast the very greed  
 6 For beauty, and the chains of love to break,  
 7 And the whole field of youth and joy to rake  
 Clear for the sowing of mine holy seed.

I go to preach a doctrine sweet and sad  
 10 Of sacrifice and of benevolence;  
 11 I turn my back on life and local bliss.

12 But e'er I go—oh purpose void & mad!—  
 13 Would I could take to that cold life intense  
 14 The soul-perturbing memory of a kiss!"

## Notes

*title* A □ B The Apostle  
 1 A My task B "My task  
 2 A creed B creed,  
 3 A the [B their] hearts lust-/\*trod/[↑ taken] to awake  
 5 A is to /\*outcast/ [↑ out cast] [B outcast] the very greed  
 6 A beauty & [B beauty, and] the <joys of love> [↑ chains of love] to break. [B break,]  
 7 A youth [↑ & joy] to rake. B youth and joy to rake  
 10 A Of resignation, of love [ ] of sacrifice B Of sacrifice and of benevolence;  
 11 A on life, on earthly bliss B on life<, /on earthly/> [↑ and local] bliss.  
 12 A go, oh God, can I be mad B go—/oh God, can I be mad/? [↑ purpose void & mad!]  
 13 A Would I could take with me from \*his vice [↑ e'en to keep against vice] [→ to that cold  
 life intense] [↑ benevolence] B Would I could take to that cold life intense  
 14 A The soul-penetra[↓tra]ting memory of a kiss? B The soul-perturbing memory of a kiss!"

3.15. [78B-5<sup>r</sup>]. Datable to before 1908 (probably c. 1905). Written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), and the number "13" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Shakespearean sonnet with a rhyme scheme abab, cdcd, efef, gg. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 290).

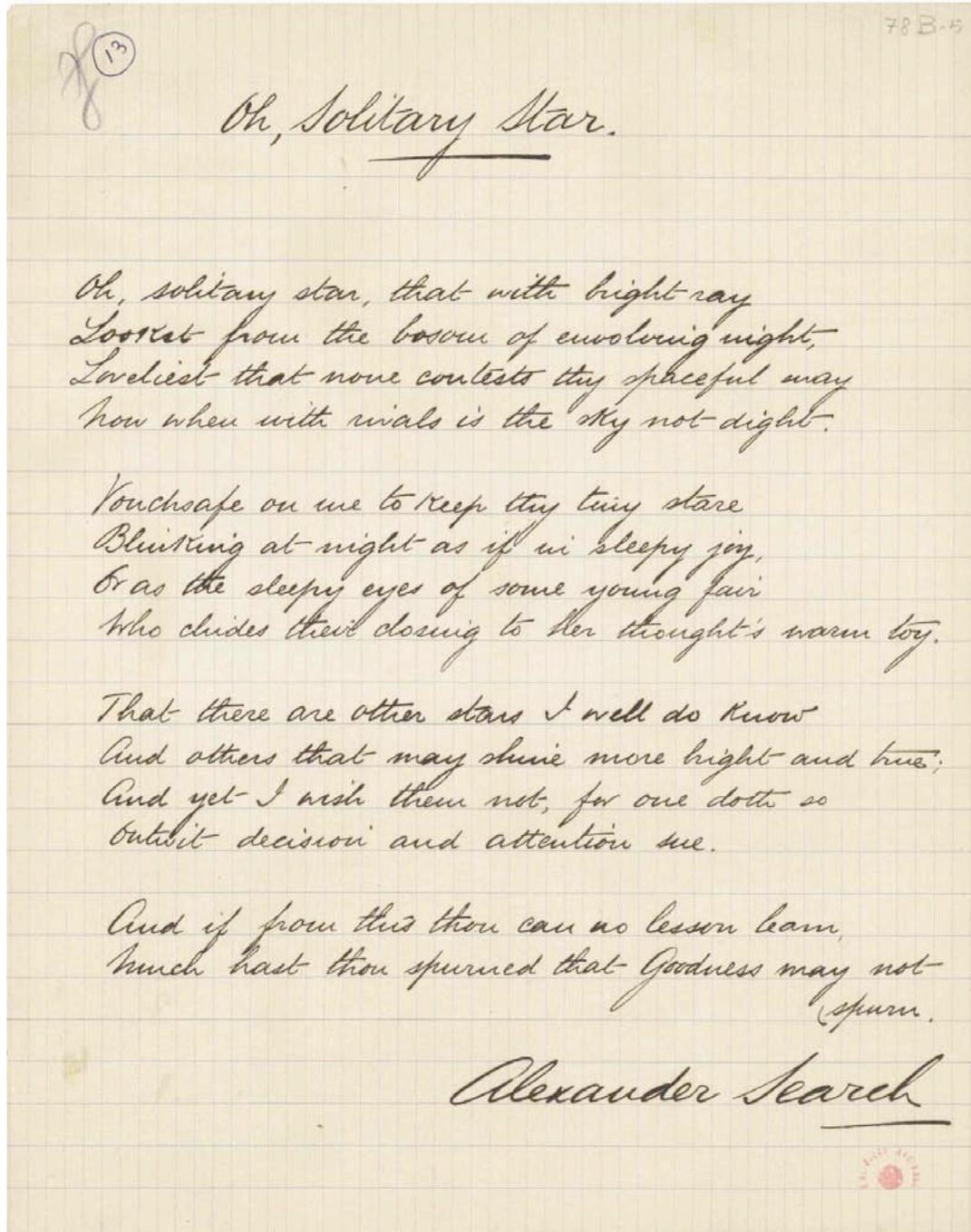


Fig. 52. BNP/E3, 78B-5<sup>r</sup>.

*Oh, Solitary Star.*

Oh, solitary star, that with bright ray  
Lookst from the bosom of envolving night,  
Loveliest that none contests thy spaceful sway  
Now when with rivals is the sky not dight.

5 Vouchsafe on me to keep thy tiny stare  
Blinking at night as if in sleepy joy,  
Or as the sleepy eyes of some young fair  
Who chides their dosing to her thought's warm toy.

10 That there are other stars I well do know  
And others that may shine more bright and true;  
And yet I wish them not, for one doth so  
Outwit decision and attention sue.

And if from this thou can no lesson learn,  
Much hast thou spurned that Goodness may not spurn.

3.16. [77-66<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "October, 1904." Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in purple pencil, and bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), and the number "17" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme abba, abba, cde, cde. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 289-290).

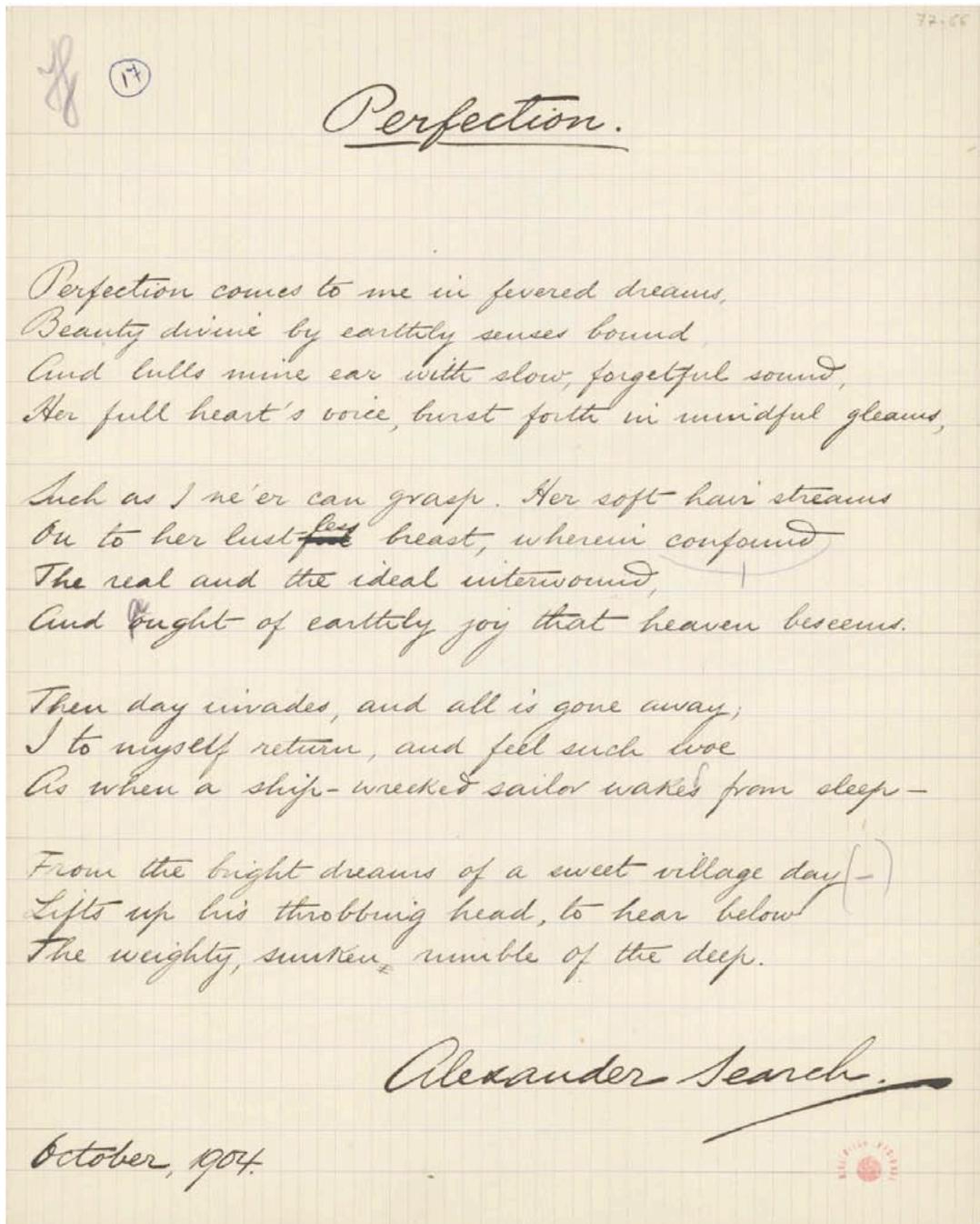


Fig. 53. BNP/E3, 77-66<sup>r</sup>.

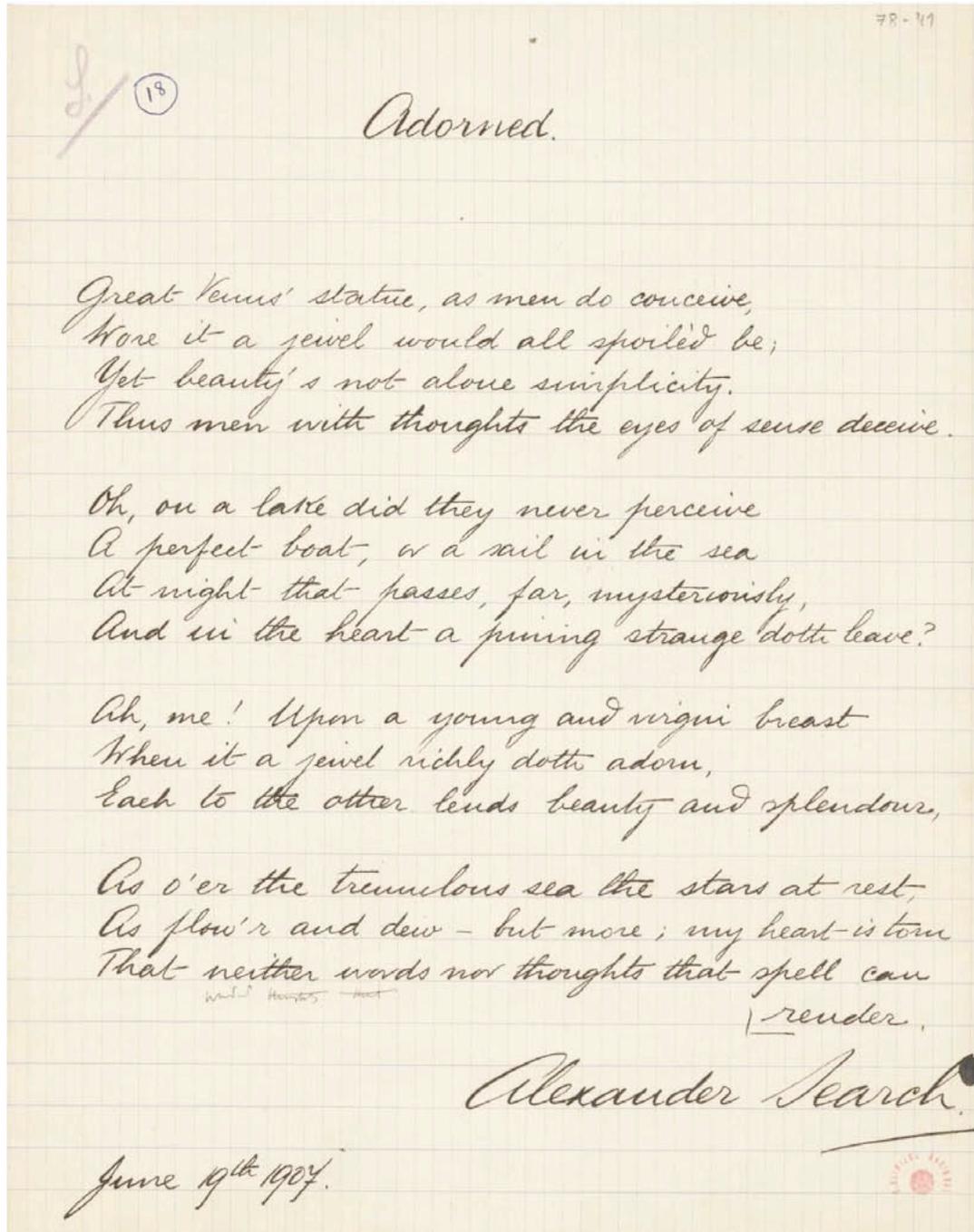
*Perfection.*

Perfection comes to me in fevered dreams,  
 Beauty divine by earthly senses bound,  
 And lulls mine ear with slow, forgetful sound,  
 Her full heart's voice, burst forth in mindful gleams,  
 5 Such as I ne'er can grasp. Her soft hair streams  
 6 On to her lustless breast, wherein /confound/  
 The real and the ideal interwound,  
 8 And aught of earthly joy that heaven beseems.  
  
 Then day invades, and all is gone away;  
 10 I to myself return, and feel such woe  
 11 As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep —  
  
 12 From the bright dreams of a sweet village day —  
 Lifts up his throbbing head, to hear below  
 The weighty, sunken rumble of the deep.

## Notes

- 6 lust<ful>[↑less] breast,  
 8 And <o>/a\ ught  
 11 wakes[↑d]  
 12 village day ( — ) *the parentheses probably indicate hesitation.*  
 14 sunken<> rumble

3.17. [78-41<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "June 19<sup>th</sup> 1907." Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in a finer black ink, and bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "\*S" (in purple pencil), probably indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "18" inside a circle (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme *abba, abba, cde, cde*. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 243-244).

Fig. 54. BNP/E3, 78-41<sup>r</sup>.

## Adorned.

Great Venus' statue, as men do conceive,  
 Wore it a jewel would all spoiled be;  
 Yet beauty's not alone simplicity.  
 Thus men with thoughts the eyes of sense deceive.

5 Oh, on a lake did they never perceive  
 A perfect boat, or a sail in the sea  
 At night that passes, far, mysteriously,  
 And in the heart a pining strange doth leave?

Ah, me! Upon a young and virgin breast  
 10 When it a jewel richly doth adorn,  
 Each to the other lends beauty and splendour,

As o'er the tremulous sea the stars at rest,  
 As flow'r and dew—but more; my heart is torn  
 14 That neither words nor thoughts that spell can render.

## Notes

- 14 That neither words [↓ worded thoughts that] nor thoughts ] *regarding the variant in pencil, Dionísio considered that to be crossed out; nevertheless, the horizontal lines across thought and that may also be the bar of the letter "t"; given the uncertainty, we edit the first version of line 14.*

**3.18. [78-35<sup>r</sup>].** Dated "March 1907." Grid paper written in black ink, with emendations in pencil, and the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner one reads: "\*F" (in purple pencil) and "19" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter is not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with rhyme scheme abab, baba, cdc, dcd. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 292-293). It should be noted that, since the list Poems of Frederick Wyatt only refers "Sonnet" by this generic title, it is uncertain whether "Lady, believe me ever at your feet" was the poem Pessoa intended for this collection. In Pessoa's archive, there figure three loose poems titled "Sonnet": 1) "My days are sunless, as if winter were" (dated 5 August 1909), listed as "Sonnet (My days are sunless)" on 144V-50<sup>r</sup>, and left untitled on its manuscript (49A<sup>2</sup>-34); 2) "Could I say what I think, could I express" (dated May 1904), titled "Sonnet" on its manuscript (77-71<sup>r</sup>), and listed by its incipit on 48C-8<sup>r</sup>, 48C-20<sup>v</sup>, and 48B-100<sup>r</sup>. 3) "Lady, believe me ever at your feet," consistently titled "Sonnet" both on its manuscript (78-35<sup>r</sup>) and on list 48C-8<sup>r</sup>. There are two other arguments to consider. Firstly, list 144V-50<sup>r</sup> (datable to circa 9 May 1910) displays "My days are sunless" as still attributed to Search; on the same document, "Farewell" is the only listed poem to be later re-attributed to Wyatt. Secondly, list 48C-20/21 (from 28 March 1909 or later) notes "Could I say" as excluded from "Before Sense" (a Searchian project), but not reattributed to any other compilation (and none of the other poems excluded from "Before Sense" ended up in Wyatt's corpus); moreover, in the same document, eleven out of the twelve poems in the project "Waves" (also attributed to Search) are reassigned to Wyatt; only one the 12 poems in "Waves" is a sonnet—"Blind Eagle"—the only text that will not be attributed to Wyatt. Given these elements, we strongly believe that the most probable "Sonnet" in Wyatt's corpus is "Lady, believe me."

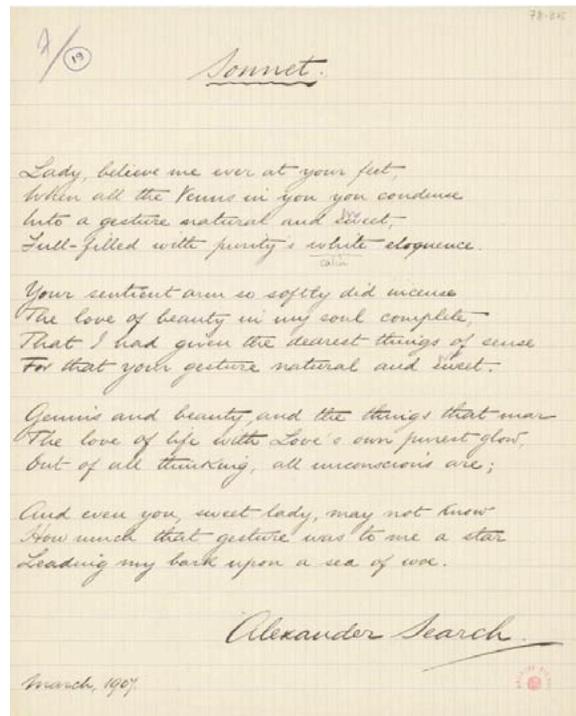


Fig. 55. BNP/E3, 78-35<sup>r</sup>.

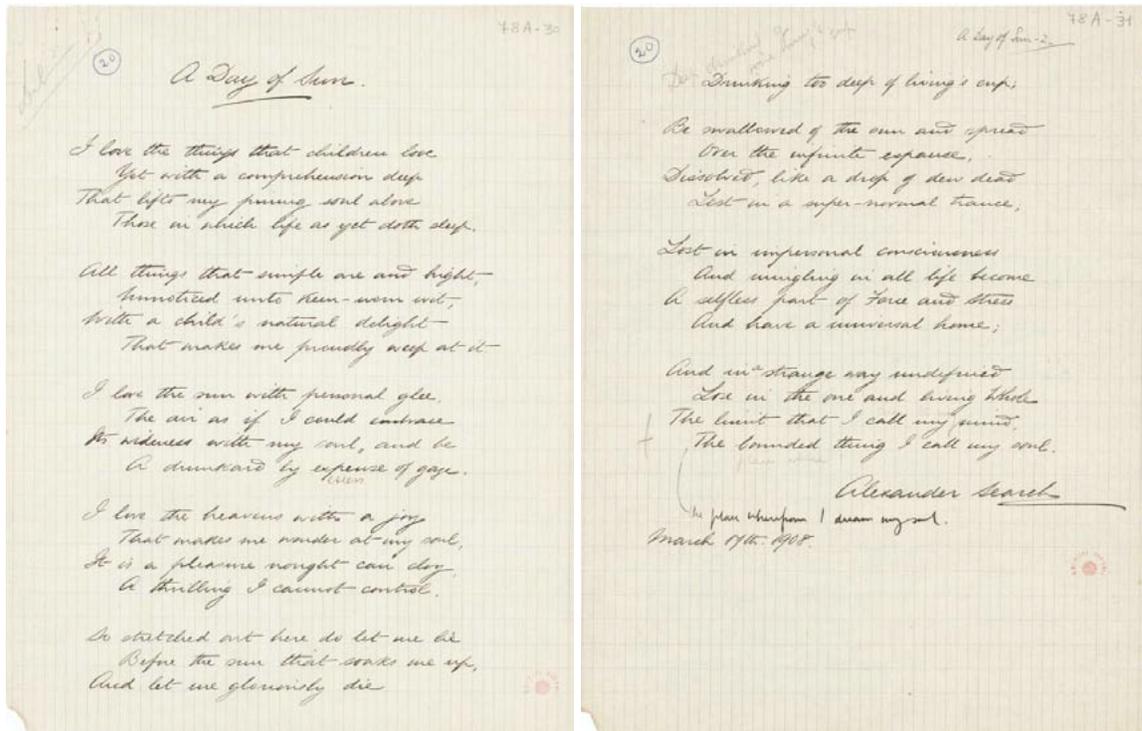
## Sonnet.

Lady, believe me ever at your feet,  
 When all the Venus in you you condense  
 3 Into a gesture natural and meet,  
 4 Full-filled with purity's calm eloquence.  
  
 5 Your sentient arm so softly did incense  
 The love of beauty in my soul complete,  
 That I had given the dearest things of sense  
 8 For that your gesture natural and meet.  
  
 Genius and beauty, and the things that mar  
 10 The love of life with Love's own purest glow,  
 Out of all thinking, all unconscious are;  
  
 And even you, sweet lady, may not know  
 How much that gesture was to me a star  
 Leading my bark upon a sea of woe.

## Notes

- 3 natural and sw[↑m]eet,  
 4 /white/ [↓ calm] eloquence.  
 8 natural and sw[↑m]eet.

3.19. [78A-30<sup>r</sup> & 31<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "March 17th. 1908." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on 31<sup>r</sup>. Both pages present the title "A Day of Sun," which is followed by "2" on the second page. On the upper left corner of 30<sup>r</sup>, the document displays two notes: "Delirium" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "20" inside a circle (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand and also inscribed on 31<sup>r</sup>. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 208-209).



Figs. 56 & 57. BNP/E3, 78A-30<sup>r</sup> & 31<sup>r</sup>.

### A Day of Sun.

I love the things that children love  
 Yet with a comprehension deep  
 That lifts my pining soul above  
 Those in which life as yet doth sleep.

5 All things that simple are and bright,  
 Unnoticed unto keen-worn wit,  
 With a child's natural delight  
 That makes me proudly weep at it.

I love the sun with personal glee,  
 10 The air as if I could embrace  
 11 Its wideness with my soul and be  
 12 A drunkard by excess of gaze.

I love the heavens with a joy  
 That makes me wonder at my soul,  
 15 It is a pleasure nought can cloy,  
 A thrilling I cannot control.

So stretched out here do let me lie  
 Before the sun that soaks me up,  
 And let me gloriously die  
 20 Deep drinking of mere living's cup;

Be swallowed of the sun and spread  
 Over the infinite expanse,  
 Dissolved, like a drop of dew dead  
 Lost in a super-normal trance;

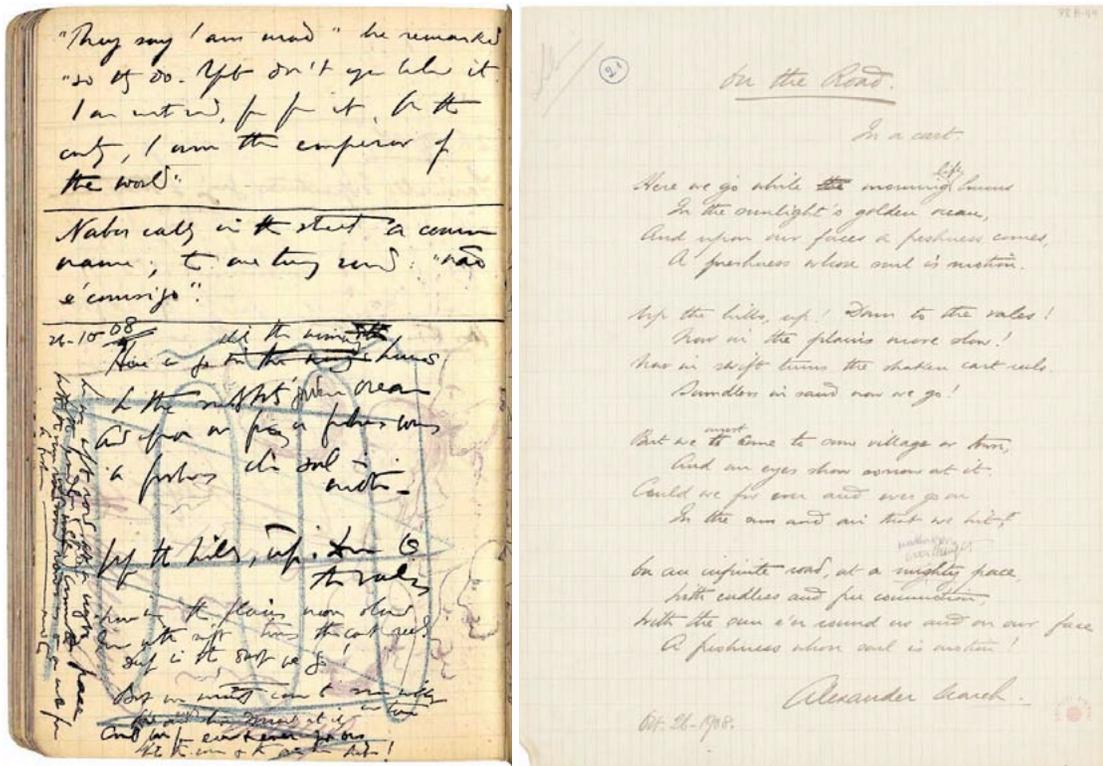
25 Lost in impersonal consciousness  
 And mingling in all life become  
 A selfless part of Force and Stress  
 And have a universal home;

29 And in a strange way undefined  
 30 Lose in the one and living Whole  
 31 /The limit that I am to my mind,/
 32 /The place wherefrom I dream my soul./

## Notes

- 11 soul<, > and be  
 12 expense [↓ excess]  
 20 Drinking too deep of living's cup; [↑ Deep drinking of mere living's cup]  
 29 In [↑ a] strange  
 31 /The limit that I call to my [↑ am to my] mind,/
- 32 /The bounded [↓ place whose] thing I call my soul. [↓ The place wherefrom I dream my soul]/

**3.20. [144J-36<sup>v</sup>, 78A-44<sup>r</sup>].** Dated 26 October 1908. There are two documents with versions of this sonnet, 144J-36<sup>v</sup> (A) and 78A-44<sup>r</sup> (B), presenting the same date, though in different formats ("26-10-08" and "'Oct. 26-1908," respectively). **A** is a page from a grid notebook, written in two types of black ink and having the verses completely crossed out in blue pencil; the same document also displays, on its top half, two passages in prose, one beginning with "They say I am mad," and the other recounting an anecdote involving the Pessoa character [Gaudêncio] Nabos; on the lower right margin, we see drawings made in pencil. **B** is the later version, written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in purple pencil and the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner, **B** also displays the preliminary line "In a cart" (between title and incipit) and two notes: "Delirium" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "21" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 209-210).



Figs. 58 & 59. BNP/E3, 144J-36<sup>v</sup>, 78A-44<sup>r</sup>.

## On the Road.

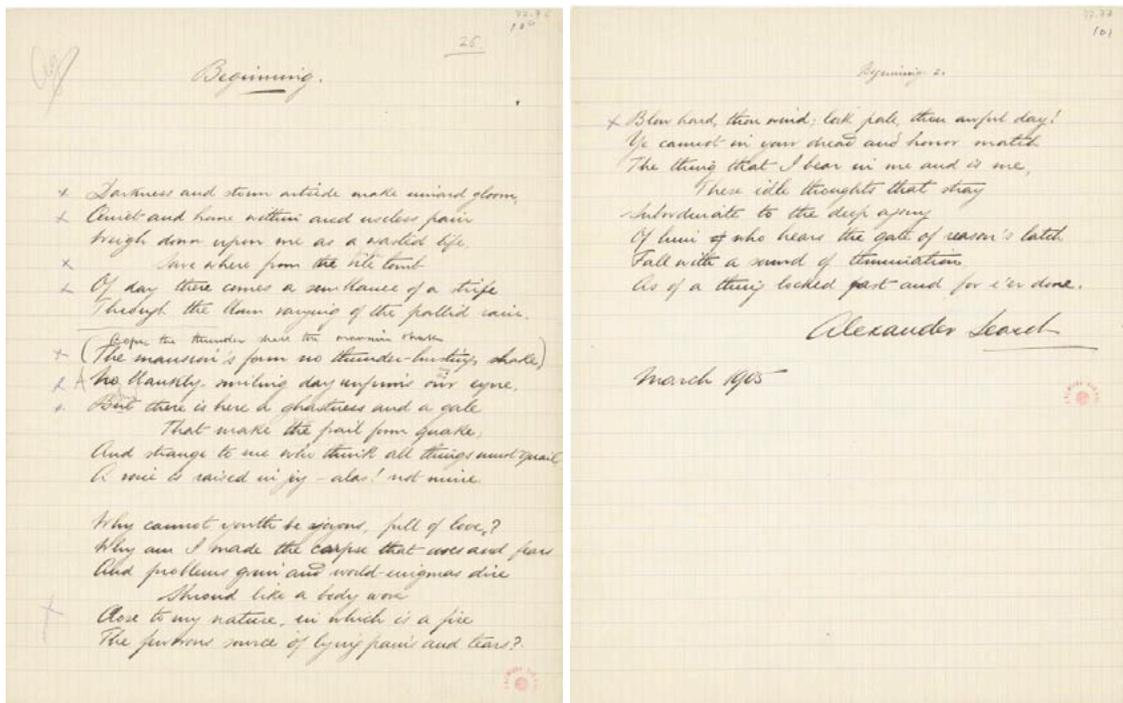
In a cart.

1 Here we go while morning life burns  
 2 In the sunlight's golden ocean,  
 And upon our faces a freshness comes,  
 A freshness whose soul is motion.  
  
 5 Up the hills, up! Down to the vales!  
 6 Now in the plains more slow!  
 7 Now in swift turns the shaken cart reels.  
 8 Soundless in sand now we go!  
  
 9 But we must come to some village or town,  
 10 And our eyes show sorrow at it.  
 Could we for ever and ever go on  
 12 In the sun and air that we hit;  
  
 13 On an infinite road, at an unknown pace,  
 14 With endless and free commotion,  
 15 With the sun e'er round us and on our face  
 16 A freshness whose soul is motion!

## Notes

- 1 A <in this morning's> [↑ while the morning] [↑ doth] burns B while <the> morning [↑ life] burns  
 2 A ocean B ocean,  
 6 A slow B slow!  
 7 A with swift turns the cart reels B in swift turns the shaken cart reels.  
 8 A Deep in the \*dust we go! B Soundless in sand now we go!  
 9 A we must come to some village or town B we <to> [↑ must] <s>/c\ome to some village or town,  
 10 A <\*As>/And\ our [↑ eyes] show sorrow at it B And our eyes show sorrow at it.  
 12 A With the \*sun & the air we hit B In the sun and air that we hit<!>/;\  
 13 A In an infinite road, at a mighty pace B On an infinite road, at a mighty [↑ unthought] [↑ unknown] pace, ] in A, from this verse on, all lines are written on the left margin, perpendicularly.  
 14 A commotion B commotion,  
 15 A sun <round> [↑ <us>] <round> [↑ <me>] [↑ e'er] round us & B sun e'er round us and  
 16 A A freshness □ motion B A freshness whose soul is motion!

3.21. [77-76<sup>r</sup> & 77<sup>r</sup>]. Dated "March 1905." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in another black ink and in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on 77<sup>r</sup>. Both pages present the title "Beginning," which is followed by "2" on the second page. On the upper left corner of 76<sup>r</sup>, the document displays the inscription "Ag[ony]" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 107-108). Note that the purple pencil was also used to draw crosses (generally indicative of hesitation by Pessoa) on the left margin of the following verses: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17-18 and 19; we generally convey hesitation in the manuscript by placing a word within bars (/example/); given the amount of crosses in this document, though, we solely indicate the poet's hesitation regarding individual words, for the sake of legibility.



Figs. 60 & 61. BNP/E3, 77-76<sup>r</sup> & 77<sup>r</sup>.

*Beginning*

Darkness and storm outside make inward gloom,  
 Quiet and home within and useless pain  
 Weigh down upon me as a wasted life,  
 4 Save where from the pale tomb  
 5 Of day there comes a semblance of a strife  
 Through the blown varying of the pallid rain.  
 7 Before the thunder shall the mansion shake  
 8 A blankly-smiling day unfirms my eyne,  
 9 And there is here a ghastrness and a gale  
 10 That make /my frail form/ quake;  
 And strange to me who think all things must quail,  
 A voice is raised in joy — alas! not mine.  
  
 13 Why cannot youth be joyous, full of love?  
 Why am I made the corpse that woes and fears  
 15 And problems grim and world-enigmas dire  
 Shroud like a body wove  
 Close to my nature, in which is a fire  
 The fervorous source of lying pains and tears?  
  
 Blow hard, thou wind; look pale, thou awful day!  
 20 Ye cannot in your dread and horror match  
 The thing that I bear in me and is me,  
 These idle thoughts that stray  
 Subordinate to the deep agony  
 24 Of him who hears the gate of reason's latch  
 25 Fall with a sound of termination,  
 As of a thing locked past and for e'er done.

## Notes

- 4 the vile [↑ pale] tomb  
 7 (The mansion's form no thunder-bustings shake,) [↑ Before the thunder shall the mansion shake]  
 8 <No> [←A] blankly-smiling day unfirms our [↑ the] [↑ my] eyne  
 9 <But> [↑ And] there is here  
 10 /the [↑ my] frail form/  
 13 full of love<,>?  
 24 Of him <of> who hears

**Topographical Index  
Documents from Fernando Pessoa's Archive**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1.1. [14E-96]   | 3.8. [144J]-34 <sup>r</sup> , 78-96 <sup>r</sup> ]  |
| 1.2. [14E-93]   | 3.9. [144J]-37 <sup>v</sup> & 38 <sup>r</sup> , 78-97 <sup>r</sup> & 98 <sup>r</sup> ]    |
| 1.3. [14E-94 <sup>r</sup> ]   | 3.10. [144J]-40 <sup>v</sup> & 41 <sup>r</sup> , 78-102 <sup>r</sup> & 103 <sup>r</sup> ] |
| 1.4. [14E-95]   | 3.10A. [79-1 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 1.5. [133G-10]  | 3.11. [78-27 <sup>r</sup> & 28 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 2.1. [144D <sup>2</sup> -7 <sup>r</sup> ]                           | 3.12. [78-53 <sup>r</sup> & 54 <sup>r</sup> , 78-56 <sup>r</sup> , 78-55 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 2.2. [144P-2 <sup>r</sup> & 3 <sup>r</sup> ]                        | 3.13. [144J]-37 <sup>r</sup> , 78-101 <sup>r</sup> ]                                      |
| 3.1a. [144J]-43 <sup>r</sup> , 78A-1 <sup>r</sup> ]                 | 3.14. [79 <sup>1</sup> -5 <sup>v</sup> , 78-43 <sup>r</sup> ]                             |
| 3.1b [48D-42]   | 3.15. [78B-5 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 3.2. [78A-14 <sup>r</sup> to 16 <sup>r</sup> ]                      | 3.16. [77-66 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 3.3. [78B-2 <sup>r</sup> & 3 <sup>r</sup> ]                         | 3.17. [78-41 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 3.4. [78-33 <sup>r</sup> ]  | 3.18. [78-35 <sup>r</sup> ]   |
| 3.5. [78B-1 <sup>r</sup> ]  | 3.19. [78A-30 <sup>r</sup> & 31 <sup>r</sup> ]  |
| 3.6. [49B <sup>3</sup> -21 <sup>r</sup> , 78-104 <sup>r</sup> ]     | 3.20. [144J]-36 <sup>v</sup> , 78A-44 <sup>r</sup> ]                                      |
| 3.7. [144T-32 <sup>r</sup> & 31 <sup>v</sup> , 78-57 <sup>r</sup> ] | 3.21. [77-76 <sup>r</sup> & 77 <sup>r</sup> ]   |

# “The Mad Fiddler”: Unpublished Documents

Kenneth David Jackson\*

## Keywords

Alterations, Critical Edition, Manuela Nogueira’s Private Collection, “The Mad Fiddler”, Typescript.

## Abstract

A newly-found typescript of 47 pages of “The Mad Fiddler” belonging to Pessoa’s niece, Manuela Nogueira, is described and compared to two other typescripts in the Pessoa Archive held at the National Library of Portugal. The place of this typescript in the history of the composition of the poems of “The Mad Fiddler” is relevant, since it contains a few variants and likely precedes the version considered to be definitive in the critical edition (Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisbon, 1999).

## Palavras-chave

Coleção particular de Manuela Nogueira, Dactiloscrito, Edição Crítica, “The Mad Fiddler”, Variantes.

## Resumo

Um dactiloscrito de “The Mad Fiddler” recém-encontrado, com 47 pp., pertencente a Manuela Nogueira, sobrinha de Pessoa, é descrito e comparado aos outros dois dactiloscritos existentes no espólio pessoano na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Resgata-se a importância desse terceiro dactiloscrito na gênese de “The Mad Fiddler”, pois ele contém variantes e provavelmente precede a versão considerada como definitiva na edição crítica (Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisbon, 1999).

---

\* Yale University, Department of Spanish & Portuguese.

A previously unexamined partial typescript of "The Mad Fiddler" in the private collection of Fernando Pessoa's niece, Manuela Nogueira, has become available for examination and comparison with other variants of this compilation of poems.<sup>1</sup> The list of contents evidences an advanced stage of preparation of "The Mad Fiddler" with 52 titled poems (see Annex). Four poems are multi-sectional, three of which have two sections ("Fever-Garden," "Horizon," and "The Sunflower") and one with three sections ("Summer Moments"). Typed on light brown paper, the document consists of 47 pages numbered 2 to 50,<sup>2</sup> up to and including the poem "Horizon," which is written by hand over a previously typed title, "The Peacock's Tail" in the section "Fever-Garden," the fifth of eight titled sections. The typed copies of the poems are clean and numbered in pencil in the upper right (2 to 50), with some corrections of mistakes in the typing and a few variants. In the poem "Lullaby," for example, the final "s" is crossed off in the typographical error "thous" and likewise an "e" is added in ink above the misspelled word "grive."

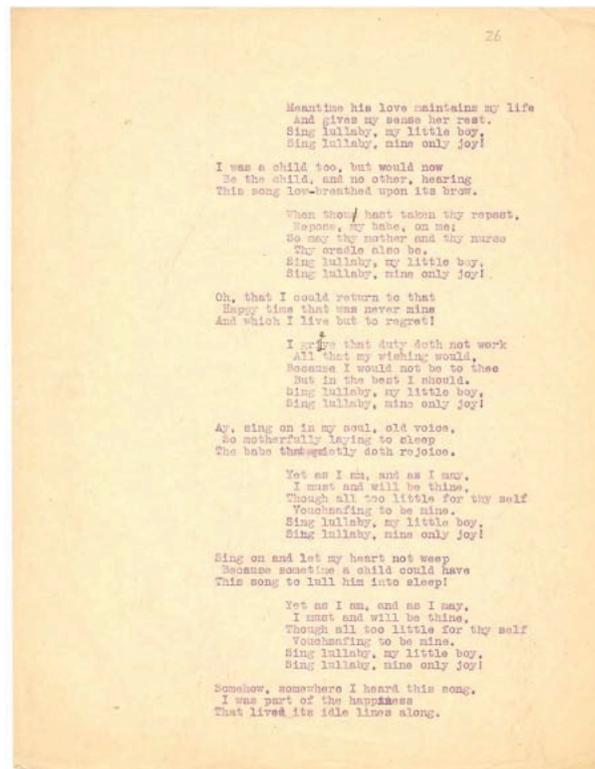


Fig. 1. Typescript of "Lullaby." Page numbered "26." Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

<sup>1</sup> Documents scanned by Jerónimo Pizarro, Patricio Ferrari, and Antonio Cardiello at Manuela Nogueira's apartment in Lisbon, in 2009.

<sup>2</sup> The first page is unnumbered; only two pages (pp. 16 and 21) have typescript material on the verso; pages 4, 7, and 10-11 are missing.



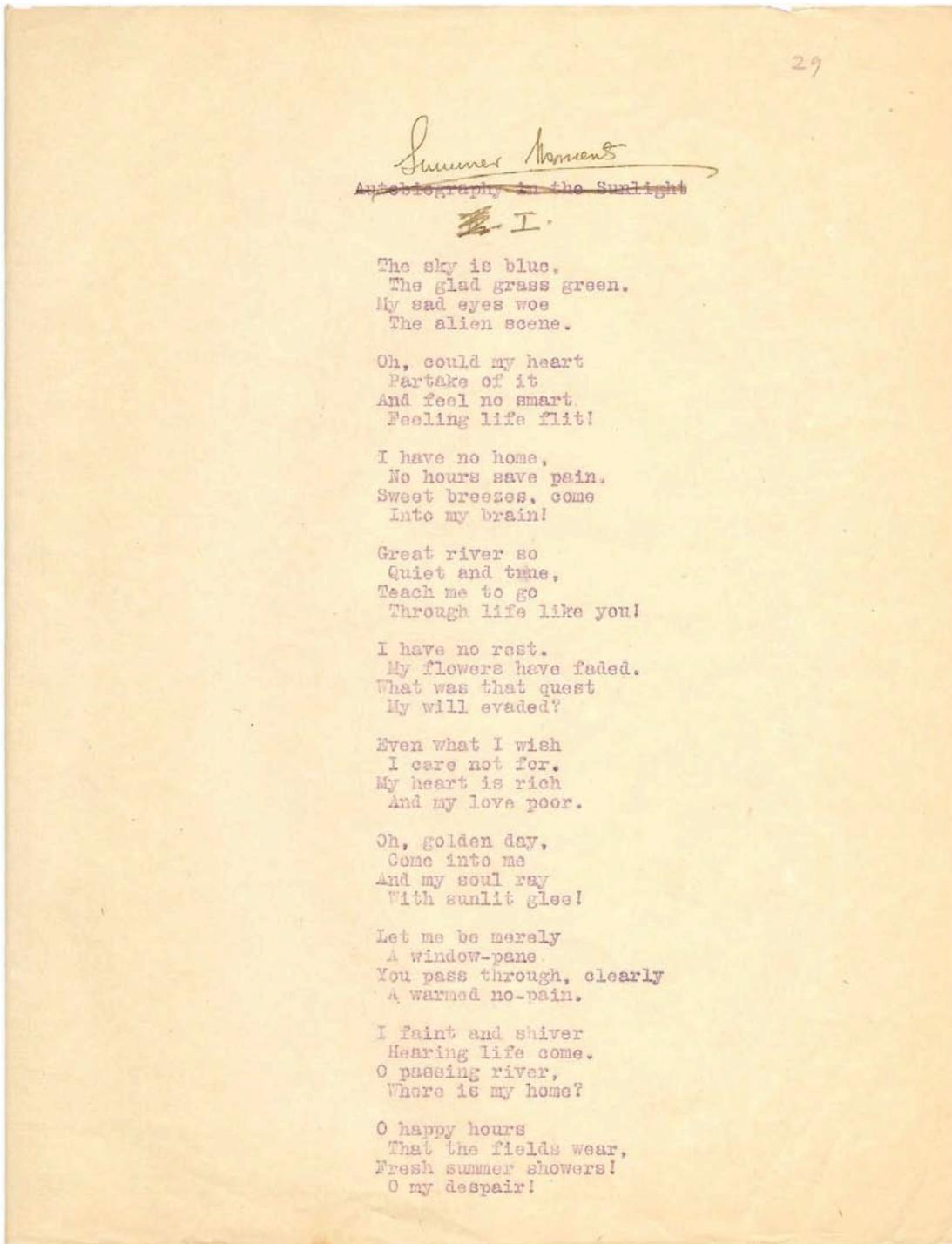


Fig. 3. Typescript of "Summer Moments." Page numbered "29."  
 Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

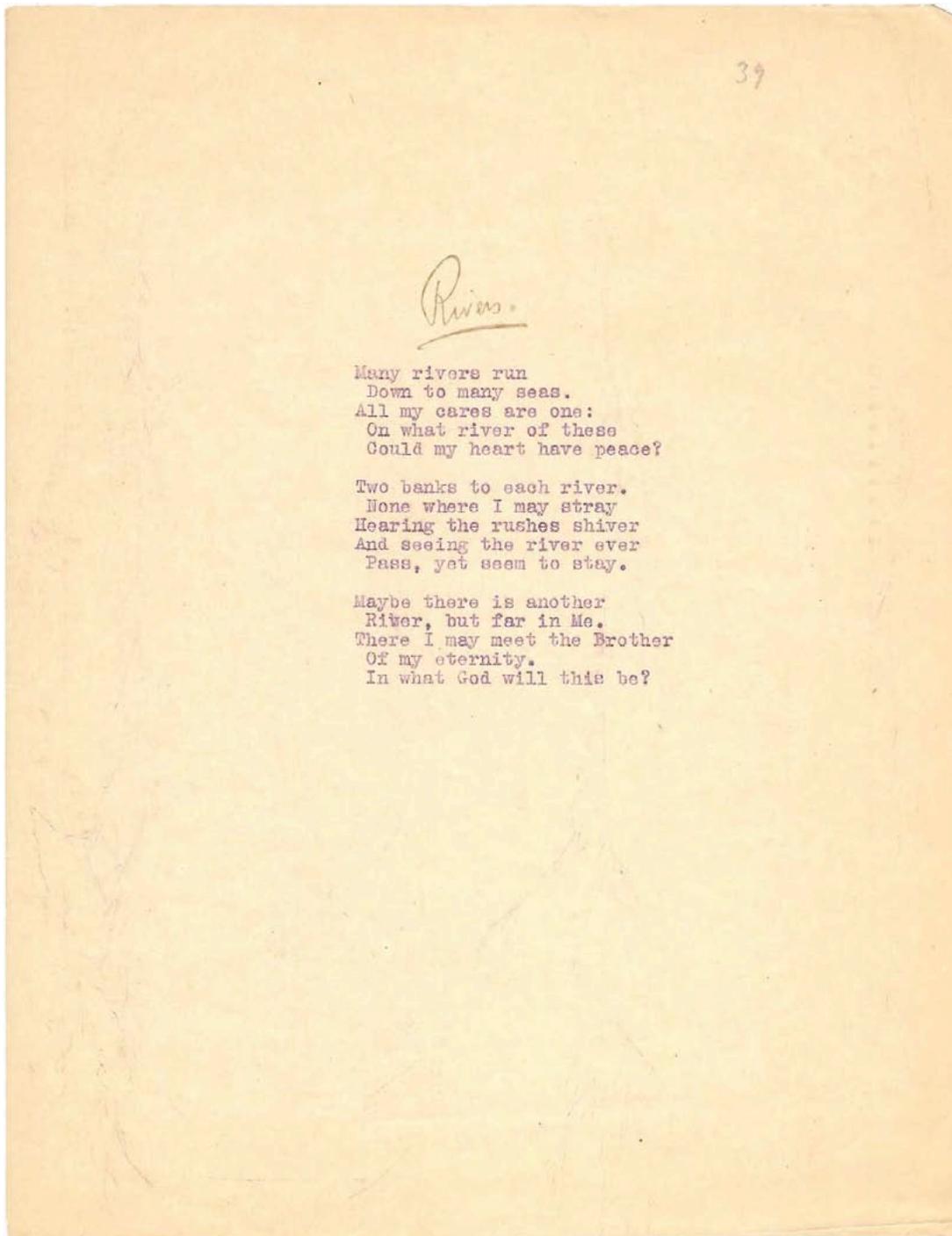


Fig. 4. Typescript of "Rivers." Page numbered "39."  
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

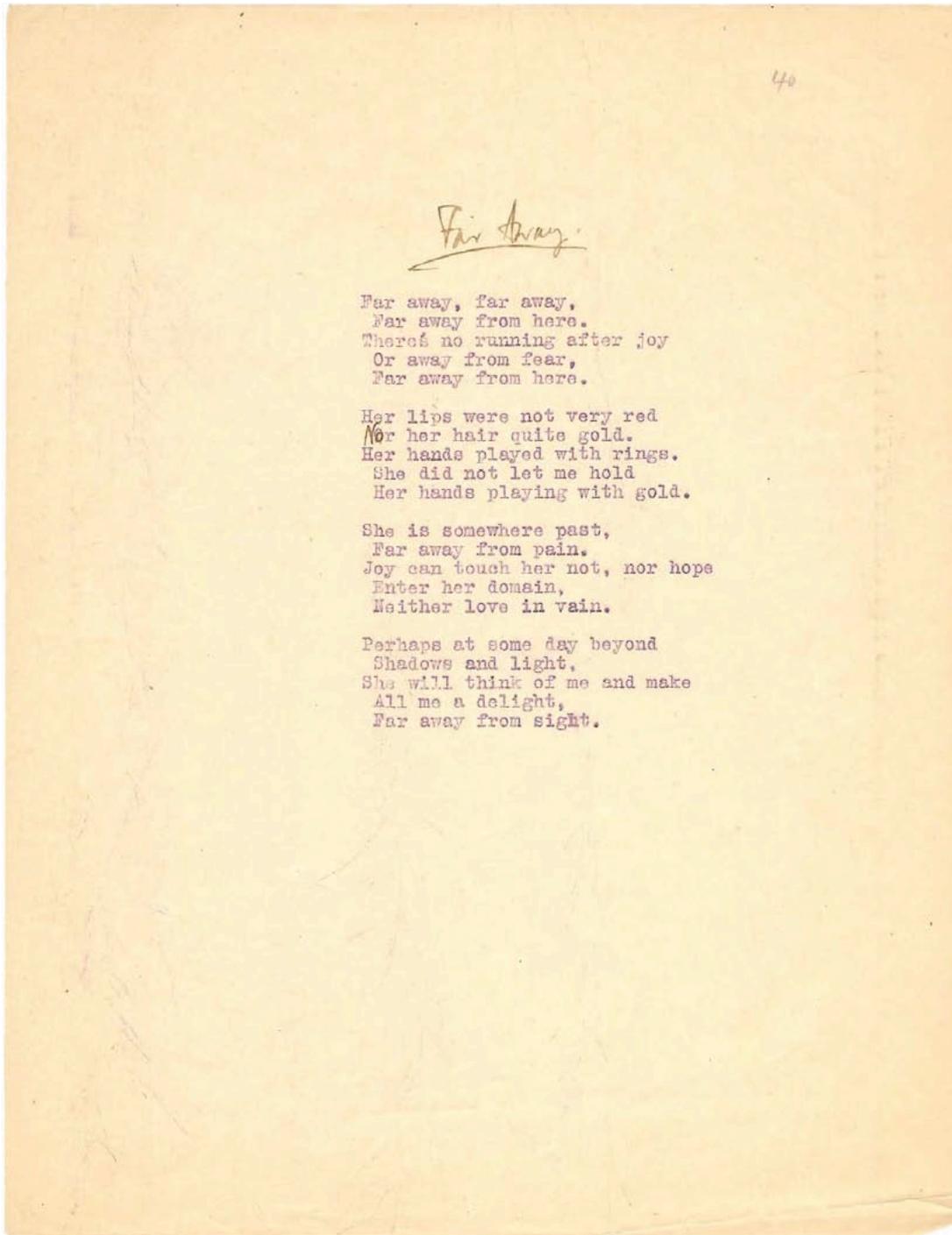


Fig. 5. Typescript of "Far Away." Page numbered "40."  
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

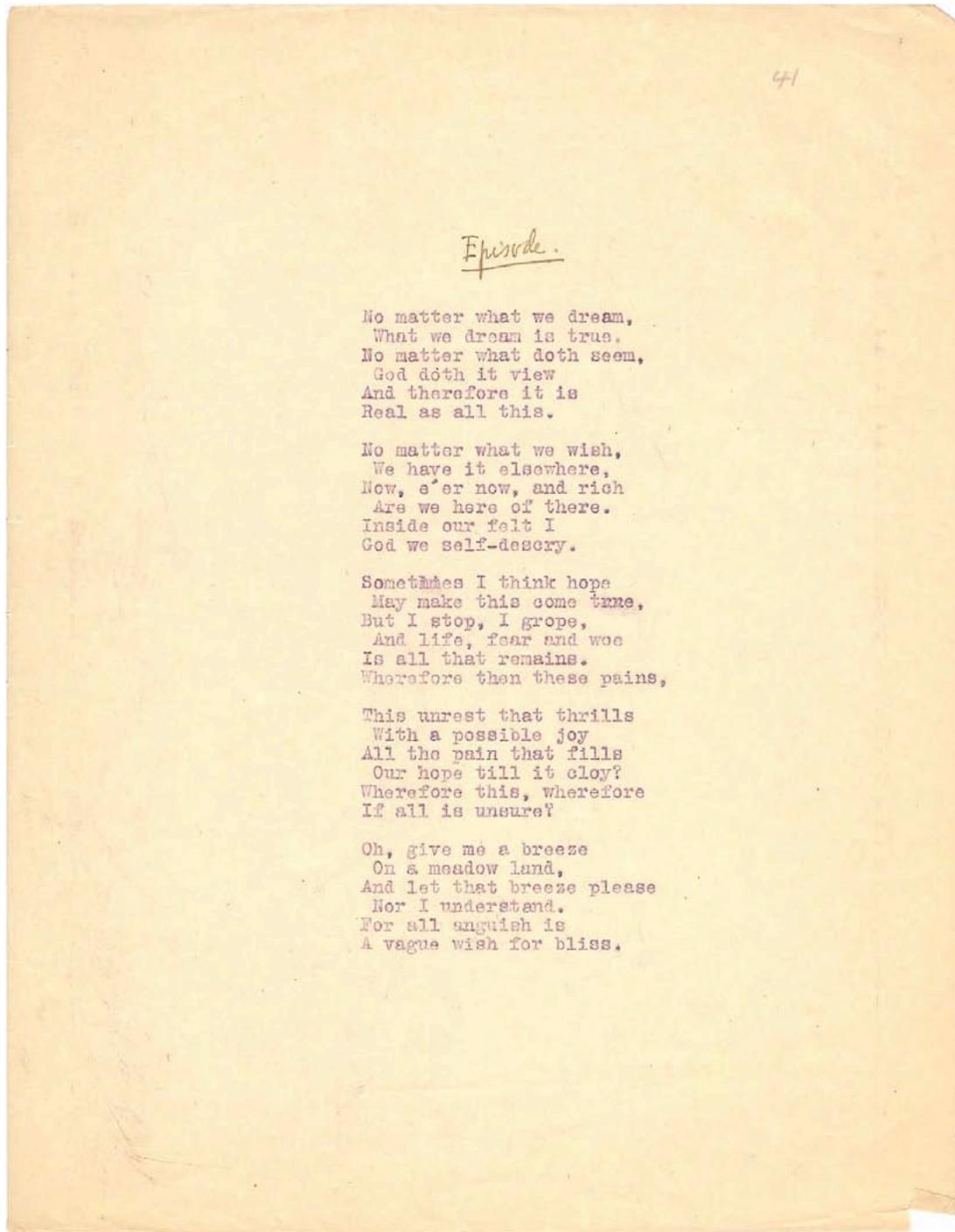


Fig. 6. Typescript of "Episode." Page numbered "41."  
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

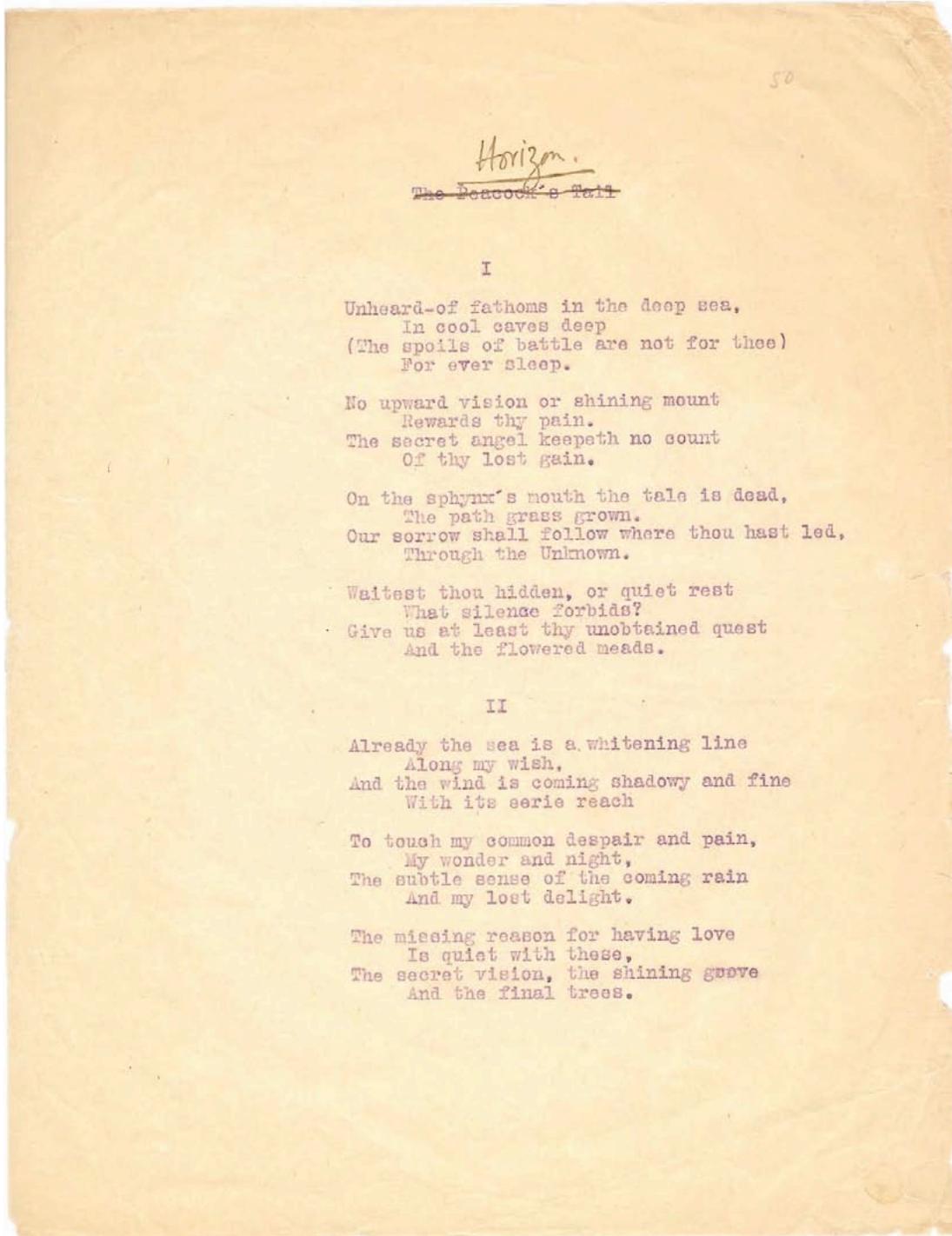


Fig. 7. Typescript of "Horizon." Page numbered "50."  
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

In this typescript, aside from a handful of corrections, there are almost no changes to the text of the poems themselves. In "Emptiness," the word "deeper" in line 9 has been crossed off and two variants above it, both crossed out and hardly legible ("harder" and "emptier"), with a third variant ("vaguer") penned in the margin in ink. In the poem "Isis," the word "confluence" has been corrected in line 8, and the word "Outside" (that opens line 9) has been crossed off, with two variants: "Beside," above it, and "Beyond," underneath it.

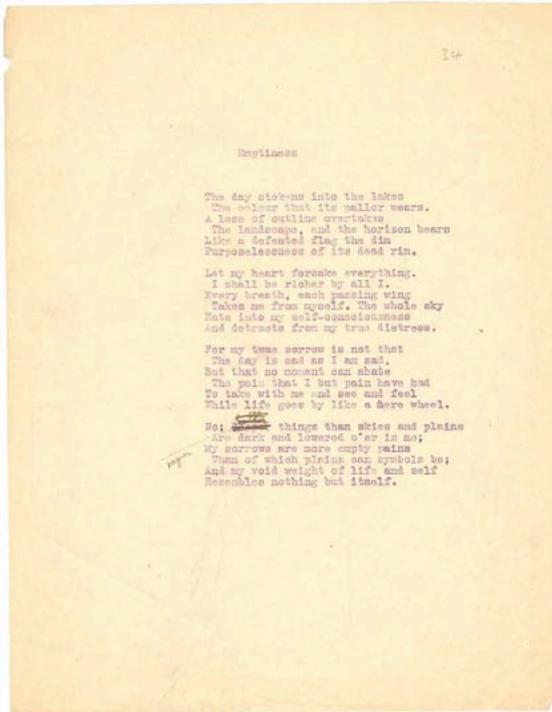


Fig. 8. Typescript of "Emptiness." Page numbered "34."

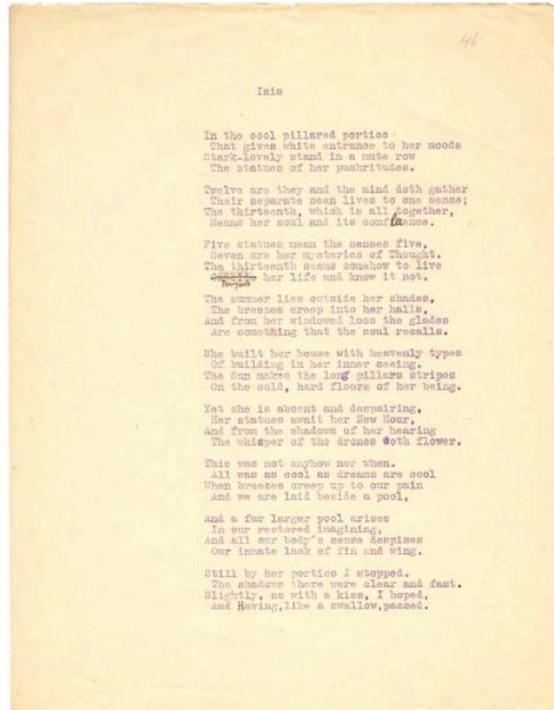


Fig. 9. Typescript of "Isis." Page numbered "46."

Both in Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

The Nogueira typescript shows that Pessoa continued to make alterations to the titles of poems, while arranging them, perhaps for the first time, from individual typed copies into a definitive sequence of numbered pages. If we examine two lists of contents from the Pessoa archive numbered (BNP / E3, 31A-1 and 31A-2) (cf. Figs. 10-12), we find that "Emptiness" has a previous title, "The Empty Box," and that the fourth section of the work carries the title "Four Songs," rather than "Four Sorrows." None of the four poems in that section has been assigned a title (cf. Fig. 10). The poem "The Hours" was previously titled "The Hours are Weary..."; "Song" was initially titled "Hope" and then "The Bridge"; and "The Bridge," before carrying the title of "The Interval," had been "Loophole" (cf. Figs. 11-12). One may thus conclude that, on the basis of the titles listed in the Nogueira index, the typescript was compiled after the two lists of incomplete titles in (BNP / E3, 31A-1 and 31A-2).

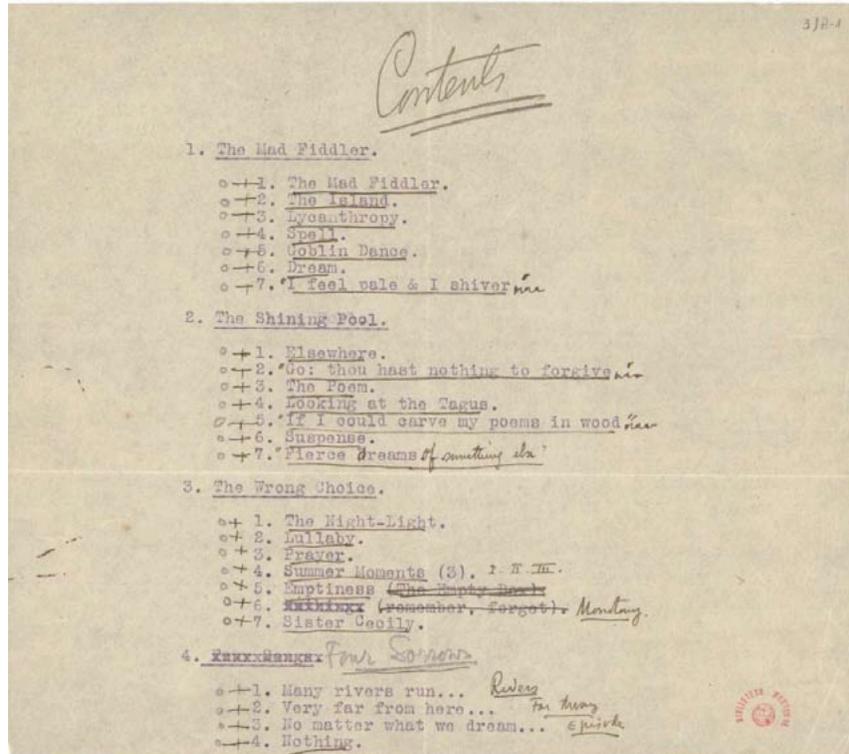


Fig. 10. Typscript of first page of the "Contents" of "The Mad Fiddler." (BNP / E3, 31A-1r)

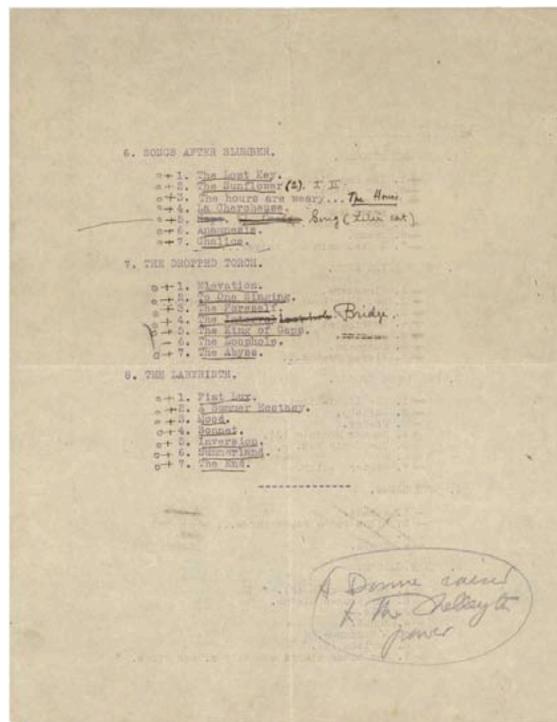
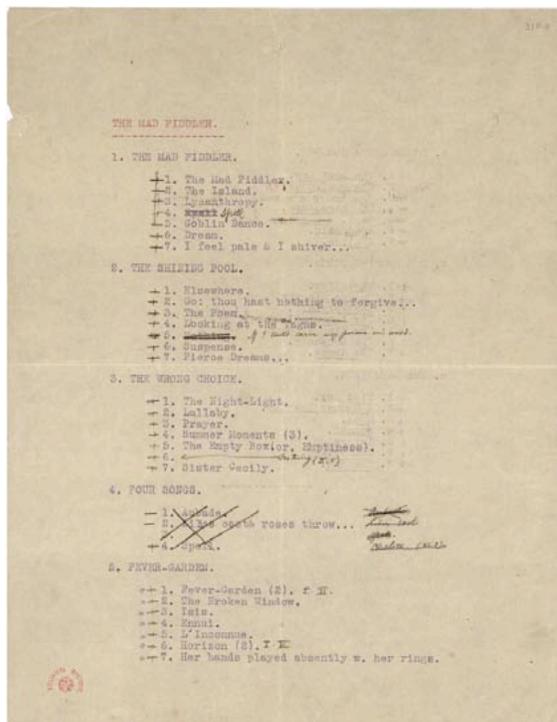


Fig. 11. Typscript of different first page of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."

Fig. 12. Verso of previous page of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."

(BNP / E3, 31A-2r & 31A-2v)

The importance of the Nogueira typescript is that it is identical to the typescript in the Pessoa archive numbered 31 (which is an electrostatic copy on darker paper). Not only small errors in the Nogueira pages—but even small unevenness in the type and darker impressions—have been carried over to typescript 31. The latter is an exact copy of the Nogueira pages, to which a different title page has been added, and the page numbers have been typed onto the copies.

2 31-2

53 *for*

CONTENTS

I. THE MAD FIDDLER.

— The Mad Fiddler ..... ✓

— The Island ..... ✓

— Lycanthropy ..... ✓

— Spell ..... ✓

— Goblin Dance ..... ✓

— Dream ..... ✓

— "I feel pale and I shiver" ..... ✓

II. THE SHINING POOL.

— Elsewhere ..... ✓

— "Go: thou hast nothing to forgive" .. ✓

— The Poem ..... ✓

— Looking at the Tagus ..... ✓

— "If I could carve my poems in wood" .. ✓

— Suspense ..... ✓

— "Fierce dreams of something else" .. ✓

III. THE WRONG CHOICE.

— The Night-Light ..... ✓

— Lullaby ..... ✓

— Summer Moments: I. .... ✓

II. .... ✓

III. .... ✓

— Emptiness ..... ✓

— Monotony ..... ✓

— Sister Cecily ..... ✓

IV. FOUR SORROWS.

— *Meantime* — Rivers ..... ✓

— (Far Away) ..... ✓

— Episode ..... ✓

— Nothing ..... ✓

V. FEVER-GARDEN.

— Fever-Garden: I. .... ✓

II. .... ✓

— The Broken Window ..... ✓

— Isis ..... ✓

Fig. 13. Typescript of "Contents" of "The Mad Fiddler."  
(BNP / E3, 31-2)



It is possible that the clean Nogueira typescript is what Pessoa sent to Constable and Company in London, which was returned to him after their rejection. In the introduction to the critical edition (PESSOA, 1999), the editors comment on the bilingual publication of *O Louco Rabequista* by José Blanc de Portugal in 1988, in which Blanc explained that the edition had been based on sheets provided to him by Pessoa's family in 1964 or 1965, which he then returned. In 1997 he added in a comment to the editors of the critical edition that he had seen, in Pessoa's trunk, an envelope of clean typed sheets, unsigned, without anything added, along with a typed letter of rejection from Constable & Company (PESSOA, 1999: 8). The 49 sheets now available for analysis may well belong to the set of poems seen by Blanc de Portugal in the 1960s. A note in José Galvão's *Fontes Impresas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*, following the first publication of the poem "The Sunflower," attests to the involvement of the family in providing materials: "Nota – Estes dois poemas inéditos ingleses foram cedidos amavelmente pelo coronel Francisco Caetano Dias, cunhado de Fernando Pessoa, que os retirou do fundo do famoso BAÚ" (GALVÃO, 1968: 113) ["Note: These two unpublished poems by Fernando Pessoa were kindly given to me by Pessoa's brother-in-law, colonel Francisco Caetano Dias, who took them out of the famous trunk"].

[Annex I]

The title page and list of contents of the Nogueira typescript are reproduced below:

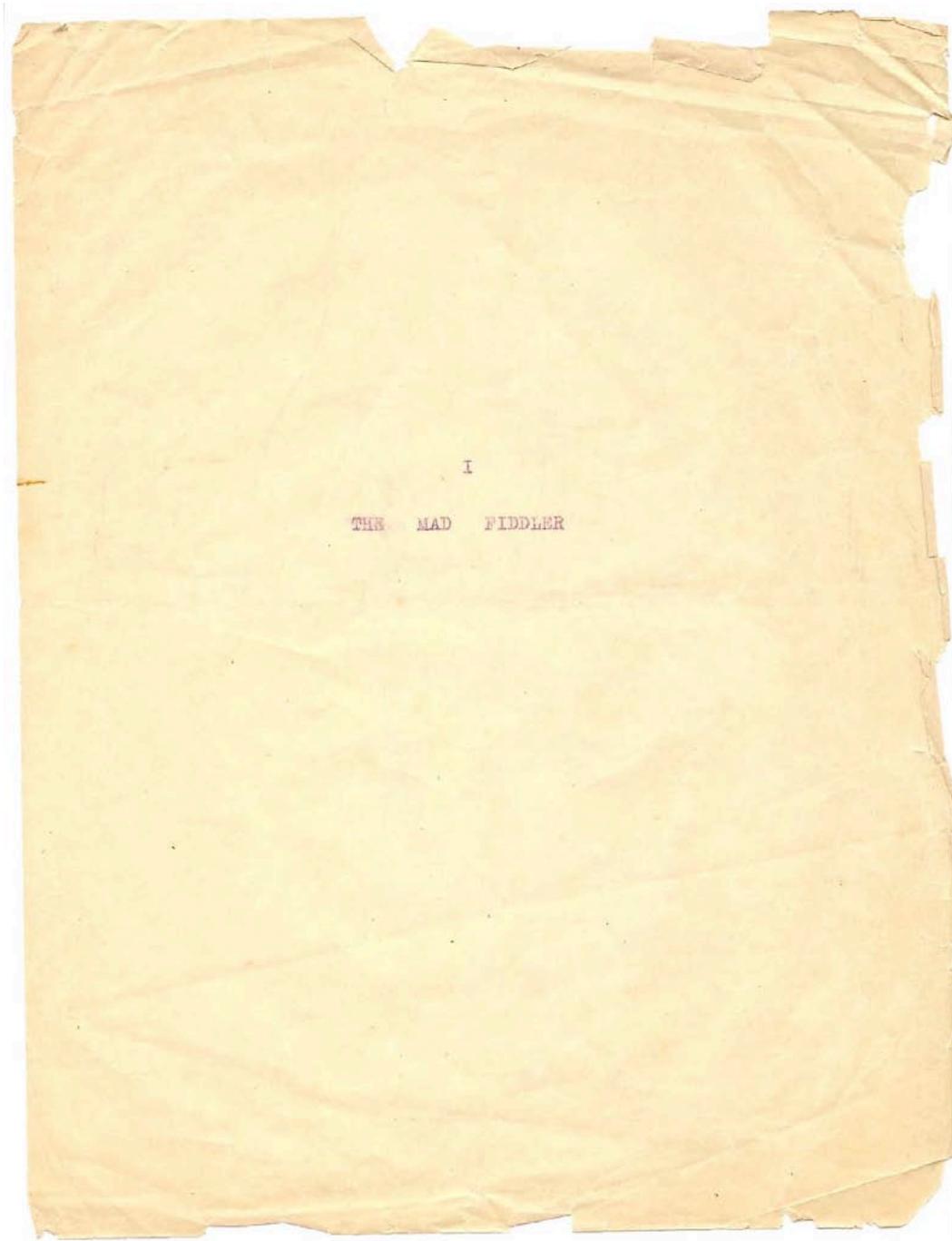


Fig. 15. Typescript of front of "The Mad Fiddler." Page unnumbered.  
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

2

CONTENTS

I. THE MAD FIDDLER.

The Mad Fiddler .....

The Island .....

Lycanthropy .....

Spell .....

Goblin Dance .....

Dream .....

"I feel pale and I shiver" .....

II. THE SHINING POOL.

Elsewhere .....

"Go: thou hast nothing to forgive" ..

The Poem .....

Looking at the Tagus .....

"If I could carve my poems in wood" ..

Suspense .....

"Pierce dreams of something else" ..

III. THE WRONG CHOICE.

The Night-Light .....

Lullaby .....

Summer Moments: I. ....

II. ....

III. ....

Emptiness .....

Monotony .....

Sister Cecily .....

IV. FOUR BORROWS.

Rivers .....

Far Away .....

Episode .....

Nothing .....

V. FEVER-GARDEN.

Fever-Garden: I. ....

II. ....

The Broken Window .....

Isis .....

O único q' h' jurm ←  
 Nos poemas inflezes q'  
 publicados? EA.

Fig. 16. Typescript of first page of two of the table of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."

Page numbered "2." Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

Note: The commentary in Portuguese written in black ink regarding the poem "Spell" is not in Pessoa's hand.

## Bibliography

- GALVÃO, José (1968). *Fontes Impressas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon: Gráfico Santelmo.
- PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- \_\_\_\_ (1988). *O Louco Rabequista*. Translated by José Blanc de Portugal. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: Editorial Presença.

# “The Student of Salamanca” an English translation

Nicolás Barbosa López\*

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, El estudiante de Salamanca, translation, Alexander Search.

## Abstract

Fernando Pessoa planned and wrote –almost to its entirety– an English translation of “El estudiante de Salamanca,” a poem written by Spanish author José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842). This article introduces the first full transcription and publication of the translation, an annex of transcribed documents related to this project (Pessoa’s editorial plans, to-do lists, and observations about the poem), a full genetic annotation of all transcriptions, and images of the entire selection of manuscripts.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, El estudiante de Salamanca, tradução, Alexander Search.

## Resumo

Fernando Pessoa planeou e escreveu –quase na sua totalidade– uma tradução para o inglês de “El estudiante de Salamanca”, poema escrito pelo autor espanhol José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842). Este artigo apresenta a primeira transcrição e publicação completas da tradução, um anexo de documentos transcritos relacionados ao projeto (planos editoriais de Pessoa, listas de tarefas e observações sobre o poema), todas as notas genéticas das transcrições e as imagens da seleção inteira de manuscritos.

Fernando Pessoa planned and executed –almost to its entirety– an English translation of “El estudiante de Salamanca,” a poem written by Spanish author José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842) and first published in the anthology *Poesías de don José de Espronceda* (Madrid: Imprenta de Yemes, 1840). The following presentation includes the first full transcription and publication of the translation, an annex of transcribed documents related to this project (Pessoa’s editorial plans, to-do lists, and observations about the poem), a full genetic annotation of all transcriptions, and fac-similes of the entire selection of manuscripts.

At the outset I wish to lay out a few parameters of the transcription process, some technical aspects of Pessoa’s translation, and critical elements of the context in which he wrote it. Overall, and based on the information that is available so far, we know that the Portuguese author managed to translate more than 90 per cent of the poem, and only slightly less than 150 verses are missing from the total 1,704. Most of these missing verses belong to the second, third, and fourth parts of the poem, leaving the first part as the only complete section of the translation. The scope of this transcription focused on almost 30 different folders previously identified by Patricio Ferrari, with the collaboration of Jerónimo Pizarro, and altogether, these folders contained the nearly 200 manuscripts that were reviewed, classified, and reorganized. Most of the translation, with a few isolated cases, was located in three folders –(BNP / E3, 74, 74A, and 74B)–, while other related documents were scattered throughout the rest of the selection. Due to the fragmentation of the manuscripts, a benchmark edition was needed in order to identify and reorganize the translated verses. Although Pessoa did not leave any kind of verse numbering, in a few manuscripts he did write the corresponding page numbers of his own Spanish edition: *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda* (Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1876). To ensure that the transcription would not reproduce any potential mistakes this edition may have had, a comparative reading was also done with the Instituto Cervantes’ digital version, which, in turn, is the result of a comparative transcription of the 1840 edition and Benito Varela Jácome’s critical edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979). In no way does this mean our work is complete. Not only could the translation of missing fragments still be found in other folders –or in apparently unrelated sections of Pessoa’s archive–, but also related documents or even more variants of extant passages.

Initially, Pessoa attributed the translation to Alexander Search, his only fictional author ever to write in English, French, and Portuguese. The acknowledgment appears below the title in the first page of Part I (see (BNP / E3, 74A-64) and also in two manuscripts that correspond to variants of verses in Parts I and II (see BNP / E3, 79-45 and 74A-91). In 1908 Charles James Search inherited some of his brother Alexander Search’s work, including this translation (see *Eu Sou Uma Antologia*, Lisboa: Tinta-da-china, 2013, p. 285 and *Un libro muy original*, Medellín: Tragaluz, 2014, p. 181). By the decade of 1920, however, the project was

no longer attributed to the Searches, but to Pessoa himself, as seen in the editorial plans of *Olisipo* (see BNP / E3, 137-124). Some disagreement persists about the possible authorship of Herr Prosit, the protagonist of Alexander Search's short story "A Very Original Dinner." As seen in the beginning of Part II, the appearance of this name right below the word "Translation" could indicate that, at some point, Pessoa envisioned him as the translator of the second part, yet this lacks further support. Not only are there mentions of Search in the same part allegedly attributed to Prosit, but the latter is nowhere to be found as a translator in any editorial lists, diary entries, or documents outside the world of "A Very Original Dinner."

Although no exact record of the date when Pessoa first encountered Espronceda's poetry has been found (nor an exact date when he began reading this poem), it is possible to estimate that his contact with this poet's work must have happened either in 1905, the last year of his time in Durban, South Africa, or right after his return to Portugal. This conclusion is based on the dating of Pessoa's earliest mention of "El estudiante de Salamanca," a 1906 reading list (see annex BNP / E3, 144N-14), and on his subsequent lists of editorial projects that mention an English version, the earliest of which dates back to *circa* 1906 (see annex BNP / E3, 48B-129). We can conclude that Pessoa began the translation shortly after finishing his reading, already with a future publication in mind. According to a diary entry of May 1907, we know that by the 9<sup>th</sup> he had "[a]lmost finished" the translation of the poem's first part (see annex BNP / E3, 28A-1). In total, Pessoa's translation appears in 19 lists extant in his archive, the latest of which dates back to *circa* 1931 (see annex BNP / E3, 167-181), indicating that for a period of at least 24 years he worked on or made plans regarding this project. In fact, 18 of these entries place "The Student of Salamanca" on either to-do lists of readings and writing, editorial lists of original English works, English translations (mostly of Portuguese literature), Portuguese translations of English literature, and poetry volumes that were to be published, plus another entry of potential screenplays for films.

These lists reveal the importance of this translation within the universe of Pessoa's writings as well as the context in which it was done. In the first place, unlike most of the projects that Pessoa ever included in his editorial lists, this translation was actually carried through near completion. Given the vast number of titles (stories, translations, and anthologies) left in the archive without ever being finished or even started, the translation of "El estudiante de Salamanca" stands out as one. This translation made part of a prospective publication of several poetry books in English, with such priority that it was meant to precede even Pessoa's own poetry attributed to Alexander Search: "The first book of poems to be published is the translation of Espronceda" (see annex BNP / E3, 78B-63). Interestingly, Pessoa envisioned Search's literary debut as translator rather than poet. In general, we also see how this project, inscribed within a series of similar

publications, reflects the Portuguese author's penchant toward translation: he had Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese projects such as the translation of Luís de Camões' sonnets, Edgar Allan Poe's poems, and Oscar Wilde's poems (see annex 133M-96), and Anthero de Quental's sonnets (see annexes BNP / E3, 144D-7 and 144E-8).

The context of literary influences in which Pessoa worked on his translation is also visible in these lists and diary entries. We can see that, for instance, during the days of May 1907 in which Pessoa claims to have worked on the first part of the poem, he also read novels and poetry in French, English, and Portuguese: Jacques Cazotte's *Le Diable amoureux*, Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, Eça de Queirós' *O Crime do Padre Amaro*, and Guerra Junqueiro's poem "A Morte de D. João" (see annex BNP / E3, 28A-1). This diary entry also reveals that only days after attempting to finish the first part of the poem, he was also working on "A Very Original Dinner," a parallelism that is also registered in a to-do list of 3 September 1907 (see annex BNP / E3, 133F-53), thus corroborating Alexander Search's predominance as the Pessoaan fictional author of that period.

Regarding the translation process itself, the dating of diary entries and manuscripts tells us that it took place between 1907 (as previously indicated) until approximately 1910. Besides being the only complete translation, the first part of the poem has a consistent handwriting, typical of Alexander Search, and is also the cleanest version in the sense that it was not written on torn paper or pieces of envelopes. As it usually occurs with Pessoa's work, the text is full of modifications, alternate versions, and rewritten stanzas. Among the fragments that Pessoa rewrote more than once, two cases stand out:

'Twas more than the hour of midnight,  
As is told by ancient stories,  
When all in sleep and in silence  
Enwrapped is earth and gloomy,

(Part I, verses 1-4)

and

The night is serene and quiet  
Crown'd by the stars in distance  
Unbroken the blue of heaven  
Even as transparent lawn,

(Part II, verses 1-4)

Interestingly, both examples constitute the first four verses of each part. In the first case, Pessoa rewrote the fragment up to four times, yet he barely made any changes in each version. In fact, the only adjustment is his hesitating between the use of "is" or "lay" in the line "Enwrapped is earth and gloomy." It is surprising that these four verses are, at the same time, the ones that Pessoa rewrote the most throughout the entire poem. And yet they show almost no changes. On the other

hand, the second example shows the more typical problems of poetry translation. Pessoa rewrote the whole stanza twice remaining ambivalent about the use of several words: “distance” instead of “farness,” “heaven” instead of “heavens” or “sky,” and “Even” instead of “Like.” He also oscillates between the use of “Crown’d” (one metrical syllable) or “Crownèd” (two metrical syllables) a decision driven by meter. The fact that the most rewritten fragments in the poem are initial verses could reveal Pessoa’s fixation with achieving strong openings, perhaps as an appeal to future readers or simply because he understood how his initial choices of rhythm and lexicon would determine subsequent decisions throughout the translation process (if we assume he wrote these verses before translating other stanzas of each part).

Despite the overall fragmentation, the Portuguese author left clear translated blocks of verses, that is, he appears to have mostly worked uninterruptedly through groups of stanzas rather than loose verses or even isolated stanzas. Thus in cases of multiple variants, it was not burdensome to determine which version provided a more well-rounded translation because it was possible to make a broader comparison between considerable blocks of work. Only in two cases (see Part III, verses 65 and 256) did I replace a single verse of a stanza considered more “definitive” with one found in a stanza considered a “variant”, since the former, in both cases, did not offer a translation for that specific verse. However, and as a final observation, the efforts to unify the manuscripts and present a legible translation do not ignore the fact that, in a typical Pessoaan fashion, this text does not intend to and cannot constitute the publishable version he envisioned (if such one version ever existed), but rather one of many pathways to his always elusive final draft.

\*

## El estudiante de Salamanca

The Student of Salamanca.<sup>1</sup>

José de Espronceda

Part I.

Espronceda

Translated by Alexander Search.

Parte primera

*The Student of Salamanca.*<sup>2</sup>

Part the First.

*Sus fueros, sus bríos,  
sus premáticas, su voluntad.  
Quijote.- Parte primera.*

*His titles his courage  
His parchments his own will.  
Don Quixote – Part I.*

Era más de media noche,  
antiguas historias cuentan,  
cuando en sueño y en silencio  
lóbrego envuelta la tierra,  
5 los vivos muertos parecen,  
los muertos la tumba dejan.  
Era la hora en que acaso  
temerosas voces suenan  
informes, en que se escuchan  
10 tácitas pisadas huecas,  
y pavorosas fantasmas  
entre las densas tinieblas  
vagan, y aúllan los perros  
amedrentados al verlas:  
15 En que tal vez la campana

'Twas more than the hour of midnight<sup>3</sup>  
As is told by ancient stories,  
When all in sleep and in silence  
Enwrapped is earth and gloomy,  
When the living seem but dead men  
And the dead their graves relinquish.  
It was that hour when perchance  
Terror-hushed voices formless  
Sound, and trembling ears may listen  
To still and hollow foot-falls,<sup>4</sup>  
And when waste and dreadful phantoms  
In the *ill-penetrable* darkness  
Wander vaguely, and the watch-dogs  
Mark with fearful howls their passing:  
When haply the bell unswinging

<sup>1</sup> [74A-64<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> [74A-65<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *There is a variant of this and the next three verses, entirely crossed out, in manuscript [15B<sup>3</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>]:* <'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped <is> [↑ lay] earth and gloomy.>. *The translation is inserted among notes related to different writings. The page has a crossed-out title, HISTORIANS AND PHILOSOPHERS, and after the translated verses there are other phrases under the title Psychology. There is also a note in the right margin of the stanza: Adults. A second variant includes this and the next four verses, in manuscript [79-45<sup>r</sup>]:* 'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped is earth and gloomy | When the □ || Alexander Search | Alexander Search | A. Search | A. Search. *A third almost identical variant of this and the following five verses is found in manuscript [74A-10<sup>r</sup>]:* 'Twas more than the hour of midnight | As is told by ancient stories. | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped is earth and gloomy | And the living seem but dead men | And the dead their graves relinquish. *At the end of the page, there is a signature by Alexander Search preceded by the formula Yours very truly. See note 2 regarding a fourth variant that includes these verses.*

<sup>4</sup> *Up to this verse, there is a variant in manuscript [144N-11<sup>r</sup>]:* First part | The Student of Salamanca | FIRST PART | First part | *Sus fueros sus bríos | Sus premáticas su voluntad. | DON QUIJOTE – First Part* || 'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped <lay> [↑ is] earth, and gloomy, | When the living seems but dead men | And the dead their graves relinquish. | It was the hour when perchance | Terror-hushed voices formless | Sound, and trembling ears may listen | To still and hollow footfalls, [↓ Other \*v[erses] here continued]

<p>de alguna arruinada iglesia da misteriosos sonidos de maldición y anatema, que los sábados convoca 20 a las brujas a su fiesta. El cielo estaba sombrío, no vislumbra una estrella, silbaba lúgubre el viento, y allá en el aire, cual negras 25 fantasmas, se dibujaban las torres de las iglesias, y del gótico castillo las altísimas almenas, donde canta o reza acaso 30 temeroso el centinela. Todo en fin a media noche reposaba, y tumba era de sus dormidos vivientes la antigua ciudad que riega 35 el Tormes, fecundo río, nombrado de los poetas, la famosa Salamanca, insigne en armas y letras, patria de ilustres varones, 40 noble archivo de las ciencias. Súbito rumor de espadas cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó; un ay moribundo, un ay que penetra el corazón, 45 que hasta los tuétanos hiela y da al que lo oyó temblor. Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo pronuncia el último adiós.</p>	<p>Within some ruined church-belfry Yieldeth full mysterious soundings Of curse and of malediction,<sup>12</sup> That on Saturdays<sup>3</sup> doth summon The witches to their dread feast. The sky was unfair and gloomed, And not a star woke its shrouding, The wind howlèd drearily And in the air<sup>4</sup> like phantoms Blackly in the night upjuttèd Solemnly lovely church-towers, And of the ancient Gothic castle The highly-built battlements, Where haply singeth or prayeth In his cumbrous fear the sentry. In fire, at the hour of midnight<sup>5</sup> All rested, and of its living Lock'd in their slumber was tomb that Ancient city by whose walls Rolleth Tormès, fruitful river In poetic love remembered, Widely-famèd Salamanca, Renowned in arms and in letters, Mother of illustrious men, Of sciences noble storehouse. Suddenly of swords the dashing Soundeth, and a moan is heard;<sup>6</sup> A moan of death-toil, a moan That pierceth unto the heart, That unto the marrow chilleth And makes tremble him that heard it, The moan of one that is giving To the world his last farewell.</p>
<p>50 El ruido cesó, un hombre pasó embozado, y el sombrero 55 recatado a los ojos se caló.</p>	<p>The sound Is done, A man Pass'd on Cloak'd full, And his hat Careful Drew his eyes Upon.</p>

<sup>1</sup> /Of curse and of malediction,/

<sup>2</sup> [74A-66r]: See Fig. 3. E – I – 2 ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>3</sup> /Saturdays/

<sup>4</sup> /yonder in air/ [↑ in the /mute/ aire]

<sup>5</sup> /In fire, at the hour of midnight/

<sup>6</sup> [74A-67r]: See Fig. 4. E – I – 3. ] Indication in upper right corner.

60	Se desliza y atraviesa junto al muro de una iglesia y en la sombra se perdió.	He glideth Close-press'd 'Gainst the wall Of a church, And in shadow Is gone.
65	Una calle estrecha y alta, la calle del Ataúd cual si de negro crespón lóbrego eterno capuz la vistiera, siempre oscura y de noche sin más luz	A narrow street and high-stretching, <sup>1</sup> <i>La calle del Ataúd,</i> <sup>2</sup> As if of black crape the blackest A gloomy eternal hood Covered it, always in darkness And at night not lighted more
70	que la lámpara que alumbra una imagen de Jesús, atraviesa el embozado la espada en la mano aún, que lanzó vivo reflejo	Than by the lamp that illumines <sup>3</sup> Of Jesus an image small, The maskèd wanderer doth traverse Holding yet in hand his sword Which threw back a sudden lightning
75	al pasar frente a la cruz.	In passing before the cross.
	Cual suele la luna tras lóbrega nube con franjas de plata bordarla en redor, y luego si el viento la agita, la sube disuelta a los aires en blanco vapor:	As hiding the moon when a cloud all of blackness With lining of silver's embroidered around <sup>4</sup> . And when the void stirs it 'tis torn into darkness And lo! to white vapour in air 'tis unbound:
80	Así vaga sombra de luz y de nieblas, mística y aérea dudosa visión, ya brilla, o la esconden las densas tinieblas cual dulce esperanza, cual vana ilusión.	E'en so, a vague phantom of dark and of lightness, A doubtful and airy, weird vision doth gleam A moment, then hide it the clouds in their nightness Too like sweet hope or a joy that did seem;
85	La calle sombría, la noche ya entrada, la lámpara triste ya pronta a expirar, que a veces alumbra la imagen sagrada y a veces se esconde la sombra a aumentar.	The street all in darkness, the night came already, The lamplet with sadness whose flame is now spent, At times that upflaming the image lights steady <sup>5</sup> Then shrinketh <sup>6</sup> and hideth the night to augment.
90	El vago fantasma que acaso aparece, y acaso se acerca con rápido pie, y acaso en las sombras tal vez desaparece, cual ánima en pena del hombre que fue,	The nightly, vague phantom awhile that appeareth, And then with a rapid dead footstep comes on, And then in the darkness awhile disappeareth Like the pining shadow of one who is gone, <sup>7</sup>
	al más temerario corazón de acero recolo inspirara, pusiera pavor;	The spirit the boldest of steel to withstand it Had shrunk into caution, had stricken with fear,

<sup>1</sup> [74A-68<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 5. E – I – 4. ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>2</sup> [← 'Lit. Coffin Street.] Apparently Pessoa intended to include this as a note of the translation. Illegible word scratched beneath.

<sup>3</sup> /illumines/

<sup>4</sup> /around/

<sup>5</sup> [74A-69<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 6. E – I – 5. ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>6</sup> shinketh ] Word originally written but nonexistent, therefore corrected.

<sup>7</sup> /,/

95	al más maldiciente feroz bandolero el rezo a los labios trajera el temor.	The fiercest, most cursing and blasphemous bandit Had felt with its terror his lips find a prayer.
	Mas no al embozado, que aún sangre su espada destila, el fantasma terror infundió, y, el arma en la mano con fuerza empuñada, osado a su encuentro despacio avanzó.	But not to the masked one, whose sword though yet dripping Hot blood, did the phantom inspire fear or dread, But the weapon in hand with a strong firmness gripping, With boldness to meet it and slow did he tread.
100	Segundo don Juan Tenorio, alma fiera e insolente, irreligioso y valiente, altanero y reñidor: Siempre el insulto en los ojos,	Don Juan Tenorio the Second, A proud and insolent spirit, Impious, in courage his merit, Quarrelsome in deed and word, Always insult in his glances,
105	en los labios la ironía, nada teme y toda fía de su espada y su valor.	His lips e'er irony bearing. Fearing nought, all things referring To his valour and his sword. <sup>1</sup>
	Corazón gastado, mofa de la mujer que corteja, y, hoy despreciándola, deja la que ayer se le rindió. Ni el porvenir temió nunca, ni recuerda en lo pasado la mujer que ha abandonado,	A corrupted soul that sneereth At one he courts, as if prizing, He leaveth, to-day despising, Her who was his yesterday. Never a fear for the future, Nor from the past ever sadden'd By thoughts of her woman <sup>2</sup> he abandoned Nor of money gambled away <sup>3</sup> .
110	ni el dinero que perdió.	
	Ni vio el fantasma entre sueños del que mató en desafío, ni turbó jamás su brio recelosa previsión.	Ne'er in dreams he saw the phantom Of him in duel his victim, Nor fearful care to afflict him. His fearlessness ever woke.
120	Siempre en lances y en amores, siempre en báquicas orgías, mezcla en palabras impías un chiste y una maldición.	Always in gambles, in lovings, Always in bacchical orgies, Impiously speaking <sup>4</sup> he merges A blasphemy in a joke.
	En Salamanca famoso por su vida y buen talante, al atrevido estudiante le señalan entre mil; fuero le da su osadía, le disculpa su riqueza,	Famous in all Salamanca <sup>5</sup> For his beauty and life imprudent, As the bold, the fearless student Among a thousand he's known; To all his boldness entitles, And for all his wealth, his nature <sup>1</sup>
125		

<sup>1</sup> [74A-69a']: See Fig. 7. E – I – 6. ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>2</sup> [↑woman]

<sup>3</sup> lost at play [↑gambled away]

<sup>4</sup> In impious speaking [↑Impiously speaking]

<sup>5</sup> This and the next verse have a variant on manuscript [133N-20°]: Famous in all Salamanca | For his life and his good fashion

- 130 su generosa nobleza,  
su hermosura varonil.
- Que en su arrogancia y sus vicios,  
caballescra apostura,  
agilidad y bravura
- 135 ninguno alcanza a igualar:  
Que hasta en sus crímenes mismos,  
en su impiedad y altiveza,  
pone un sello de grandeza  
don Félix de Montemar.
- 140 Bella y más segura que el azul del cielo  
con dulces ojos lánguidos y hermosos,  
donde acaso el amor brilló entre el velo  
del pudor que los cubre candorosos;  
tímida estrella que refleja al suelo
- 145 rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos,  
ángel puro de amor que amor inspira,  
fue la inocente y desdichada Elvira.
- Elvira, amor del estudiante un día,  
tierna y feliz y de su amante ufana,
- 150 cuando al placer su corazón se abría,  
como el rayo del sol rosa temprana;  
del fingido amador que la mentía,  
la miel falaz que de sus labios mana  
bebe en su ardiente sed, el pecho ajeno
- 155 de que oculto en la miel hierve el veneno.
- Que no descansa de su madre en brazos  
más descuidado el candoroso infante,  
que ella en los falsos lisonjeros lazos  
que teje astuto el seductor amante:
- 160 Dulces caricias, lánguidos abrazos,  
placeres ¡ay! que duran un instante,  
que habrán de ser eternos imagina
- Of noble, generous feature,  
And manly beauty ature<sup>2</sup>.
- Than whom in arrogance and vices  
And hearing noble and knightly,  
Courage and grace none more<sup>3</sup> brightly  
Can shine or equal by far:  
For in his crimes very blackest,  
Haughtiness and impious candour  
Yet doth set a seal of grandeur  
Don Felix de Montemar.
- Beautiful, purer than the sky's pure blue  
With sweet and languid eyes tenderly bright  
Where haply love hath shone the soft veil through  
Of modesty that hides their soul's delight,  
A timid star that doth reflect unto  
The earth brilliant and doubtful rays of light,  
Love's angel pure, love to inspire unsated<sup>4</sup>  
Such was Elvira innocent, ill-fated.
- Elvira, that was once the student's love,  
Happy and proud in her love's tender glows,  
When first her heart did open<sup>5</sup>, when love did move,  
As to the sun's warm ray the timely use,<sup>6</sup>  
Of the false lover who such sweetness wove  
She the false honey from his lips that flows  
Gulps in her ardent thirst, her breast unthinking  
That poison hid in honey she is drinking.
- Not more serenely in its mother's arms<sup>7</sup>  
The tender infant doth its rest receive<sup>8</sup>  
Than she in the false net and full of charms  
Her knowing lover amusingly doth weave  
Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms,  
Pleasures – alas! – which but a moment live  
Elvira thinks eternally will shine

<sup>1</sup> [74A-68a']: See Fig. 8. E – I – 7. ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>2</sup> ature ] Although nonexistent in English, the word probably refers to the Portuguese *aturar*, which means to tolerate or bear.

<sup>3</sup> so [↑more]

<sup>4</sup> |unsated|

<sup>5</sup> <hope>[↑open]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-67a']: See Fig. 9. E – I – 8 ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>7</sup> This and the next four verses have a variant on manuscript [74A-71<sup>r</sup>], which is torn in upper and right sides: □ mother's arms | The tender infant doth its rest receive | Than she in the false net [and] full of charms | That [↑ Her] □ lover cunningly doth weave | Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms

<sup>8</sup> There is a variant for this and the next three verses on manuscript [74A-71<sup>r</sup>]: The tender infant doth its rest receive | Than she with false net [and] full of charms | That [↑Her] □ lover amusingly doth weave | Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms

la triste Elvira en su ilusión divina.

In her illusion childlike and divine.

165 Que el alma virgen que halagó un encanto  
con nacarado sueño en su pureza,  
todo lo juzga verdadero y santo,  
presta a todo virtud, presta belleza.  
Del cielo azul al tachonado manto,  
170 del sol radiante a la inmortal riqueza,  
al aire, al campo, a las fragantes flores,  
ella añade esplendor, vida y colores.

The virgin soul a pleasure did caress  
With a sweet dream within its purity  
Weathes all about with truth and holiness,  
Thinketh in all virtue and charm to be.  
In the blue sky's immense and spangled dress,  
In the sun's deathless wealth she more doth see  
And deep in air and fields and flowers sweet-scented  
Their splendour, colour, life she sees augmented.

175 Cifró en don Félix la infeliz doncella  
toda su dicha, de su amor perdida;  
fueron sus ojos a los ojos de ella  
astros de gloria, manantial de vida.  
Cuando sus labios con sus labios sella  
cuando su voz escucha embebida,  
embriagada del dios que la enamora,  
dulce le mira, extática le adora.

All in Don Felix lays the unhappy maid  
Her happiness in love unquestioning<sup>1</sup>  
Unto her eyes his eyes that love betrayed  
Are stars of glory, life's translucid spring.  
And when his lips unto her lips are laid  
When she to his voice rapt<sup>2</sup> is listening,  
Soul-drunken of the god her heart that moves  
She eyes him sweetly and extactic loves.

---

<sup>1</sup> [74A-66a<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 10. E – I – 9. ] Indication in upper right corner.

<sup>2</sup> <w>rapt

Parte segunda  
 Student of Salamanca.<sup>1</sup>  
 Part II.  
 Translation.  
 Herr Prosit

.. *Except the hollow sea's.*  
*Mourns o'er the beauty of the Cyclades.*  
 Byron.- *Don Juan*, canto 4. LXXII.

	Era más de media noche, de luceros coronada, terso el azul de los cielos como transparente gasa.	The <sup>2</sup> night is serene and <sup>3</sup> quiet <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> Crown'd by the stars in distance <sup>6</sup> Unbroken <sup>7</sup> the blue of heaven Even as transparent lawn <sup>8</sup> ,
5	Melancólica la luna va trasmontando la espalda del otero: su alba frente tímida apenas levanta,	The moon <sup>9</sup> in her melancholy □ transposing <sup>10</sup> Of the hill: her milky front Timidly hardly she raiseth <sup>11</sup>
10	y el horizonte ilumina, pura virgen solitaria, y en su blanca luz suave el cielo y la tierra baña.	And the horizon illumines Pure and <sup>12</sup> solitary virgin And in her light white and tender <sup>13</sup> Earth and <sup>14</sup> heaven she doth bathe.
15	Deslízase el arroyuelo, fúlgida cinta de plata al resplandor de la luna, entre franjas de esmeraldas.	On runs and slowly the brooklet <sup>15</sup> A soft shiny streak of silver <sup>16</sup> To the moon's □ shining 'Tween fringes <sup>17</sup> of emerald.

<sup>1</sup> [74A-70<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> There is one crossed-out variant for this verse in manuscript [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: <The night is calm.>

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> There are two variants for this stanza. The first one is on manuscript [74A-71<sup>v</sup>]: II. || The night is serene [and] quiet, | Crownèd w[ith] the silent stars | |Unbroken| the blue of heaven | Even as transparent lawn. The second one is on manuscript [74A-85<sup>v</sup>], on whose verse Pessoa wrote p. 130 – 133, to indicate the corresponding pages of his Spanish edition. This manuscript also includes a first variant of the next two stanzas: The night is serene [and] quiet | And [→ is] crowned with the stars | □ the blue of the <skies> [↑ heavens] | Like transparent lawn. || And the melancholy moon | Is transposing □ | Of the hill □ | Timidly hardly doth raise, || And the horizon illumines | Pure and solitary virgin, | And with its white □ | □ earth and the sky.

<sup>5</sup> [74A-90<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 12. 130 – 131 – 132. ] Indication in upper right corner: probably pages of Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>6</sup> <&&> Crown'd by the stars in the farness [↓ in distance]

<sup>7</sup> [← Terso] Spanish word from Espronceda's original poem, indicating possible doubt regarding the translation.

<sup>8</sup> Like unto [↑ Even as] transparent |lawn|

<sup>9</sup> <M> The moon

<sup>10</sup> <Is in her silence> transposing

<sup>11</sup> hardly <doth> [↑ she] raiseth

<sup>12</sup> [and]

<sup>13</sup> in <its> [↑ her] light white [and] <soft> tender

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> runs <the> [↑ & slowly the] brooklet

<sup>16</sup> A [↑ soft] shiny <belt> [↑ streak] of silver

<sup>17</sup> <Be>'tween <franjás> [↑ fringes]

20	Argentadas chispas brillan entre las espesas ramas, y en el seno de las flores tal vez se aduermen las auras.	Soft sparkles <sup>1</sup> of silver are gleaming Among <sup>2</sup> the thickness of branches And in the bosom of flowers Awhile <sup>3</sup> the breezes are sleeping.
25	Tal vez despiertas susurran, y al desplegarse sus alas, mecen el blanco azahar, mueven la aromosa acacia,  y agitan ramas y flores y en perfumes se embalsaman: Tal era pura esta noche, como aquella en que sus alas	And then awakened in the <sup>4</sup> murmur <sup>5</sup> And thy <sup>6</sup> wings unfold, They <sup>7</sup> move the white orange blossom And the odorous acacia;  They hath tremble branches and <sup>8</sup> flowers And as perfumes embalm <sup>9</sup> themselves: As <sup>10</sup> pure, is this night, so holy As that upon which their wings
30	los ángeles desplegaron sobre la primera llama que amor encendió en el mundo, del Edén en la morada.	The angels □ unfolded Over the first flame That Love in □ lighted In the paradise of <sup>11</sup> Eden.
35	¡Una mujer! ¿Es acaso blanca silfa solitaria, que entre el rayo de la luna tal vez misteriosa vaga?	A woman! Is <sup>12</sup> it perchance A sylph white and <sup>13</sup> solitary That on <sup>14</sup> the ray of the moon Haply mysteriously wanders?
40	Blanco es su vestido, ondea suelto el cabello a la espalda. Hoja tras hoja las flores que lleva en su mano, arranca.	White is her dress unloose <sup>15</sup> Her hair waves up her shoulder Leaf after leaf the flowers she cometh <sup>16</sup> That she has in hand, she scatters. <sup>17</sup>
	Es su paso incierto y tardo,	[...] <sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> <Chispas> [↑ Soft sparkles]

<sup>2</sup> <Betw> Among

<sup>3</sup> <Haply> [↓ Awhile]

<sup>4</sup> Haply [↑And then] awakened thy [↓ in the]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-90<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 13.

<sup>6</sup> And <in> thy

<sup>7</sup> <Lo> They

<sup>8</sup> <And agitate> [↑ They hath tremble] branches [and]

<sup>9</sup> And [← in [↓ as] perfumes] <hath> [↑ embalm]

<sup>10</sup> /So [↑ As]/

<sup>11</sup> <□ of>

<sup>12</sup> woman <Is>! Is

<sup>13</sup> [and]

<sup>14</sup> /in [↑ on]/

<sup>15</sup> dress [→ unloose]

<sup>16</sup> [↓ The flowers she cometh]

<sup>17</sup> <That her hand † the> [↓ That she has in hand,] she <tears off> [↑ scatters]. [↑ She scatters]

<sup>18</sup> Verses 41-44 are missing.

inquietas son sus miradas,  
mágico ensueño parece  
que halaga engañoso el alma.

- 45 Ora, vedla, mira al cielo,  
ora suspira, y se para:  
Una lágrima sus ojos  
brotan acaso y abrasais
- 50 su mejilla; es una ola  
del mar que en fiera borrasca  
el viento de las pasiones  
ha alborotado en su alma.
- 55 Tal vez se sienta, tal vez  
azorada se levanta;  
el jardín recorre ansiosa,  
tal vez a escuchar se para.
- 60 Es el susurro del viento  
es el murmullo del agua,  
no es su voz, no es el sonido  
melancólico del arpa.
- Son ilusiones que fueron:  
Recuerdos ¡ay! que te engañan,  
sombras del bien que pasó...  
Ya te olvidó el que tú amas.
- 65 Esa noche y esa luna  
las mismas son que miraran  
indiferentes tu dicha,  
cual ora ven tu desgracia.
- Now, behold her<sup>1</sup>, □ heaven<sup>2</sup>  
Now sighs □ now stops  
A tear from her eyes  
Poured and<sup>3</sup> burneth
- Her cheek, it is a wave  
Of the sea that in rude storms  
The wind<sup>4</sup> of passions had mind  
And shaken with her soul.
- Now she sits down,  
Now arises hurry  
The garden anxious she runs over<sup>5</sup>  
And now □ to listen.
- It is the □ of the wind<sup>6</sup>  
And the murmur of □ water  
'Tis not his voice nor the sound  
Of the harp melancholical.
- They are dreams that have<sup>7</sup> departed  
Memories alas that do □ thee  
Shadows of good that is passèd  
He the<sup>8</sup> lover has forgot thee
- And oh, this night, this very<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>  
Moon are the same that indifferent  
Looked upon thy happiness  
As now on<sup>11</sup> thy misery

---

<sup>1</sup> behold<,> her

<sup>2</sup> [74A-75<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 14.

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> wind<s>

<sup>5</sup> /she traverses [↑ runs over]/

<sup>6</sup> [74A-75<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 15.

<sup>7</sup> illusions [↑ dreams that have]

<sup>8</sup> He <who>[↑ the]

<sup>9</sup> This stanza has a variant, which is the last stanza found on manuscript [74A-75<sup>v</sup>]: And this moon [and] this night are | The very ones that had looked on | Your happiness indifferently | That <behold>[↑ now] thy burning behold

<sup>10</sup> [74A-79<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 16. The upper half of the manuscript has written and scratched Spanish words in what seems to be Pessoa's brainstorming for the translation of different terms: talante = | acaso = | tal vez = | nacarado = | cárdena =. Verse of manuscript has a scratched stanza which corresponds to verses 80-84 of Part I: <The street all □ | E'en so a vague shadow of dark [and] of lightness | A mystic [and] airy vague vision doth gleam | A moment, then hides it the <night's deepest †> shades in their nightness | Too like a sweet hope or deceiving vain dream,>

<sup>11</sup> As <they> now <th> on

70	¡Ah! llora sí, ¡pobre Elvira! ¡Triste amante abandonada! Esas hojas de esas flores que distraída tú arrancas,	Oh, weep, oh weep, poor Elvira Sad and <sup>1</sup> abandoned mistress! These □ of those flowers That inattentive dost scatter
75	¿sabes adónde, infeliz, el viento las arrebató? Donde fueron tus amores, tu ilusión y tu esperanza;	Dost thou know unhappy maiden <sup>2</sup> Whither <sup>3</sup> the wind away bears the □? Thither where thy <sup>4</sup> love began Thy illusion and <sup>5</sup> thy hopings,
	deshojadas y marchitas, ¡pobres flores de tu alma!	† alas! withered The poor flowers of thy soul
80	Blanca nube de la aurora, teñida de ópalo y grana, naciente luz te colora, refulgente precursora de la cándida mañana.	White cloud of morn <sup>6</sup> 7 Dyed with opal tint and <sup>8</sup> Rising light thee <sup>9</sup> doth adorn Forerunner □ Of morning □
85	Mas ¡ay! que se disipó tu pureza virginal, tu encanto el aire llevó cual la aventura ideal que el amor te prometió.	But, alas! how soon is gone <sup>10</sup> All your virgin purity Your charm the air hath undone Like the ideal □ Love promised yet never won.

---

<sup>1</sup> [and]

<sup>2</sup> /maiden/

<sup>3</sup> Whither<>

<sup>4</sup> <Where> Thither where <your> [† thy]

<sup>5</sup> <And> Thy illusion [and]

<sup>6</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-82<sup>r</sup>]: <White cloud of morning> | White □ of morn | □ | Rising light thee doth adorn | Precursor □ | Of the morning sweet & clear. After the end of stanza there is an indication of the page number in Pessoa's Spanish edition: page 134 end. The verse of the manuscript contains verses 106 to 108 of Part III, preceded by the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition: p. 149. | <3<sup>o</sup> | I, my life. | That's very funny | I don't want it. Give me money | And you have her>*

<sup>7</sup> [74A-91<sup>v</sup>]: *See Fig. 17. The upper section of the manuscript has scratched isolated words. In the verse of the manuscript, in the upper part it is written Estudiante de Salamanca, while in the lower part it is written El Estudiante de Salamanca | translated by A. Search. The last letters of the words Salamanca (both in the upper and lower part) and Search are missing. The manuscript, in fact, is torn, and the missing part corresponds to 74A-87<sup>v</sup>. In the middle part we read several notes, which were probably written by Mário Nogueira de Freitas, Pessoa's cousin: Made of the stuff of hates and way | amanhã anda aroda | Um † † que possui olhos podendo conter o rijo | † o † ao meu † | Mario Nogueira de Freitas | Freitas | Que pronuncia sin lengua boca | Qual la voz que del aspera roca | En los † <†> viento † | Freitas | Canto I. | amanhã | Jose de*

<sup>8</sup> <†> Dyed with opal tint [and]

<sup>9</sup> <The> Rising light [† thee]

<sup>10</sup> *This stanza has two variants, one on manuscript [74A-81<sup>r</sup>], which also includes the first word of the first word of the next stanza's first verse: But oh the † shaken | All your virgin purity | Your charm the air hath taken | Like the ideal □ | That love promised to awaken. || Leaves etc. The second variation is found on [74A-86<sup>v</sup>]: But oh it hath not lasted | <Your>/All\ your virgin purity | Your pleasure the air hath blasted | Like the pleasure □ | That love did \*promise, untasted.*

90	Hojas del árbol caídas juguetes del viento son: Las ilusiones perdidas ¡ay! son hojas desprendidas del árbol del corazón.	Leaves that from the tree have fallen <sup>1</sup> Are playthings <sup>2</sup> of the wind's art; Are dreams that lives hath stolen <sup>3</sup> Oh, they are leaves that have fallen From the worn tree of the heart.
95	¡El corazón sin amor! Triste páramo cubierto con la lava del dolor, oscuro inmenso desierto donde no nace una flor!	The heart loveless, unsighing! <sup>4 5</sup> A sad plain all covered with <sup>6</sup> The <sup>7</sup> lava of suffering A desert of vacant breadth <sup>8</sup> Whence <sup>9</sup> not a flower doth spring.
100	Distante un bosque sombrío, el sol cayendo en la mar, en la playa un aduar, y a los lejos un navío viento en popa navegar;	Distant a dark wood the sun <sup>10</sup> Sinking <sup>11</sup> in the sea † † <sup>12</sup> on the beach Afar a vessel doth run <sup>13</sup> Sailing with the wind reach;
105	óptico vidrio presenta en fantástica ilusión, y al ojo encantado ostenta gratas visiones, que aumenta rica la imaginación.	In <sup>14</sup> an optic glass doth present A phantastic illusion <sup>15</sup> And to charmed eyes is <sup>16</sup> † With <sup>17</sup> visions which doth augment The fancy in sweet confusion
110	Tú eres, mujer, un fanal transparente de hermosura: ¡Ay de ti! si por tu mal rompe el hombre en su locura tu misterioso cristal.	Woman thou art a head light Transparent of loveliness Woe to thee if for thy fright Man in breaketh <sup>18</sup> in his □ Thy <sup>19</sup> mystic crystal's delight.

<sup>1</sup> *The first two verses of this stanza have a variant on manuscript [74A-103<sup>v</sup>]:* Leaves that from the tree have fallen, |  
Are the playthings of the wind:

<sup>2</sup> Are <the> playthings

<sup>3</sup> Are <illusions lost [and]> [† dreams that \*lives hath stolen]

<sup>4</sup> *The first three verses of this stanza have a variant, which corresponds to the last stanza in manuscript [74A-91<sup>v</sup>]:* Oh,  
for the heart without love | A sad □ | With all the lava □

<sup>5</sup> [74A-86<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 18.

<sup>6</sup> covered <o'er> with

<sup>7</sup> <With> the

<sup>8</sup> breadt ] *Most likely an unintentional spelling lapse.*

<sup>9</sup> Where [↓ Whence]

<sup>10</sup> <Afar off> [† Distant] a dark wood <wood> [† the sun]

<sup>11</sup> <The sun> sinking

<sup>12</sup> <On the beach> [† †]

<sup>13</sup> And <†> afar off a vessel [† Afar a vessel doth run]

<sup>14</sup> *Originally written as the beginning of the second verse, Pessoa indicated with an arrow that the word In should begin the first one instead.*

<sup>15</sup> <dream> [† illusion]

<sup>16</sup> <is> [† is]

<sup>17</sup> <With> [† With]

<sup>18</sup> <his> [† breaketh]

<sup>19</sup> <Your> [† Thy]

115	Mas ¡ay! dichosa tú, Elvira, en tu misma desventura, que aun deleites te procura, cuando tu pecho suspira, tu misteriosa locura:	But oh! Elvira livest <sup>1 2</sup> In thy <sup>3</sup> very □ sadness For even some human gladness When thy tender breast doth sigh Gives thee thy mysterious <sup>4</sup> madness:
120	Que es la razón un tormento, y vale más delirar sin juicio, que el sentimiento cuerdamente analizar, fijo en él el pensamiento.	For reason is but a hell <sup>5</sup> And rather 'vails it to rave Without mind, that to compel Thought upon feeling with <sup>6</sup> grave Analysis coldy well. <sup>7</sup>
125	Vedla, allí va que sueña en su locura, presente el bien que para siempre huyó. Dulces palabras con amor murmura: Piensa que escucha al pérfido que amó.	Behold her, as she dreameth <sup>8</sup> in her madness <sup>9 10</sup> Present the happiness she ever lost Sweet words with love she murmurs without sadness: She thinks to hear the traitor <sup>11</sup> she hath loved.
130	Vedla, postrada su piedad implora cual si presente la mirara allí: Vedla, que sola se contempla y llora, miradla delirante sonreír.	Behold her, □ implores <sup>12</sup> As if present there she saw him Behold her □ Behold her madness □ to smile.
135	Y su frente en revuelto remolino ha enturbiado su loco pensamiento, como nublo que en negro torbellino encubre el cielo y amontona el viento.	And her mind in a □ confusion <sup>13</sup> Has <sup>14</sup> □ her confused thought and <sup>15</sup> undefined Like clouds that in a black and <sup>16</sup> whirl profusion Cover the sky and <sup>17</sup> ponder to the wind,
	Y vedla cuidadosa escoger flores, y las lleva mezcladas en la falda, y, corona nupcial de sus amores,	Behold her carefully choosing flowers <sup>18</sup> She takes them joined in the □ And nuptial coronet of her <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <Livest> [↑ Livest] *Variant indicated in the beginning of second verse.*

<sup>2</sup> [74A-82<sup>r</sup>]: *See Fig. 19.*

<sup>3</sup> <your> [↑ thy]

<sup>4</sup> <Doth give> [↑ Gives] thee thy <mystie> [↑ mysterious]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-80<sup>r</sup>]: *See Fig. 20. p. 135 ] Page indication of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written on upper left corner.*

<sup>6</sup> <[and]> with

<sup>7</sup> Analysis cold and fell. [↓ Analysis coldy well.]

<sup>8</sup> as [↑ she] dream<s>[↑ eth]

<sup>9</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza, which corresponds to the first stanza in manuscript [74A-74<sup>v</sup>]: Behold her □ | Presents the good that has for ever fled: | Sweet words with love she murmureth | □*

<sup>10</sup> [74A-87<sup>r</sup>]: *See Fig. 21. The back side of this manuscript has the missing letters of 74A-91<sup>r</sup>, which would complete the words Salamanca and Search in the note El Estudiante de Salamanca | translated by A. Search.*

<sup>11</sup> <lover> [↓ traitor]

<sup>12</sup> [74A-74<sup>v</sup>]: *See Fig. 22.*

<sup>13</sup> [74A-74<sup>r</sup>]: *See Fig. 23.*

<sup>14</sup> Has <†>

<sup>15</sup> [and]

<sup>16</sup> that [↑ in] a black [and]

<sup>17</sup> [and]

<sup>18</sup> [74A-72<sup>r</sup>]: *See Fig. 24.*

	se entretiene en tejer una guirnalda.	A garland she doth let her fingers weave <sup>2</sup> .
140	Y en medio de su dulce desvarío triste recuerdo el alma le importuna y al margen va del argentado río, y allí las flores echa de una en una;	[...] <sup>3</sup>
	y las sigue su vista en la corriente, 145 una tras otras rápidas pasar, y confusos sus ojos y su mente se siente con sus lágrimas ahogar:	
	Y de amor canta, y en su tierna queja entona melancólica canción, 150 canción que el alma desgarrada deja, lamento ¡ay! que llaga el corazón.	She sings of love in her tender plaint <sup>4</sup> A melancholy song her heart <sup>5</sup> hath found A song that leaves the soul and torn and <sup>6</sup> faint A plaint – alas – the heart □ wound
	¿Qué me valen tu calma y tu terneza, tranquila noche, solitaria luna, si no calmáis del hado la crudeza, 155 ni me dais esperanza de fortuna?	What are to me thy calm O tranquil night! oh solitary moon If you cannot allay Fate's cruelty Nor give me hope of Future <sup>7</sup> boon?
	¿Qué me valen la gracia y la belleza, y amar como jamás amó ninguna, si la pasión que el alma me devora, la desconoce aquel que me enamora?	What are grace and <sup>8</sup> beauty cost me To feel a love no woman <sup>9</sup> yet hath known If the deep passion <sup>10</sup> that my soul devours He who makes me thy □ ignores. <sup>11</sup>
160	Lágrimas interrumpen su lamento, inclinan sobre el pecho su semblante, y de ella en derredor susurra el viento sus últimas palabras, sollozante.	Tears interrupt her plaint that she saith She on her breast her <sup>12</sup> head drops heavily. And around her the wind murmureth <sup>13</sup> Its last words, in a sigh
	..... <sup>14</sup> .....	

<sup>1</sup> <garland>[↑ coronet] of her <love>

<sup>2</sup> <She> [→ A] garland she doth [→ let her fingers] <to> weave

<sup>3</sup> Verses 140-147 are missing.

<sup>4</sup> [74A-89<sup>r</sup>]: See. Fig. 25. 136 ] Page indication of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written on upper left corner. Stanzas are not written in order.

<sup>5</sup> /heart/

<sup>6</sup> [and] torn [and]

<sup>7</sup> me <of> [↑ hope] of <f>/F\uture

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> <[And] love you as no woman> [↑ To feel a love <as> [↑ no] woman

<sup>10</sup> the [↑ deep] passion

<sup>11</sup> He knoweth not who [↓ He who makes me thy □ ignores.]

<sup>12</sup> <+> [↑ She] on her breast <she> [↑ her]

<sup>13</sup> [← the wind] murmureth

<sup>14</sup> This ellipsis is meant to represent Eloira's last words. As our benchmark Spanish editions, we have not included these lines in the verse numbering.

.....  
 .....

- 165 Murió de amor la desdichada Elvira,  
 cándida rosa que agostó el dolor,  
 süave aroma que el viajero aspira  
 y en sus alas el aura arrebató.
- Hapless Elvira how by love met death<sup>1</sup>  
 A candid rose that pain hath □ shaken  
 A tender scent that the traveller doth breathe<sup>2</sup>  
 And which the breeze upon its wings hath taken.
- 170 Vaso de bendición, ricos colores  
 reflejó en su cristal la luz del día,  
 mas la tierra empañó sus resplandores,  
 y el hombre lo rompió con mano impía.
- Vessel of benediction, colours bright  
 Within its crystal daylight did reflect,  
 But earth did choke its splendour and<sup>3</sup> delight  
 And man with impious hand its beauty wrecked.
- 175 Una ilusión acarició su mente:  
 Alma celeste para amar nacida,  
 era el amor de su vivir la fuente,  
 estaba junto a su ilusión su vida.
- One sweet illusion did her mind caress  
 A heavenly soul to adoration<sup>4</sup> born  
 Love was the fountain of her livingness  
 And to<sup>5</sup> dream her □
- Amada del Señor, flor venturosa,  
 llena de amor murió y de juventud:  
 Despertó alegre una alborada hermosa,  
 y a la tarde durmió en el ataúd.
- Loved of the Lord, a □ flower.  
 She died – (alas!) –to love and youth so near<sup>6</sup>  
 Gaily she woke to the sweet<sup>7</sup> morning hour  
 And in the evening slept within the<sup>8</sup> bier.
- 180 Mas despertó también de su locura  
 al término postrero de su vida,  
 y al abrirse a sus pies la sepultura,  
 volvió a su mente la razón perdida.
- But from her<sup>9</sup> madness also she awoke  
 Upon the very ending<sup>10</sup> of her □ days.  
 And □ on the grave's brink  
 Back to her mind her reason lost<sup>11</sup>.
- 185 ¡La razón fría! ¡La verdad amarga!  
 ¡El bien pasado y el dolor presente!...  
 ¡Ella feliz! ¡que de tan dura carga  
 sintió el peso al morir únicamente!
- Cold reason! □ bitter truth<sup>12</sup>  
 The good departed in the present pain  
 She happy! Whom such †  
 She felt the weight but \*with the last hours
- 190 Y conociendo ya su fin cercano,  
 su mejilla una lágrima abrasó;  
 y así al infiel con temblorosa mano,  
 moribunda su víctima escribió:
- And knowing her end  
 Her cheek did burn a tear  
 And to the faithless lover with a hand  
 Trembling his victim<sup>13</sup> □

<sup>1</sup> [74A-84<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 26.

<sup>2</sup> traveller [↑ doth breathe]

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> to <love> [→ adoration]

<sup>5</sup> And <near> to

<sup>6</sup> – (alas!) – <so full of love [and] of youth> [↑ to love [and] youth so near]

<sup>7</sup> [↑ Gaily] She woke <with pleasures in the> [↑ to the sweet]

<sup>8</sup> her [↑ the]

<sup>9</sup> <the> [↑ her]

<sup>10</sup> <en> [↑ very] ending

<sup>11</sup> her <her> [↑ reason lost]

<sup>12</sup> [74A-84<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Trembling <she wrote> [↑ his victim]

<p>«Voy a morir: perdona si mi acento vuela importuno a molestar tu oído: Él es, don Félix, el postrer lamento 195 de la mujer que tanto te ha querido. La mano helada de la muerte siento... Adiós: ni amor ni compasión te pido... Oye y perdona si al dejar el mundo, arranca un ¡ay! su angustia al moribundo.</p> <p>200 »¡Ah! para siempre adiós. Por ti mi vida dichosa un tiempo resbalar sentí, y la palabra de tu boca oída, éxtasis celestial fue para mí. Mi mente aún goza la ilusión querida 205 que para siempre ¡mísera! perdí... ¡Ya todo huyó, desapareció contigo! ¡Dulces horas de amor, yo las bendigo!</p> <p>»Yo las bendigo, sí, felices horas, presentes siempre en la memoria mía, 210 imágenes de amor encantadoras, que aún vienen a halagarme en mi agonía. Mas ¡ay! volad, huid, engañadoras sombras, por siempre; mi postrero día ha llegado: perdón, perdón, ¡Dios mío!, 215 si aún gozo en recordar mi desvarío.</p> <p>»Y tú, don Félix, si te causa enojos que te recuerde yo mi desventura; piensa están hartos de llorar mis ojos</p>	<p>I am dying; pardon me if each accent<sup>1</sup> 2 Flieth importune to molest thine ear; It is<sup>3</sup> the □ last lament Of her to whom □ thyself hast been<sup>4</sup> so dear Death's hand already feel I in one<sup>5</sup> beat Farewell: I ask nor love's nor pity's tear Listen and pardon me if as<sup>6</sup> I die, From her who dies her torture wrings a sigh.<sup>7</sup></p> <p>Farewell, farewell for ever. As the stream<sup>8</sup> Of life felt run softly once □ through<sup>9</sup> thee, And the □ from<sup>10</sup> thy lips that came Was a □ heavenly extasis for me. My heart yet lightens in the dearest dream That ever more – I lost □ oh misery!<sup>11</sup> All things with thee<sup>12</sup> are gone, all things did flit Sweet hours of love, how do I bless thee yet!</p> <p>I bless thee, ay I bless thee, happy hours<sup>13</sup> That from my memory never are away Love's images alas charm my soul devours That to<sup>14</sup> my agony bring tears But oh for ever go! □ my last day Is come: oh forgive, pardon me oh Lord<sup>15</sup> If do love my madness to record.</p> <p>Should I, Don Felix be thine anger *reaping<sup>16</sup> 17 Because I mind thee<sup>18</sup> of mine own distress Remember that mine eyes are worn with weeping</p>
--	---

<sup>1</sup> if [→ each accent]

<sup>2</sup> [74A-77<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 28.

<sup>3</sup> It is/, Don Felix/The word out written below the name suggests Pessoa wished to remove it from the verse.

<sup>4</sup> □ wert [↑thyself hast been]

<sup>5</sup> <My> [↑ Death's] hand already <do I> feel [→ I in one]

<sup>6</sup> [and] pardon [↑ me] if when [↑ as]

<sup>7</sup> Two more incomplete variations of this verse are written down: My □ tears from me □ sigh. | From the dying □ wrings a sigh.

<sup>8</sup> [74A-77<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 29.

<sup>9</sup> □ <for> [↑ through]

<sup>10</sup> □ <mouth> from

<sup>11</sup> <oh woe is †> [↑ I lost □ oh misery!]

<sup>12</sup> things [← with thee]

<sup>13</sup> [74A-76<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 30. p. 138. | last = stanza ] Page indication in the bottom of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>14</sup> That <†> to

<sup>15</sup> pardon, [↑ forgive] pardon me my [↑ oh] <D>/L\ord

<sup>16</sup> And thou, Don Felix, [↑ <And> {↑ Should} I, D[on] F[elix] be thine anger \*reaping]

<sup>17</sup> [74A-88<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 31.

<sup>18</sup> That I should mind [↑ Because I mind thee] thee

220	lágrimas silenciosas de amargura, y hoy, al tragar la tumba mis despojos, concede este consuelo a mi tristura; estos renglones compasivo mira; y olvida luego para siempre a Elvira.		Tears, silent and □ tears <sup>1</sup> of bitterness To-day yielding my body <sup>2</sup> to earth's keeping This consolation give my † <sup>3</sup> With pity on these lines awhile Elvira then for ever do forget.
225	»Y jamás turbe mi infeliz memoria con amargos recuerdos tus placeres; goces te dé el vivir, triunfos la gloria, dichas el mundo, amor otras mujeres: Y si tal vez mi lamentable historia a tu memoria con dolor trajeres, 230 llórame, sí; pero palpíte exento tu pecho de roedor remordimiento.		And never let of *one remember gory <sup>4 5</sup> With bitter memories thy <sup>6</sup> pleasures move May living give thee joys and triumphs glory <sup>7</sup> Pleasures the world and <sup>8</sup> other women love: And <sup>9</sup> if at times my lamentable story Came to thy mind a pain awhile <sup>10</sup> should prove Weep me, ah weep me but let thy heart <sup>11</sup> Beat far from shred remorse's <sup>12</sup> eating <sup>12</sup> smart
235	»Adiós por siempre, adiós: un breve instante siento de vida, y en mi pecho el fuego aún arde de mi amor; mi vista errante vaga desvanecida... ¡calma luego, oh muerte, mi inquietud!... ¡Sola... expirante!... Ámame: no, perdona: ¡inútil ruego!		Farewell, farewell <sup>13</sup> for e'er; a moment slight <sup>14</sup> I feel of life and of love in within <sup>15</sup> my heart Love's fire yet burneth, and <sup>16</sup> my wandering sight Is vague and <sup>17</sup> troubled... □ give rest Unto my trouble oh <sup>18</sup> death! Alone □ Love me; no, pardon me; useless request!

<sup>1</sup> <Si> Tears, silent tears □ [↓ Silent [and] □ tears]

<sup>2</sup> To-day <when † my> [↑ yielding my body]

<sup>3</sup> <Give this> [↑ This] consolation give <to> my /†/

<sup>4</sup> /gory/

<sup>5</sup> [74A-83<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 32. p 139 – 2<sup>s</sup>] Page indication beneath final verse corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>6</sup> <your> [↑ thy]

<sup>7</sup> Life give <you> [↑ thee] joys □ triumphs glory [↓ May living give thee joys [and] triumphs glory] There is a subtle variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-88<sup>r</sup>]: May living give thee <pleasures> [↑ joys,] [and] triumphs glory | Pleasures the world, [and] other women love.

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> [And]

<sup>10</sup> <brain> [↑ mind] a <pain awhile> [↑ pain awhile]

<sup>11</sup> There is a variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-88<sup>v</sup>]: Weep me; but □ let thy breast | Unmoved by any remorseful unrest. Also, the upper part of the aforementioned page corresponds to verses 625-627 of Part IV. The middle area of the manuscript, introduced by the number 139 which suggesting the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition, consists of scratched verses that correspond to verses 236-243 of Part II: <Farewell, f. for <ever> [↑ e'er]; a moment slight | I feel of life, [and] <in my> [↑ of my] love the fire | Yet burns within me, and my wandering sight, | Is vague [and] troubled <. . . . □ | My trouble, oh death! Alone □ | Love me, no, pardon me; useless [→ desire] [↑ 'tis useless to require] | Farewell, farewell! thy heart has from me fled | – For me all [↑ things] in the □ are dead!>

<sup>12</sup> from <eat> shred remorse's [↑ eating]

<sup>13</sup> f[arewell]

<sup>14</sup> [74A-78<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 33. After stanza Pessoa identified the page corresponding to his Spanish edition: p. 139 | stanza 3. In verse of manuscript he wrote Criminalidade em Hespanha

<sup>15</sup> [and] of love in [↑ within]

<sup>16</sup> The [↑ Love's] fire yet burneth, [and]

<sup>17</sup> [and]

<sup>18</sup> trouble [↑ oh]

¡Adiós! ¡adiós! ¡tu corazón perdí!  
-¡Todo acabó en el mundo para mí!»-

Farewell, farewell! thy heart from me has fled!  
For me all things within the world<sup>1</sup> are dead.

240 Así escribió su triste despedida  
momentos antes de morir, y al pecho  
se estrechó de su madre dolorida,  
que en tanto inunda en lágrimas su lecho.

[...]²

245 Y exhaló luego su postrer aliento,  
y a su madre sus brazos se apretaron  
con nervioso y convulso movimiento,  
y sus labios un nombre murmuraron.

250 Y huyó su alma a la mansión dichosa,  
do los ángeles moran... Tristes flores  
brota la tierra en torno de su losa,  
el céfiro lamenta sus amores.

And her soul went unto the have<sup>3</sup> 4  
The angels their sweet home sad<sup>5</sup> are the flowers  
That earth doth yield<sup>6</sup> around her □ grave;  
The zephir mourns her love through the soft hours.

255 Sobre ella un sauce su ramaje inclina,  
sombra le presta en lánguido desmayo,  
y allá en la tarde, cuando el sol declina,  
baña su tumba en paz su último rayo...

A willow over her its leaves inclines<sup>7</sup>  
Giving her shade with languidness in day,<sup>8</sup>  
And there at evening when the sun declines  
Her grave is bathèd in its dying ray.

<sup>1</sup> that the world has [↑ within the world]

<sup>2</sup> Verses 240-247 are missing.

<sup>3</sup> half [↑ have]

<sup>4</sup> [74A-73<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 34.

<sup>5</sup> The angels <sweet> [↑ their sweet] <house>/home \ Sad

<sup>6</sup> <†>/yield \

<sup>7</sup> [74A-73<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 35.

<sup>8</sup> <And given it> [↑ Giving her] shade with languidness [↓ in day,]

Student of Salamanca<sup>1</sup>

## Parte tercera

## Part III

## Translation

## Cuadro dramático

*Sarg.* ¿Tenéis más que parar?

*Franco.* Paro los ojos.

.....

Los ojos si, los ojos: que descreo

Del que los hizo para tal empleo.

*Moreto.* *San Franco de Sena.*

## Personas

Don Félix de Montemar.

Don Diego de Pastrana.

*Seis jugadores.*

5	En derredor de una mesa hasta seis hombres están, fija la vista en los naipes, mientras juegan al parar; y en sus semblantes se pintan el despecho y el afán: Por perder desesperados, avarientos por ganar.	Sitting close around a table <sup>2</sup> Six men are □ descried Their sight on the □ fixed At staking thy play the while, And in their pale countenances <sup>3</sup> Ambit is seen and spite <sup>4</sup> By losing weakly despairing And to gain eagerly wild. <sup>5</sup>
10	Reina profundo silencio, sin que lo rompa jamás otro ruido que el del oro, o una voz para jurar. Pálida lámpara alumbraba con trémula claridad,	A profound silence pervades <sup>6</sup> Broken by no noise or cry <sup>7</sup> Save by □ the gold's or a voice's <sup>8</sup> In cursing from time to time. <sup>9</sup> A pallid lamp doth illumine With a <sup>10</sup> tremulous pale light

<sup>1</sup> [74A-92']: See Fig. 36. The verse of this manuscript is a partial printed article on the properties of soap brand Sabão Ray.

<sup>2</sup> [74A-108']: See. Fig. 37. p. 96 (New Book) ] Indication corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant of this and the next seven verses in manuscript [74A-103']: And in their faces are painted | Despair [and] an eager strain | <When> [↑ For] losing desperate | And avaricious to gain || A profound silence doth reign | Which not a sound can \*strike | Save the gold's cloath Or [↑ any] a voice to curse.

<sup>4</sup> <† †> <Spite> <Aw> † is seen [and] spite [↓ are †]

<sup>5</sup> <avaricious to gain> [↑ to gain eagerly †.]

<sup>6</sup> <unbroken> [↑ †]

<sup>7</sup> <Except by the> [↑ <Un>broken <scarcely> by no noise or cry]

<sup>8</sup> <gold or> [← the gold's] [↑ or a voice's]

<sup>9</sup> <A voice in curse or □ /†/> [↓ In cursing from time to time.]

<sup>10</sup> <A> [↑ With a]

15	negras de humo las paredes de aquella estancia infernal. Y el misterioso bramido se escucha del huracán, que azota los vidrios frágiles	The smoke-dark walls of that infernal <sup>1</sup> Den lost in the □ vile. <sup>2</sup> And the mysterious shrieking <sup>3 4</sup> Is heard of the storm outside Which lashes the trembling windows
20	con sus alas al pasar.	With its wings as it goes by.

*Escena I*I.<sup>5</sup>*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*

1

El caballo aún no ha salido.

The Queen is not but<sup>6</sup>*Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*

2

¿Qué carta vino?

Not the † then?<sup>7</sup>*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*

1

La sota.

No, the knave<sup>8</sup>*Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*

2

Pues por poco se alborota.

For little you make a<sup>9</sup>*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*

1

25 Un caudal llevo perdido:  
¡Voto a Cristo!

A heap of money I've lost  
I vow to Christ!

*Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*

2

No juréis,  
que aún no estáis en la agonía.

Do not vow<sup>10</sup>  
Your end has not yet □.

*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*

1

No hay suerte como la mía.

There never was luck like mine.

*Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*

2

¿Y como cuánto perdéis?

Well, how much have you lost now?<sup>11</sup>*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*

1

Mil escudos y el dinero

A thousand doubloons<sup>1 2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> /The walls with smoke blackened/ [↘The smoke-dark walls of that infernal]

<sup>2</sup> /<Of that infernal> □/ [↑ <†> the] <misery> [↓ Den † in the □ †.]

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-108<sup>v</sup>] followed by an indication of the beginning of Scene I: And the □ howling | Are [↑ Is] of the wind outside | That bashes the trembling windows | With its wings as it goes by. | | Scene I

<sup>4</sup> [74A-107<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 38.

<sup>5</sup> [74A-111<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 39.

<sup>6</sup> The <knave> [↑ Queen] <has> [↑ is] [→ \*wasn't]not <come> [↑ but]

<sup>7</sup> <What card is it then?> [↓ Not the † then?]

<sup>8</sup> [← No,] The <Queen> [knave †]

<sup>9</sup> a <scene>

<sup>10</sup> This and the next verse have a variant on manuscript [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: Do not vow | You are not you

<sup>11</sup> There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: [← Don Felix,] Well, how much have you lost now?

30	que don Félix me entregó.	Don Felix gave me <sup>3 4</sup>
	<i>Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup></i> ¿Dónde anda?	2 <sup>5</sup> Where is he? <sup>6 7</sup>
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup></i> ¡Qué sé yo! No tardará.	1 <sup>8</sup> How do I know I don't know soon him will be <sup>9 10</sup>
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> Envido.	3 <sup>11</sup> I stake this <sup>12</sup>
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup></i> Quiero.	1 <sup>13</sup> I stake you.
	<i>Escena II</i>	II. <sup>14</sup>
35	Galán de talle gentil, la mano izquierda apoyada en el pomo de la espada, y el aspecto varonil: Alta el ala del sombrero porque descubra la frente, con airoso continente	A gallant of well figure <sup>15</sup> His left hand □ rested <sup>16</sup> On his sword's hilt His aspect manly <sup>17</sup> His □ † That his fore it † <sup>18</sup> With a □ †
40	entró luego un caballero.	Entered then a gentleman. <sup>19</sup>
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup> (Al que entra.)</i>	1 <sup>o</sup> (To him who enters). <sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-48<sup>r</sup>]: A thousand [and] the †. The second one is in manuscript [74A-111<sup>r</sup>]: A thousand † [and] □

<sup>2</sup> [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 40.

<sup>3</sup> D[on] Felix <gave me> [† gave me]

<sup>4</sup> [74A-48<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 41. PAG 35 = 20 ] Indication of what apparently is a page equivalent between two Spanish editions.

<sup>5</sup> [2]

<sup>6</sup> This and the next verse have a crossed-out variant on manuscript [74A-48<sup>r</sup>]: <Where is he?> | <How do I know? [→ How do I know?]>. In the same manuscript, this verse has another variant: Who's he?

<sup>7</sup> [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 40.

<sup>8</sup> [1]

<sup>9</sup> [↓ <He'll \*come soon>]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-48<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 41.

<sup>11</sup> [3]

<sup>12</sup> I <of> stake this ] There is a crossed-out indication about the translation, apparently indicating doubt: <envido = I stake>

<sup>13</sup> [1]

<sup>14</sup> [II.]

<sup>15</sup> <gentle †> [† well figure]

<sup>16</sup> □ <† rested> rested

<sup>17</sup> <And> his <aspect> [† aspect manly]

<sup>18</sup> † <†>

<sup>19</sup> <well>[†gentle]man.

<sup>20</sup> [74A-106<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 42. On verse of manuscript Pessoa wrote down: 30, probably referring to the page of his Spanish version, followed by an illegible scratched word.

	Don Félix, a buena hora habéis llegado.	Don Felix, no time <sup>1</sup> were worse For you to arrive.
	<i>Don Félix</i> ¿Perdisteis?	<i>Don Felix</i> You have lost? <sup>2</sup>
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup></i> El dinero que me disteis y esta bolsa pecadora.	<i>Player<sup>3</sup></i> The money which you gave And this very sinning purse.
45	<i>Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup></i> Don Félix de Montemar debe perder. El amor le negara su favor cuando le viera ganar.	<i>2<sup>o</sup></i> Don Felix de Montemar Is bound to lose. Love would fly him. <sup>4</sup> Love his favour would deny him <sup>5</sup> If he saw him win.
50	<i>Don Félix (Con desdén.)</i> Necesito ahora dinero y estoy hastiado de amores. ( <i>Al corro, con altivez.</i> ) Dos mil ducados, señores, por esta cadena quiero. ( <i>Quítase una cadena que lleva al pecho.</i> )	<i>Don Felix<sup>6</sup></i> To get <sup>7</sup> money is now my task Oh love I'm tied unto pain, ( <i>to them all</i> ) <sup>8</sup> Gentlemen, all <sup>9</sup> for this chain A thousand ducats I ask.
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> Alta ponéis la tarifa.	<i>3.<sup>o</sup> 10</i> You set the price high.
55	<i>Don Félix (Con altivez.)</i> La pongo en lo que merece. Si otra duda se os ofrece, decid. ( <i>Al corro.</i> ) Se vende y se rifa.	<i>Don Felix<sup>11</sup></i> I set it as 'tis worth no more. If any doubt you Say it.  'Tis 'will' or it's true †
	<i>Jugador 4.<sup>o</sup> (Aparte.)</i> ¿Y hay quién sufra tal afrenta?	<i>4<sup>o12</sup></i> □

---

<sup>1</sup> hour [↑ time]

<sup>2</sup> D[on] F[elix] – You<'ve lost> have lost?

<sup>3</sup> P[layer]

<sup>4</sup> Must lose. [↑ Bound to lose] Love would deny him. [↑ Love would fly him.]

<sup>5</sup> His favour, ay! Love would fly him [↑ Love his favour would deny him]

<sup>6</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>7</sup> <earn> [↑ get]

<sup>8</sup> [↑ to thee all]

<sup>9</sup> [← all]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-48a<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 43. 145 ] Indication at top of page. Does not correspond to the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> [Don] F[elix]

<sup>12</sup> [4<sup>o</sup>]

	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>1</sup>
	Entre cinco están hallados.	Among five □
	A cuatrocientos ducados	To 400 ducats
60	os toca, según mi cuenta.	□
	Al as de oros. Allá va.	The ace of swords! There <sup>2 3</sup>
	(Va echando cartas, que toman los jugadores en silencio.)	
	Uno, dos...	Goes one and <sup>4</sup> two.
	(Al perdidoso.)	
	Con vos no cuento.	You I don't count
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>1<sup>o</sup></i>
	Por el motivo lo siento.	I am sorry that you don't.
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>3<sup>o</sup></i>
	¡El as! ¡El as! Aquí está.	The ace! the ace! it is here
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>1<sup>o</sup></i>
65	Ya ganó.	He has won.
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>5</sup>
	Suerte tenéis.	You are most <sup>6 7</sup>
	A un solo golpe de dados	Lucky. At one throw of dice <sup>8</sup>
	tiro los dos mil ducados.	I stake a thousand ducats
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>3<sup>o9</sup></i>
	¿En un golpe?	In a throw?
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup> (A Don Félix.)</i>	<i>1<sup>o10</sup></i>
	Los perdéis.	You have lost? <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> [Don] F[elix]

<sup>2</sup> *There is a variant for this and the following seven lines in manuscript [74A-48a<sup>r</sup>]: To the ace of diamonds. <there> There! | One, 2 | <With> You I don't count. || 1<sup>o</sup> | I am sorry that I don't □ || 3<sup>o</sup> | The ace, the ace it is here! || 1<sup>o</sup> | It's won.*

<sup>3</sup> [74A-112<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 44. 98 ] Page number corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>6</sup> *Although most of this dialogue is found in manuscript [74A-112<sup>r</sup>], this stanza is a variant found in a different manuscript, [74A-96<sup>r</sup>], and was used instead due to its more well-rounded translation. The variant of the former manuscript is: At a single throw [↑ cast] | A thousand ducats I □*

<sup>7</sup> [74A-96<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 45. p. 98 († ed.) ] Page number and publisher of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written in upper right corner. Indication written in lower right corner of text that continues in the back: over

<sup>8</sup> *There is a variant of this and the next two verses in manuscript [74A-48<sup>r</sup>]: At a \*sight <\*of> \*the † die | <The> 2000 ducats I | In †*

<sup>9</sup> [74A-112<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 44.

<sup>10</sup> <4>1<sup>o</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *A variant of this verse and the next two is found in manuscript [74A-96<sup>r</sup>]: You have lost. || [Don] F[elix] | | Lost | My soul's □ | A little bit does not matter*

<sup>12</sup> D[on] F[elix]

70	Perdida tengo yo el alma, y no me importa un ardite.	I have lost □ my soul And this little is no matter
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> Tirad.	3 <sup>o</sup> □
	<i>Don Félix</i> Al primer embite.	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>1</sup> □
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> Tirad pronto.	3 <sup>o</sup> □
75	<i>Don Félix</i> Tened calma: Que os juego más todavía, y en cien onzas hago el trato, y os lleváis este retrato con marco de pedrería.	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>2</sup> Keep cool I'll play you further, <sup>3</sup> A hundred ounces I'll stake For while this portrait you take With a frame of precious stones <sup>4</sup>
	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> ¿En cien onzas?	3 <sup>o5</sup> □
	<i>Don Félix</i> ¿Qué dudáis?	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>6</sup> "What doubt you?" <sup>7</sup>
	<i>Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup> (Tomando el retrato.)</i> ¡Hermosa mujer!	1 <sup>o8</sup> Lovely woman.
	<i>Jugador 4.<sup>o</sup></i> No es caro:	4 <sup>o9</sup> 'Tis not dear.
	<i>Don Félix</i> ¿Queréis pararlas?	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>10</sup> You wish to stalk them.
80	<i>Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup></i> Las paro. Más ganaré.	3 <sup>o11</sup> They are here. And I will win.
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>2</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>3</sup> [74A-112<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 46.

<sup>4</sup> etc | in other paper ] Note beneath the last verse.

<sup>5</sup> [3<sup>o</sup>]

<sup>6</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>7</sup> [74A-100<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 47. p.147. ] Page number on upper left corner corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> [1<sup>o</sup>]

<sup>9</sup> [4<sup>o</sup>]

<sup>10</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>11</sup> [3<sup>o</sup>]

Si ganáis  
(*Se registra todo.*)  
no tengo otra joya aquí.

If you do  
[...]<sup>2</sup>

*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup> (Mirando el retrato.)*  
Si esta imagen respira...

1<sup>o3</sup>  
This image, did breathe but shock her<sup>4 5</sup>

*Don Félix*  
A estar aquí la jugara  
a ella, al retrato y a mí.

*Don Felix*<sup>6</sup>  
If she was here I shall stalk her  
Her and the portrait and<sup>7</sup> me.

*Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>*  
Vengan los dados.

[...]<sup>8</sup>

*Don Félix*  
Tirad.

85 *Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*  
Por don Félix, cien ducados.

*Jugador 4.<sup>o</sup>*  
En contra van apostados.

*Jugador 5.<sup>o</sup>*  
Cincuenta más. Esperad,  
no tiréis.

*Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>*  
Van los cincuenta.

*Jugador 1.<sup>o</sup>*  
Yo, sin blanca, a Dios le ruego  
por don Félix.

90 *Jugador 5.<sup>o</sup>*  
Hecho el juego.

*Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>*  
¿Tiro?

*Don Félix*

---

<sup>1</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>2</sup> Verse 81 is missing.

<sup>3</sup> [1<sup>o</sup>]

<sup>4</sup> A variant of this verse is found in manuscript [74A-96<sup>v</sup>]: This image, did breath but wake her!

<sup>5</sup> [74A-100<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 48.

<sup>6</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>7</sup> [and] the portrait [and]

<sup>8</sup> Verses 85-104 are missing.

Tirad con sesenta  
de a caballo.

(Todos se agrupan con ansiedad alrededor de  
la mesa. El Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup> tira los dados.)

Jugador 4.<sup>o</sup>  
¿Qué ha salido?

Jugador 2.<sup>o</sup>  
¡Mil demonios, que a los dos  
nos lleven!

Don Félix (Con calma al 1.<sup>o</sup>)  
¡Bien, vive Dios!

95 Vuestros ruegos me han valido.  
Encomendadme otra vez,  
don Juan, al diablo; no sea  
que si os oye Dios, me vea  
cautivo y esclavo en Fez.

Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>  
100 Don Félix, habéis perdido  
sólo el marco, no el retrato,  
que entrar la dama en el trato  
vuestra intención no habrá sido.

Don Félix  
¿Cuánto dierais por la dama?

Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>o1</sup>  
105 Yo, la vida. I my life<sup>2</sup>

Don Félix Don Felix<sup>3</sup>  
No la quiero. That won't do.  
Mirad si me dais dinero, Just give me money and<sup>4</sup> you  
y os la lleváis. May take her.

Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup> [...]<sup>5</sup>  
¡Buena fama  
lograréis entre las bellas  
cuando descubran altivas,  
110 que vos las hacéis cautivas,  
para en seguida vendellas!

<sup>1</sup> [3<sup>o</sup>]

<sup>2</sup> [74A-105<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 49. 149 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> Verses 107b-123 are missing.

*Don Félix*

Eso a vos no importa nada.  
¿Queréis la dama? Os la vendo.

*Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>*

Yo de pinturas no entiendo.

*Don Félix (Con cólera.)*

115 Vos habláis con demasiada  
altivez e irreverencia  
de una mujer... ¡y si no!...

*Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>*

De la pintura hablé yo.

*Todos*

Vamos, paz; no haya pendencia.

*Don Félix (Sosegado.)*

120 Sobre mi palabra os juego  
mil escudos.

*Jugador 3.<sup>o</sup>*

Van tirados.

*Don Félix*

A otra suerte de esos dados;  
y al diablo les prenda fuego.

*Escena III*

*III.<sup>1</sup>*

125 Pálido el rostro, cejjunto el ceño,  
y torva la mirada, aunque afligida,  
y en ella un firme y decidido empeño  
de dar la muerte o de perder la vida,  
un hombre entró embozado hasta los ojos,  
sobre las juntas cejas el sombrero:  
130 Víbrale el rostro al corazón enojos,  
el paso firme, el ánimo altanero.  
Encubierta fatídica figura.-  
sed de sangre su espíritu secó,  
emponzoñó su alma la amargura,

Pale in his □<sup>2</sup>  
□ his glances although perturbed  
Having in it a firm and willed intent  
To give death □  
A man did enter cloaked unto the eyes,  
Upon his frowning brows and hat pushed low<sup>3</sup>  
Unto his face his heart makes hatred<sup>4</sup> rise  
His step is firm, his spirit □  
A maskèd figure □ fate<sup>5</sup>  
The thirst of blood did parch his soul,  
His spirit<sup>6</sup> poisonèd □ a little hate,

<sup>1</sup> [III.]

<sup>2</sup> [74A-113<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 50.

<sup>3</sup> [← upon his frowning brows] And hat pushed low

<sup>4</sup> /hatred/

<sup>5</sup> <f> □ fate

<sup>6</sup> <soul w> [↑ spirit]

- 135 la venganza irritó su corazón. Vengeance had<sup>1</sup> kindled his heart □ and<sup>2</sup> whole.  
 Junto a don Félix llega- y desatento He comes beside Don Felix and<sup>3</sup> abstract  
 no habla a ninguno, ni aun la frente inclina; He speaks to no one nor his head he lows;  
 y en pie delante de él y el ojo atento, And standing in front of him □  
 con iracundo rostro le examina. He looks upon him with enraged brows.
- 140 Miró también don Félix al sombrío Don Felix also looks upon the □  
 huésped que en él los ojos enclavó, Appeared where □ eyes on his are bent  
 y con sarcasmo desdeñoso y frío And with a sarcasm full □  
 fijos en él los suyos, sonrió. Fixing his upon him □

*Don Félix*

[...]<sup>4</sup>

- 145 Buen hombre, ¿de qué tapiz  
 se ha escapado, -el que se tapa-  
 que entre el sombrero y la capa  
 se os ve apenas la nariz?

*Don Diego*

Bien, don Félix, cuadra en vos  
 esa insolencia importuna.

*Don Félix (Al Jugador 3.º sin hacer caso de Don Diego.)*

- 150 Perdisteis.

*Jugador 3.º*

Sí. La fortuna  
 se trocó: tiro y van dos.  
 (*Vuelve a tirar.*)

*Don Félix*

Gané otra vez.

(*Al embozado.*)

- No he entendido  
 qué dijisteis, ni hice aprecio  
 de si hablasteis blando o recio  
 155 cuando me habéis respondido.

*Don Diego*

A solas hablar querría.

*Don Félix*

Podéis, si os place, empezar,  
 que por vos no he de dejar  
 tan honrosa compañía.

- 160 Y si Dios aquí os envía  
 para hacer mi conversión,

<sup>1</sup> /had/

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> Verses 144-165 are missing.

no despreciéis la ocasión  
de convertir tanta gente,  
mientras que yo humildemente  
165 aguardo mi absolución.

*Don Diego (Desembozándose con ira.)*  
Don Félix, ¿no conocéis  
a don Diego de Pastrana?

*Don Diego*<sup>1</sup>  
Ah! Don Felix? □ Know you not?<sup>2</sup>  
Don Diego de Pastrana

*Don Félix*  
A vos no, mas sí a una hermana  
que imagino que tenéis.

*Don Felix*  
Don Diego?<sup>3</sup> Not you □ but man, a  
Sister I think you have got.

*Don Diego*  
170 ¿Y no sabéis que murió?

[...]<sup>4</sup>

*Don Félix*  
Téngala Dios en su gloria.

*Don Diego*  
Pienso que sabéis su historia,  
y quién fue quien la mató.

*Don Félix (Con sarcasmo.)*  
¡Quizá alguna calentura!

*Don Diego*  
175 ¡Mentís vos!

*Don Félix*  
Calma, don Diego,  
que si vos os morís luego,  
es tanta mi desventura,  
que aún me lo habrán de achacar,  
y es en vano ese despecho,  
180 si se murió, a lo hecho, pecho,  
ya no ha de resucitar.

*Don Felix*<sup>5</sup>  
  
□ pain<sup>6</sup>  
□  
She<sup>7</sup> can't come to life again.

*Don Diego*  
Os estoy mirando y dudo

*Don Diego*<sup>8</sup>  
I see and hear thee, and doubt<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Don Diego]

<sup>2</sup> [74A-93<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 51. p.153. ] Page number on upper left corner corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> D[on] F[elix] [↑ Don Diego?]

<sup>4</sup> Verses 170-178 are missing.

<sup>5</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-57<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 52. 154 top ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>7</sup> <Well> She

<sup>8</sup> [Don Diego]

<sup>9</sup> [74A-101<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 53.

	si habré de manchar mi espada con esa sangre malvada,	Whether I my sword shall soil In that most curst blood, or coil
185	o echaros al cuello un nudo con mis manos, y con mengua, en vez de desafiaros, el corazón arrancaros y patearos la lengua.	My fingers thy neck about And with unmercy most brute <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Setting defiance apart To tear from thy breast thy heart <sup>3</sup> And tread thy tongue under foot.
190	Que un alma, una vida, es satisfacción muy ligera, y os diera mil si pudiera y os las quitara después. Juego a mi labio han de dar	A soul, a life □ <sup>4</sup> A satisfaction too light A thousand full, me I might I'd give thee <sup>5</sup> , to take them again. [...] <sup>6</sup>
195	abiertas todas tus venas, que toda su sangre apenas basta mi sed a calmar. ¡Villano!	

*(Tira de la espada; Todos los jugadores se interponen.)*

*Todos*

Fuera de aquí a armar quimera.	□ <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> Making □ quarrels.
-----------------------------------	---

*Don Félix (Con calma, levantándose.)*

	Tened,	<i>Don Felix</i> <sup>9</sup> Hold <sup>10</sup>
200	don Diego, la espada, y ved que estoy yo muy sobre mí, y que me contengo mucho, no sé por qué, pues tan frío en mi colérico brío	Your sword, Don Diego and <sup>11</sup> behold That □ And □ I know not why, that so cold In my courage □ bold <sup>12</sup>
205	vuestras injurias escucho.	To your insults I give ear?

*Don Diego (Con furor reconcentrado  
y con la espada desnuda.)*

Salid de aquí; que a fe mía,	<i>Don Diego</i> <sup>13</sup> Come *noth for by my faith <sup>1</sup>
------------------------------	---

<sup>1</sup> *This and the next three verses have a slight variant in manuscript [74A-101<sup>r</sup>]: And with unmercy most brute, | Setting fair challenge apart, | To tear from thy breast thy heart | And tread thy tongue under foot.*

<sup>2</sup> [74A-110<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *This verse has a partial scratched variant at the end of the page: <to tear them back>*

<sup>4</sup> life <all is †> □

<sup>5</sup> I'd give [↑ thee]

<sup>6</sup> *Verses 194-198a are missing.*

<sup>7</sup> □ <Hold>

<sup>8</sup> [74A-97<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 55.

<sup>9</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>10</sup> *A variant of this and the next verse, with an exact "clean" version, is found in manuscript [74A-110<sup>r</sup>]: Hold | <†>*

Your sword, D[on] D[iego] [and] behold

<sup>11</sup> D[on] Diego [and]

<sup>12</sup> <bo> □ bold

<sup>13</sup> [Don Diego]

- que estoy resulto a mataros,  
y no alcanzara a libraros  
la misma virgen María.  
210 Y es tan cierta mi intención,  
tan resuelta está mi alma,  
que hasta mi cólera calma  
mi firme resolución.  
Venid conmigo.
- Don Félix*  
Allá voy;  
215 pero si os mato, don Diego,  
que no me venga otro luego  
a pedirme cuenta. Soy  
con vos al punto. Esperad  
cuenta el dinero... *uno... dos...*  
(*A Don Diego.*)  
220 Son mis ganancias; por vos  
pierdo aquí una cantidad  
considerable de oro  
que iba a ganar... ¿y por qué?  
Diez... quince... por no sé qué  
225 cuento de amor... ¡un tesoro  
perdido!... voy al momento.  
Es un puro disparate  
empeñarse en que yo os mate;  
lo digo, como lo siento.
- Don Diego*  
230 Remiso andáis y cobarde  
y hablador en demasía.
- Of life to thee<sup>2</sup> I am †  
And herself the virgin Mary<sup>3</sup>  
Can □ save thee from death.  
□  
So pure and<sup>4</sup> □ virgin  
That even my rage doth cool  
□  
Come with me,<sup>5 6</sup>
- Don Felix*<sup>7</sup>  
In no time.  
But Don Diego<sup>8</sup> if you die  
Let not another come by  
To settle other accounts<sup>9</sup> I'm  
With you in a minute. Let me  
Count this my money one, two.
- These are my earnings – for you  
I lose here a quantity  
Considerable of gold what most<sup>10</sup>  
Routously I † gone and<sup>11</sup> why?  
10; 15 all for some dry<sup>12</sup>  
Tale of love...! a heaven<sup>13</sup> lost!  
□  
Your action is rather silly  
To rich the chance that I kill you  
I tell you all as I feel it
- Don*<sup>14</sup> *Diego.*<sup>15</sup>  
You're cowardly and<sup>16</sup> slow<sup>17</sup>  
And □ of words a flood

<sup>1</sup> [74A-98<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 56. 155 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>2</sup> <\*you> [† thee]

<sup>3</sup> M[ary]

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> Come with me, /in/

<sup>6</sup> [74A-109<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 57.

<sup>7</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>8</sup> D[iego]

<sup>9</sup> square accounts. [† settle other accounts]

<sup>10</sup> gold [† what] most

<sup>11</sup> [and]

<sup>12</sup> <for I know not why> [† all for some dry]

<sup>13</sup> treasure [† heaven]

<sup>14</sup> D[on]

<sup>15</sup> [74A-104<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 58.

<sup>16</sup> [and]

<sup>17</sup> This verse has a variant in manuscript [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: You are cowardly [and] <†>. There is also a variant of this and the next three verses in manuscript [74A-102<sup>r</sup>], on top of which there is the number 156, corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition: D[on] D[iego] | Slow you are | In an ever-wordy mood || D[on] F[elix] | True, D[on] D[iego] but cold blood | In fighting is ne'er too late.

- Don Félix*  
Don Diego, más sangre fría:  
para reñir nunca es tarde,  
y si aún fuera otro el asunto,  
235 yo os perdonara la prisa:  
pidierais vos una misa  
por la difunta, y al punto...
- Don Diego*  
¡Mal caballero!
- Don Félix*  
Don Diego,  
mi delito no es gran cosa.  
Era vuestra hermana hermosa:  
240 la vi, me amó, creció el fuego,  
se murió, no es culpa mía;  
y admiro vuestro candor,  
que no se mueren de amor  
las mujeres de hoy en día.
- Don Diego*  
245 ¿Estáis pronto?
- Don Félix*  
Están contados.  
Vamos andando.
- Don Diego*  
¿Os reís?  
(*Con voz solemne.*)  
Pensad que a morir venís.
- Don Felix*<sup>1</sup>  
Ay, Don Diego, but cool<sup>2</sup> blood  
For fighting is ne'er too late.  
If things were the other<sup>3</sup> way,  
On your caption I'd pass,  
You'd † but to ask a mass  
For the deceased and<sup>4</sup> the question
- Don Diego*<sup>5</sup>  
Now there, Sir.<sup>6</sup>
- Don Felix*<sup>7</sup>  
Don Diego, true  
My crime is<sup>8</sup> not very great  
□  
I saw her, she loved, the flame grew  
She died, the<sup>9</sup> fault is not mine  
And your frankness I applaud  
But no woman dies of love<sup>10</sup>  
□
- Don Diego*<sup>11</sup>  
Are you ready?
- Don Felix*<sup>12</sup>  
They are all told  
Let us be going:
- Don Diego*<sup>13</sup>  
You laugh?<sup>14 15</sup>  
Death is too near you<sup>16</sup> to chaff!

---

<sup>1</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>2</sup> D[iego], but cold [↑ cool]

<sup>3</sup> <an>[↑ the] other

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> D[on] D[iego]

<sup>6</sup> [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 40.

<sup>7</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>8</sup> My crime <was> [↑ is]

<sup>9</sup> died, <and> the

<sup>10</sup> [→ But no woman dies of love]

<sup>11</sup> [Don Diego]

<sup>12</sup> [Don Felix]

<sup>13</sup> [Don Diego]

<sup>14</sup> *There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: Laugh you?*

<sup>15</sup> [74A-95<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 59.

<sup>16</sup> <thee> you

(Don Félix sale tras de él,  
embolsándose el dinero con indiferencia.)

Son mil trescientos ducados.

Last three one hundred in gold.<sup>1</sup>

Escena IV

Scene VI.<sup>2</sup>

Los jugadores.

Jugador 1.<sup>3</sup>

Este don Diego Pastrana  
es un hombre decidido.  
Desde Flandes ha venido  
sólo a vengar a su hermana.

1<sup>3</sup>

This □  
[...]<sup>4</sup>

Jugador 2.<sup>5</sup>

¡Pues no ha hecho mal disparate!  
Me da el corazón su muerte.

2<sup>5</sup>

He has quite foolishly willed  
This death to my heart goes straight<sup>6 7</sup>

Jugador 3.<sup>8</sup>

255 ¿Quién sabe? Acaso la suerte...

3<sup>8</sup>

Who knows □ perhaps Faith<sup>9 10</sup>

Jugador 4.<sup>11</sup>

Me alegraré que lo mate.

4<sup>11</sup>

It will please me to know him killed.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [133N-20<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 40.

<sup>2</sup> [74A-99<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 60.

<sup>3</sup> [1]

<sup>4</sup> Verses 250-252 are missing.

<sup>5</sup> [2]

<sup>6</sup> This variant was chosen over the one in manuscript [74A-99<sup>r</sup>] due to its more well-rounded translation. The one in the aforementioned page is: His deadly heart doth □

<sup>7</sup> [74A-94<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 61.

<sup>8</sup> [3]

<sup>9</sup> There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-94<sup>r</sup>]: Who were □ fate.

<sup>10</sup> [74A-99<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 60.

<sup>11</sup> [4]

<sup>12</sup> I'<d>/ll\ gladly [↑ It will please me] to /her/ [↑ know] him killed.

## Parte cuarta

Part IV<sup>1</sup>

Salió en fin de aquel estado, para caer en  
 el dolor más sombrío, en la más  
 desalentada desesperación y en la mayor  
 amargura y desconsuelo que pueden  
 apoderarse de este pobre corazón humano,  
 que tan positivamente choca y se quebranta  
 con los males, como con vaguedad aspira  
 en algunos momentos, casi siempre sin  
 conseguirlo, a tocar los bienes ligeramente  
 y de pasada.

MIGUEL DE LOS SANTOS ÁLVAREZ.

*La protección de un sastre.*

*Spiritus quidem promptus est;*

*caro vero infirma.*

(S. Marc. Evang.)

Vedle, don Félix es, espada en mano,  
 sereno el rostro, firme el corazón;  
 también de Elvira el vengativo hermano  
 sin piedad a sus pies muerto cayó.

Behold Don Felix with his sword in hand,<sup>2</sup>  
 Serene his countenance and his heart well;  
 Elvira's brother, who had vengeance plann'd,  
 Dead at his feet and without pity fell.

5 Y con tranquila audacia se adelanta  
 por la calle fatal del Ataúd;  
 y ni medrosa aparición le espanta,  
 ni le turba la imagen de Jesús.

He with a tranquil boldness doth advance  
 Along the fatal street del Ataúd;  
 Nor vision full of fear his mind doth<sup>3</sup> entrance,  
 Nor Jesus' image doth perturb his mood.

10 La moribunda lámpara que ardía  
 trémula lanza su postrer fulgor,  
 y en honda oscuridad, noche sombría  
 la misteriosa calle encapotó.

The dying lamplet's ill-awaken'd light  
 Tremulously doth its last gleam discover  
 And with<sup>4</sup> profoundest darkness, horrid night  
 The street mysterious like a hood doth<sup>5</sup> cover.

15 Mueve los pies el Montemar osado  
 en las tinieblas con incierto giro,  
 cuando ya un trecho de la calle andado,  
 súbito junto a él oye un suspiro.

Montemar moveth his undaunted feet  
 Within the darkness with uncertainty  
 When having trodden part of the long street  
 Suddenly next to him he hears a sigh.

Resbalar por su faz sintió el aliento,

He felt his breath upon his face to creep<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Part IV]

<sup>2</sup> [74B-30<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 62. IV. 1. ] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to the first stanzas of Part IV.

<sup>3</sup> /Nor fearful vision doth his mind/ [↑ Nor vision full of fear his mind doth]

<sup>4</sup> And <in> [↑ with]

<sup>5</sup> hood <did> [↑ doth]

<sup>6</sup> There is a variant of this and the following stanza in manuscript [74-95<sup>v</sup>], which has number 159 on top of the page, indicating the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition: <He felt the breath over his face creeping | And in <his> spite [↑ of

20	y a su pesar sus nervios se crisparon; mas pasado el primero movimiento, a su primera rigidez tornaron.	And in spite of him did his nerves contract, But, past their first involuntary leap, To their own iron hardness did retract.
25	«¿Quién va?», pregunta con la voz serena, que ni finge valor, ni muestra miedo, el alma de invencible vigor llena, fiado en su tajante de Toledo.	“Who goes?” he asks with his calm voice at length <sup>1</sup> That feigns not courage and is not afraid, His soul full of indomitable strength Full confident on his Toledan blade.
30	Palpa en torno de sí, y el impío jura, y a mover vuelve la atrevida planta, cuando hacia él fatídica figura, envuelta en blancas ropas, se adelanta.	He feels around him and with impious vigour Curses, and boldly his bold walk resumes, When towards him a vague and fateful figure Wrapp’d in white garments mystically comes.
35	Flotante y vaga, las espesas nieblas ya disipa y se anima y va creciendo con apagada luz, ya en las tinieblas su argentino blancor va apareciendo.	Floating and vague the clouds thick and intense It dispels, and animates itself, and grows With an ill-wakened light and in the dense Darkness its silver whiteness clearer shows.
40	Ya leve punto de luciente plata, astro de clara lumbre sin mancha, el horizonte lóbrego dilata y allá en la sombra en lontananza brilla.	Now a <sup>2</sup> light dot of silver shining <sup>3</sup> A planet without a stain <sup>4</sup> of clear light The gloomy horizon waketh wide <sup>5</sup> And in the shade afar shines bright <sup>6</sup>
45	Los ojos Montemar fijos en ella, con más asombro que temor la mira; tal vez la juzga vagarosa estrella que en el espacio de los cielos gira.	His eyes upon her fixed, Montemar <sup>7</sup> With more wonder than fear her doth behold; Perchance he thinks her a slow-moving star That through the space of heaven is on-rolled.
50	Tal vez engaño de sus propios ojos, forma falaz que en su ilusión creó, o del vino ridículos antojos que al fin su juicio a alborotar subió.	Haply of his own eyes a strange delusion <sup>8</sup> A lying form that in his dreams he made, Or yet the wine’s ridiculous confusion <sup>9</sup> Which his reason at last hath disarrayed.
55	Mas el vapor del néctar jerezano	But never the Sherreyan nectar had

---

him did] his nerves contract | But past their first involuntary leaping | To their <iron> [↑ once iron] hardness did retract. || Who goes? he asked with his calm voice’s rigour | That neither feignèd courage nor □ | His |spirit| [↑ soul] full of |invincible| [↑ undauntable] vigour | □> Each stanza is preceded by numbers 4 and 5, respectively, apparently indicating a translation sequence established by Pessoa (they do not correspond to the ordinal number of each stanza within the poem).

<sup>1</sup> [74B-31r]: See Fig. 63. IV. 2. ] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a second group of stanzas of Part IV.

<sup>2</sup> [↑ Now] a

<sup>3</sup> [74-95r]: See Fig. 64. 160 1 and 160 5 ] Page numbers on top and in the middle of the page, respectively, corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> /planet/ [← without a stain]

<sup>5</sup> /waketh wide/

<sup>6</sup> the <shadow> [↑ shade] afar <off doth> [↓ shines bright]

<sup>7</sup> [74B-31r]: See Fig. 63.

<sup>8</sup> [74B-32r]: See Fig. 65. IV. 3. ] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a third group of stanzas of Part IV.

<sup>9</sup> <illusion> [→ confusion]

	nunca su mente a trastornar bastara, que ya mil veces embriagarse en vano en frenéticas orgías intentara.	Sufficed his mind to alter and to stain For full a thousand times <sup>1</sup> in orgies mad Himself to □ he had tried in vain.
50	«Dios presume asustarme: ¡ojalá fuera, -dijo entre sí riendo- el diablo mismo! que entonces, vive Dios, quién soy supiera el cornudo monarca del abismo.»	“God wills <sup>2</sup> to frighten me! I would it were! <sup>3</sup> He murmured laughing <sup>4</sup> □ yes! For then, of <sup>5</sup> who I am would be aware By God the hornèd monarch of the abyss.” <sup>6</sup>
55	Al pronunciar tan insolente ultraje la lámpara del Cristo se encendió: y una mujer velada en blanco traje, ante la imagen de rodillas vio.	As he spoke this □ insult, with new light <sup>7</sup> □ And the veiled woman clad in garb of white Before the image kneeling he descried.
60	«Bienvenida la luz» -dijo el impío-. «Gracias a Dios o al diablo»; y con osada, firme intención y temerario brío, el paso vuelve a la mujer tapada.	“Welcome the light!” the impious student said, “Thank God or thank the Devil”: and with bold And firm intention, madly without dread, Towards the veiled lady he his way doth hold.
	Mientras él anda, al parecer se alejan la luz, la imagen, la devota dama, mas si él se para, de moverse dejan: y lágrima tras lágrima, derrama	And while he walks, in seeming move away <sup>8</sup> The light, the image and the lady fair, But if he stop their motion do their stay: And dolorously drops tear after tear.
65	de sus ojos inmóviles la imagen. Mas sin que el miedo ni el dolor que inspira su planta audaz, ni su impiedad atajen, rostro a rostro a Jesús, Montemar mira.	The image from its eyes immovable □ His footsteps bold or his impiety quell □
70	-La calle parece se mueve y camina, faltarle la tierra sintió bajo el pie; sus ojos la muerta mirada fascina del Cristo, que intensa clavada está en él.	The street seems to move on and shift with strange motion He feels underfoot the whole earth fail and swim; His eyes the dead glance charms with mystic commotion Of Christ that intensely is fixed upon him.
75	Y en medio el delirio que embarga su mente, y achaca él al vino que al fin le embriagó, la lámpara alcanza con mano insolente del ara do alumbraba la imagen de Dios,	And plunged in the madness his mind that diseases – The wine’s (so he thinks) that his reason affrights – The lamplet with insolet boldness he seizes From the altar where God’s holy image it lights.

<sup>1</sup> /times a thousand and/ [↑ full a thousand times]

<sup>2</sup> God <wishes> [↑ wills]

<sup>3</sup> [74-95<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 64.

<sup>4</sup> <said> [→ murmured laughing]

<sup>5</sup> then, <by God,> [↑ of]

<sup>6</sup> [↑ By God] the hornèd monarch of the abyss[.]”

<sup>7</sup> [74B-32<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 65.

<sup>8</sup> [74B-33<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 66. IV. 4. ] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a fourth group of stanzas of Part IV.

	y al rostro la acerca, que el cándido lino	And holds to her face, that by syncing of white veil hidden <sup>1 2</sup>
	encubre, con ánimo asaz descortés;	□ in discourteous wise
80	mas la luz apaga viento repentino, y la blanca dama se puso de pie.	But the light is put out by blowing sudden And the lady in white to her feet did rise
	Empero un momento creyó que veía	And but for a moment he thought he was seeing <sup>3</sup>
	un rostro que vagos recuerdos quizá,	A face which □
	y alegres memorias confusas, traía	And glad and <sup>4</sup> vague memories did call into being
	de tiempos mejores que pasaron ya.	Of tunes that were better and <sup>5</sup> now are no more
85	Un rostro de un ángel que vio en un ensueño,	The face of an angel he saw in sweet dreaming
	como un sentimiento que el alma halagó,	Like a sentiment that the spirit did flood,
	que anubla la frente con rígido ceño,	That shadows the head □
	sin que lo comprenda jamás la razón.	That never by reason shall be <sup>6</sup> understood.
90	Su forma gallarda dibuja en las sombras	□
	el blanco ropaje que ondeante se ve,	□ is decried
	y cual si pisara mullidas alfombras,	And as if the softest of carpets were treading
	deslízase leve sin ruido su pie.	And noiseless and rapid her light <sup>7</sup> foot doth glide
95	Tal vimos al rayo de la luna llena	□
	fugitiva vela de lejos cruzar,	□ to flee
	que ya la hinche en popa la brisa serena,	That now □
	que ya la confunde la espuma del mar.	And <sup>8</sup> now that is merged in <sup>9</sup> the foam of the sea.
100	También la esperanza blanca y vaporosa	□ airy
	así ante nosotros pasa en ilusión,	Before us clean thus in illusion doth pass
	y el alma conmueve con ansia medrosa	And shaketh the soul with □
	mientras la rechaza la adusta razón.	The while that firm reason its □ doth chase.
	<i>Don Félix</i>	[...] <sup>10</sup>
	«¡Qué! ¿sin respuesta me deja?	
	¿No admitís mi compañía?	
	¿Será quizá alguna vieja	
	devota?... ¡Chasco sería!	
105	En vano, dueña, es callar,	Lady, 'tis vain □ <sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [And] holds to her face, that by <doubt> /syncing of white/ veil hidden

<sup>2</sup> [74A-28<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 67. The lower half of the page has crossed out numbers.

<sup>3</sup> [74A-28<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 68. 161-162 ] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> [and]

<sup>6</sup> <never> [↑ be]

<sup>7</sup> [and] [↑ rapid] <light> her [↑ light]

<sup>8</sup> [And]

<sup>9</sup> [And] now /that is merged in/

<sup>10</sup> Verses 101-104 are missing.

<sup>11</sup> [74A-27<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 69. 162-163 ] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

	ni hacerme señas que no; he resuelto que sí yo, y os tengo que acompañar. Y he de saber dónde vais	Nor tell me <sup>1</sup> by signals "No" I have resolved "yes" and <sup>2</sup> so To follow you I am bound And I shall know where you go <sup>3</sup>
110	y si sois hermosa o fea, quién sois y cómo os llamáis. Y aun cuando imposible sea,	If you be ugly or fair □ <sup>4</sup> Even if it impossible were <sup>5</sup>
	y fuerais vos Satanás, con sus llamas y sus cuernos, 115 hasta en los mismos infiernos, vos delante y yo detrás, hemos de entrar, ¡vive Dios! Y aunque lo estorbara el cielo, que yo he de cumplir mi anhelo	And were you Satan <sup>6 7</sup> With his flames and horns well <sup>8</sup> Down to the bottom of hell You in front and <sup>9</sup> I behind We would go, □ there's a God Even were Heaven to hinder it I'll do my pleasure □ even <sup>10</sup>
120	aun a despecho de vos: y perdonadme, señora, si hay en mi empeño osadía, mas fuera descortesía dejaros sola a esta hora:	□ □ if <sup>11 12</sup> Boldness <sup>13</sup> in my wish there be That <sup>14</sup> it were discourtesy So late *alone you to leave:
125	y me va en ello mi fama, que juro a Dios no quisiera que por temor se creyera que no he seguido a una dama.»	□ <sup>15</sup> I'd not wish by God I swear <sup>16</sup> Any <sup>17</sup> should think that from fear □
	Del hondo del pecho profundo gemido, 130 crujido del vaso que estalla al dolor,	Profound from her heart then <sup>18</sup> a moan woe expressing <sup>19</sup> The break of the vessel that suffering did wear,

<sup>1</sup> <to make> [↑ tell me]

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> < dwell> [↑ go]

<sup>4</sup> Pessoa wrote a variant for verses 109-111 on manuscript 74A-24<sup>r</sup> but crossed it out: <[And] I will know □ | If you are ugly or fair | What your name is † <†> [↑ who you] are>.

<sup>5</sup> There is a divisory line below this verse.

<sup>6</sup> This stanza has a variant in manuscript [74A-27<sup>r</sup>]: And <we>/be\ you Satan, ev's kind /no mind/ | With his flames [and] his horns fall | Down to the bottom of hell | You in front [and] I behind | We <will> [↑ <†> shall] go <by \*God we will> | Although against us were Heaven

<sup>7</sup> [74A-23<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 70. p. 163. ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> horns [↓ <all> well]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-27<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 71.

<sup>11</sup> There is a more incomplete variant of this and the next three verses in manuscript [74A-27<sup>v</sup>]: □ | If in my □ there is boldness | It were uncourteous coldness | <It were> □

<sup>12</sup> [74A-24<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 72.

<sup>13</sup> <If> Boldness

<sup>14</sup> <†>/That\

<sup>15</sup> [74A-27<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 71.

<sup>16</sup> I'd <†> not <†>/wish\ by God I swear

<sup>17</sup> <That> Any

<sup>18</sup> heart [↑ then]

<sup>19</sup> [74A-22<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 73. 163-164 (2). ] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

- que apenas medroso lastima el oído,  
pero que punzante rasga el corazón;
- gemido de amargo recuerdo pasado,  
de pena presente, de incierto pesar,  
135 mortífero aliento, veneno exhalado  
del que encubre el alma ponzoñoso mar;
- Gemido de muerte lanzó y silenciosa  
la blanca figura su pie resbaló,  
cual mueve sus alas sílfide amorosa  
140 que apenas las aguas del lago rizó.
- ¡Ay el que vio acaso perdida en un día  
la dicha que eterna creyó el corazón,  
y en noche de nieblas, y en honda agonía  
en un mar sin playas muriendo quedó!...
- 145 Y solo y llevando consigo en su pecho,  
compañero eterno su dolor crüel,  
el mágico encanto del alma deshecho,  
su pena, su amigo y amante más fiel
- miró sus suspiros llevarlos el viento,  
150 sus lágrimas tristes perderse en el mar,  
sin nadie que acuda ni entienda su acento,  
el cielo y el mundo a su mal...
- Y ha visto la luna brillar en el cielo  
serena y en calma mientras él lloró,
- Which timidly only the hearing impressing<sup>1</sup>  
But that □ the □ heart doth tear
- A moan of a bitter remembrance departed  
Of pain that is present, of trouble ill-known  
□ venom upstarted<sup>2</sup>  
From the poisoned-sea that rests the<sup>3</sup> spirit upon.
- A moan as of dying she cast, then in silence  
The figure of white moved on its feet  
As a butterfly moves its wings without violence  
That scarcely do touch on the lake-water's sheet
- Woe to him who haply one day saw departed<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>  
The joy<sup>6</sup> which eternal his heart did believe  
And in night all of cloudness, in pain broken hearted  
In a sea without shores did him<sup>7</sup> dying receive.
- Alone and with him in his breast □ taken<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup>  
Eternal companion his own cruel pain  
The magical pleasure of □ shaken  
His sorrow his friend, his mistress most true;
- He saw ah his sighings the wind to have taken<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>  
The<sup>12</sup> tears of his sadness be lost in the sea  
And no-one to come to his weeping had shaken<sup>13</sup>  
Insensible heaven and<sup>14</sup> world to his misery
- He has seen the moon to shine in the heavens<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>  
Serene and<sup>17</sup> in calmness the while he did weep

<sup>1</sup> Which <only> [→ timidly only the hearing impressing]

<sup>2</sup> [74A-22<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 74.

<sup>3</sup> rests <on> [↑ the]

<sup>4</sup> There is a more incomplete variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-34<sup>r</sup>]: □ | The joy that eternal his heart did believe | □ | In a sea without shores □

<sup>5</sup> [74A-21<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 75.

<sup>6</sup> The <+>/joy \

<sup>7</sup> did [↑ him]

<sup>8</sup> Alone [and] with him in his breast □ <taking> [↑ taken]

<sup>9</sup> [74A-34<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 76.

<sup>10</sup> This stanza is preceded by an indication that says: elsewhere.

<sup>11</sup> [74A-21<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 75.

<sup>12</sup> <His> [↑ The]

<sup>13</sup> [And] no-one to come to his speaking to hearken [↑ his weeping had shaken]

<sup>14</sup> \*Elsewhile <sky> [↑ heaven]

<sup>15</sup> There are two variants of this stanza. The first is found in manuscript [74A-34<sup>v</sup>]: He has seen the moon to shine □ in heaven | Serenely [and] calmly the while he did weep, | He has seen upon earth men pass cold [and] even | □. The second is found in manuscript [74A-35<sup>r</sup>]: □ the moon to shine □ in heaven | Serenely [and] calmly the while pain him did burn | □ | And none at his weeping his head did turn.

<sup>16</sup> [74A-21<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 77.

<sup>17</sup> [and]

- 155 y ha visto los hombres pasar en el suelo He has seen men to pass □  
y nadie a sus quejas los ojos volvió, And no-one the<sup>1</sup> eyes to □
- y él mismo, la befa del mundo temblando, Himself dreading the world's evil scorning<sup>2 3</sup>  
su pena en su pecho profunda escondió, His pain in his heart □ did hide  
y dentro en su alma su llanto tragando And deep in his soul while he fed on his mourning  
160 con falsa sonrisa su labio vistió!!!... A smile on his lips he made false to abide.<sup>4</sup>
- ¡Ay! quien ha contado las horas que Ah<sup>5</sup> he who hath counted the hours time hath  
fueron, banished<sup>6 7</sup>  
horas otro tiempo que abrevió el placer, The hours that over time joy made short in their stay  
y hoy solo y llorando piensa cómo huyeron To-day lonely weeps he<sup>8</sup> thinks how have vanished  
con ellas por siempre las dichas de ayer; For ever with them □ they joys of yesterday.
- 165 y aquellos placeres, que el triste ha perdido, And<sup>9</sup> they these sweet joys he has lost to have never<sup>10</sup>  
no huyeron del mundo, que en el mundo Have fled not the world, for there □  
están,  
y él vive en el mundo do siempre ha vivido, And he lives in the world where he has<sup>11</sup> lived<sup>12</sup> ever  
y aquellos placeres para él no son ya!! And for him those pleasures and<sup>13</sup> joys are no more.
- ¡Ay! del que descubre por fin la mentira, Woe to him who at last □ lying<sup>14 15</sup>  
170 ¡Ay! del que la triste realidad palpó, Woe to him<sup>16</sup> who the sad real did □  
del que el esqueleto de este mundo mira, He who the skeleton of this world descrying  
y sus falsas galas loco le arrancó... Its false greatness □
- ¡Ay! de aquel que vive solo en lo pasado...! Woe him who in the past lives only<sup>1 2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> [And] no-one <†> the

<sup>2</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-21<sup>v</sup>]:* □ trembling | His pain in his heart profoundly did hide | [And] deep in his soul his □ dissembling | With a smile made of falseness his lips did dress.

<sup>3</sup> [74A-35<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 78. 164-165 ] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> With smile all of falseness his lips did /abide/ [↓ A □ on his lips he \*made false to abide.]

<sup>5</sup> *There are two variants of this stanza. The first is found in manuscript [74A-31<sup>r</sup>], which begins with an upper indication, 165, which corresponds to the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition: Oh, who has counted the hours | The hours that <before> pleasure made short | [And] to-day lonely weeping thinks how for ever [↑ /in there stay <gay>/] | With those <for ever> [↑ forever departed] joys of yesterday;. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-39<sup>v</sup>]: Ah he who has counted the hours □ | That pleasure did shorten in times past away | [And] now □ | □ yesterday.*

<sup>6</sup> <banished> [↓ banished]

<sup>7</sup> [74A-36<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 79. 165 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> weeps [↑ he]

<sup>9</sup> There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-31<sup>r</sup>]: And those pleasures the □ | From the world are not fled, for there they are | [And] he lives in the world where ever he's | [And] those pleasures for him □

<sup>10</sup> sweet <pl> joys he has lost | to have never |

<sup>11</sup> world [← where] [↓ he has]

<sup>12</sup> *There is a number written in pencil on top of the word: 1.*

<sup>13</sup> [and]

<sup>14</sup> *There are two variants of this stanza. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-36<sup>v</sup>]:* □ | To him who the | sad reality | did <feel> □ | He who the skeleton □ | Its false glories madly from <its face> [↑ it did] <hath> [↑ <did>] <steal> tear. *The second one is found in manuscript [74A-39<sup>r</sup>]:* Woe to him who finds that at last all is lying | □ | Who that skeleton of this vain world descrying | In rage its false □ from it □

<sup>15</sup> [74A-31<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 80.

<sup>16</sup> This repetition of the first verse is marked with a line.

- 175 ¡Ay! del que su alma nutre en su pesar,  
las horas que huyeron llamara angustiado,  
las horas que huyeron jamás tornarán...
- 180 Quien haya sufrido tan bárbaro duelo,  
quien noches enteras contó sin dormir  
en lecho de espinas, maldiciendo al cielo,  
horas sempiternas de ansiedad sin fin;
- 185 ponzoñoso lago de punzante hielo,  
sus lágrimas tristes, que cuajó el pesar,  
reventando ahogarle, sin hallar consuelo,  
ni esperanza nunca, ni tregua en su afán.
- 190 Aquel, de la blanca fantasma el gemido,  
única respuesta que a don Félix dio,  
hubiera, y su inmenso dolor, comprendido,  
hubiera pesado su inmenso valor.
- 195 *Don Félix*  
«Si buscáis algún ingrato,  
yo me ofrezco agradecido;  
pero o mente ese recato,  
o vos sufrís el mal trato  
de algún celoso marido.  
»¿Acerté? ¡Necia manía!
- To him who his soul in its pain □  
The hours that have fled he will call sad and<sup>3</sup> lonely  
The hours that are gone and<sup>4</sup> will never return
- Who nights upon nights without sleep did spend  
□  
Hours that are endless of woe without end;
- [...]<sup>5</sup>
- A poisonous lake of ice □<sup>6</sup>  
His tears sad<sup>7</sup> that pain has made icy to grow  
Returning to drown him, □  
No hope finding ever, nor break in his woe...
- That man the white<sup>8</sup> phantom's sad moan  
The only reply that Don Felix<sup>9</sup> □  
Would have, and<sup>10</sup> its sorrow immense,  
Its value had weighed, and had understood<sup>11</sup>.
- Don Felix*<sup>12 13</sup>  
If some false are □  
I offer me<sup>14</sup> thankful, zealous,  
But or that modesty's feigned<sup>15</sup>  
Or you are worried and<sup>16</sup> pained  
By a husband who is jealous.  
Said<sup>1</sup> I true? □

<sup>1</sup> There is a variant of this and the next stanza in manuscript [74A-39<sup>r</sup>]: Woe to him who lives in his past [and] there only | □ | The hours that are <past>/fled\ he will call, fined [and] lonely | The hours that once fled [and] that will not return. | □ | Who nights upon nights without sleeping did spend | □ | □ eternal of anxiety without end.

<sup>2</sup> [74A-38<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 81. 165 -5- ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition (fifth manuscript belonging to that page).

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> Verses 181-184 are missing.

<sup>6</sup> [74A-33<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 82. 166 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>7</sup> tears <born of sadness> [↑ sad]

<sup>8</sup> man <of the> [↑ the white]

<sup>9</sup> only <response> [↑ reply] that D[on] F[elix]

<sup>10</sup> [and]

<sup>11</sup> /[and] had understood/

<sup>12</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>13</sup> [74A-37<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 83. 166 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>14</sup> <Myself> I offer [↑ me]

<sup>15</sup> But <either> [↑ or] that modesty's <f> feigned

<sup>16</sup> [and]

200	Es para volverme loco, si insistís en tal porfía; con los mudos, reina mía, yo hago mucho y hablo poco.»	‘Tis to make me <sup>2</sup> madness touch To insist on that □ mien; For with <sup>3</sup> dull people, my queen I speak little and act <sup>4</sup> much.
205	Segunda vez importunada en tanto, una voz de süave melodía el estudiante oyó que parecía eco lejano de armonioso canto:	A second time importuned this wrong <sup>5 6</sup> A voice of a soft melody like a dream The student heard, a speaking <sup>7</sup> that did seem The far-off echo of a worldless song
210	De amante pecho lánguido latido, sentimiento inefable de ternura, suspiro fiel de amor correspondido, el primer sí de la mujer aún pura.	The □ that love doth burn <sup>8</sup> A feeling beyond <sup>9</sup> words, of tenderness A faithful sigh of love that hath return <sup>10</sup> Of a woman yet pure <sup>11</sup> , the first low “yes”
215	«Para mí los amores acabaron: todo en el mundo para mí acabó: los lazos que a la tierra me ligaron, el cielo para siempre desató», dijo su acento misterioso y tierno, que de otros mundos la ilusión traía, eco de los que ya reposo eterno gozan en paz bajo la tumba fría.	For me □ loves alas have ended <sup>12 13</sup> All in the world for me an end hath found <sup>14</sup> That bonds that me unto the earth blended <sup>15</sup> Heaven for ever □ hath unbound. So spoke her accents mystic and □ Bringing the illusion of worlds we know not <sup>16</sup> Echo of them who have endless <sup>17</sup> repose In the cold tomb □ got.
220	Montemar, atento sólo a su aventura, que es bella la dama y aun fácil juzgó, y la hora, la calle y la noche oscura lonely nuevos incentivos a su pecho son.	Montemar <sup>18</sup> , on his adventure thinking only <sup>19</sup> The fair is the lady □ The night and the hour and the night black and <sup>20</sup> Are better incentives □ to his breast

---

<sup>1</sup> <Spoke> [↑ Said]

<sup>2</sup> make <mad> [↑ me]

<sup>3</sup> /But [↑ For]/ With

<sup>4</sup> [and] /do [↑ act]/

<sup>5</sup> importuned [→ this /long [↓ wrong]/]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-40<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 84. 166. ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>7</sup> a <voice> [↑ speaking]

<sup>8</sup> <Of a loving breast> [↑ The] □ [→ that love doth burn]

<sup>9</sup> <without> [↑ beyond]

<sup>10</sup> of [→ love that hath return]

<sup>11</sup> a [← woman] yet [→ pure]

<sup>12</sup> loves <their> [↑ alas have] ended <have>

<sup>13</sup> [74A-40<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 85.

<sup>14</sup> <found> [↓ hath found]

<sup>15</sup> <bond> [↑ blended]

<sup>16</sup> <far \*pure> [↑ we know not]

<sup>17</sup> who<m> [↑ have] /eternal [↑ endless]/

<sup>18</sup> M[ontemar]

<sup>19</sup> [74-87<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 86. 167 3 ] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>20</sup> [and] the hour [and] the night black [and]

- Hay riesgo en seguirme. -Mirad ¡qué reparo!  
 -Quizá luego os pese. -Puede que por vos.  
 225 -Ofendéis al cielo. -Del diablo me amparo.  
 -Idos, caballero, ¡no tentéis a Dios!
- Siento me enamora más vuestro despego,  
 y si Dios se enoja, pardiez que hará mal:  
 véame en vuestros brazos y máteme luego.  
 230 -¡Vuestra última hora quizá esta será!...
- Dejad ya, don Félix, delirios mundanos.  
 -¡Hola, me conoce! -¡Ay! ¡Temblad por vos!  
 ¡Temblad, no se truequen deleites livianos  
 en penas eternas! -Basta de sermón,
- 235 que yo para oírlos la cuaresma espero;  
 y hablemos de amores, que es más dulce  
 hablar;  
 dejad ese tono solemne y severo,  
 que os juro, señora, que os sienta muy mal;
- 240 la vida es la vida: cuando ella se acaba,  
 acaba con ella también el placer.  
 ¿De inciertos pesares por qué hacerla  
 esclava?  
 Para mí no hay nunca mañana ni ayer.
- Si mañana muero, que sea en mal hora  
 o en buena, cual dicen, ¿qué me importa  
 a mí?
- 245 Goce yo el presente, disfrute yo ahora,  
 y el diablo me lleve si quiere al morir.
- ¡Cúmplase en fin tu voluntad, Dios mío!-,  
 la figura fatídica exclamó:

- There's danger in following - □ evil  
 - Perhaps then □  
 - But Heaven you are<sup>1</sup> offending! – I stand by the  
 Devil  
 □  
 □ fills me.<sup>2</sup>  
 □  
 □ kill me  
 □  
 □ Don Felix the world's □ treasures<sup>3</sup>  
 - Hello! then she knows me! Oh tremble for you  
 Oh tremble lest □ pleasures  
 To pains eternal - □  
 For I to hear them □ Lent are awaiting<sup>4</sup>  
 Of love let us<sup>5</sup> speak, 'tis sweeter  
 And leave that tone severe and most solemn<sup>6</sup>  
 Which, lady, I swear doth fit<sup>7</sup> you most bad  
 But life is but life: when its brief span is ended<sup>8</sup>  
 In its<sup>9</sup> last hour all pleasure has also its last.  
 To cares most uncertain why let it<sup>10</sup> be blended?  
 For me there is neither nor future nor past.  
 To-morrow, if dying, the hour be a bad one,  
 Or good, as they tell me<sup>11</sup> – why then, what care I?  
 The present enjoying, let that be a glad one;  
 The Devil may take me as soon as I die.  
 Thy will be done, oh God, at last, the figure<sup>12</sup>  
 Fatidical and nightly<sup>1</sup> did exclaim

<sup>1</sup> you [↑ are]

<sup>2</sup> [74-87<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 87. 167 5 ] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> [74A-32<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 88. 167.6 ] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74-88<sup>r</sup>]: To listen to them □ | □ glad

<sup>5</sup> <Let us speak>/Of love let us\

<sup>6</sup> [74-88<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 89. 167 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition. On back of paper:

A sonnet is a □

<sup>7</sup> doth <suit> [↑ fit]

<sup>8</sup> [74-92<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 90.

<sup>9</sup> <her> [↑ its]

<sup>10</sup> <her> [↑ it]

<sup>11</sup> <say> [↑ tell me]

<sup>12</sup> [74-93<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 91. 168 ] Page number on top of page, indicating Pessoa's Spanish edition.

250	Y en tanto al pecho redoblar su brío siente don Félix y camina en pos.	And in his breast redoubling all him insured Don Felix and after her he came. <sup>2</sup>
255	Cruzan tristes calles, plazas solitarias, arruinados muros, donde sus plegarias y falsos conjuros, en la misteriosa noche borrascosa, maldecida bruja con ronca voz canta,	They cross saddened streets, <sup>3 4</sup> Solitary squares, Old and ruined walls, Where her horrid prayers And false demon calls, In the weird, unbright, Tempest-fillèd night, An accursèd witch With hoarse voice doth spread
260	y de los sepulcros los muertos levanta. Y suenan los ecos de sus pasos huecos en la soledad;	And from their still graves Lifteth up the dead; And the echoes follow <sup>5</sup> Of their footsteps hollow In the solitude,
265	mientras en silencio yace la ciudad, y en lúgubre son arrulla su sueño bramando Aquilón.	All the while in silence Doth the city hood, And with midnight moan Charmeth its reposing The North-wind alone.
270	Y una calle y otra cruzan, y más allá y más allá: ni tiene término el viaje, ni nunca dejan de andar, y atraviesan, pasan, vuelven,	One street they cross and <sup>6</sup> another <sup>7</sup> Still further and <sup>8</sup> further over, Nor has the voyage an ending Nor cease they their midnight walk, And crossing, passing, turning <sup>9</sup> a hundred <sup>10</sup>
275	cien calles quedando atrás, y paso tras paso siguen, y siempre adelante van; y a confundirse ya empieza y a perderse Montemar,	Streets behind them they let fall, And step after step they follow, And always they travel on: To fail and reason beginneth And lose himself Montemar
280	que ni sabe a dó camina, ni acierta ya dónde está;	Nor knows he whither he treadeth Nor where he is <sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> /Fatidical/ [and] [→ nightly]

<sup>2</sup> D[on] F[elix] and after her he <goes> [↑ came.]

<sup>3</sup> This stanza has an almost identical variant in manuscript [74A-9<sup>v</sup>]: They cross saddened streets, | Solitary squares, | Old and ruined walls, | Where her horrid prayers | And <wild> [→ false] demon calls | In the weird, unbright | Tempest fillèd night | An accursèd witch | With hoarse voice doth spread, | And from their still graves | Lifteth up the dead. | And the echoes follow | Of their footsteps hollow | In the solitude | All the while in silence | Doth the city hood | And with midnight <+> [↑ moan,] | Its reposing charmeth | The North-wind alone.

<sup>4</sup> [74-91<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 92.

<sup>5</sup> [74-91<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 93.

<sup>6</sup> [and]

<sup>7</sup> [74A-9<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 94. 168 ] Page number on top of page, indicating Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> /turning/

<sup>10</sup> [74A-9<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 95.

<p>y otras calles, otras plazas recorre y otra ciudad, y ve fantásticas torres 285 de su eterno pedestal arrancarse, y sus macizas negras masas caminar, apoyándose en sus ángulos que en la tierra, en desigual, 290 perezoso tronco fijan; y a su monótono andar, las campanas sacudidas misteriosos dobles dan; mientras en danzas grotescas 295 y al estruendo funeral en derredor cien espectros danzan con torpe compás: y las veletas sus frentes bajan ante él al pasar, 300 los espectros le saludan, y en cien lenguas de metal, oye su nombre en los ecos de las campanas sonar.</p> <p>Mas luego cesa el estrépito, 305 y en silencio, en muda paz todo queda, y desaparece de súbito la ciudad: palacios, templos, se cambian en campos de soledad, 310 y en un yermo y silencioso melancólico arenal, sin luz, sin aire, sin cielo, perdido en la inmensidad, tal vez piensa que camina,</p>	<p>And other streets he doth traverse, Other squares, another city<sup>2</sup> And he sees fantastic towers From their lasting pedestal To tear themselves and<sup>3</sup> their massive Black masses forward<sup>4</sup> to move, Leaning in their □ angles Which unequally upon<sup>5</sup> The earth □ their<sup>6</sup> standing; At their monotonous walk The bells in the steeples shaken With mystic tolling appal, All the while in grotesque dances To the noise<sup>7</sup> funereal Around him a 100 spectres<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> Dance with compass full of awe<sup>10</sup>: And the □ their □ Lower □ him<sup>11</sup> as he doth pass And the spectres □ salute him<sup>12</sup> And in □ □ In the bell's echoes to sound.</p> <p>But □ the □ ceases In<sup>13</sup> silence, in dead peace all Is plungèd and<sup>14</sup> disappeareth Suddenly □ the □ town: Palaces temples are changed In fields lonely □ And<sup>15</sup> in a □ silent □ melancholic Without light nor air nor heavens In immensity □ lost. □ he thinks he is walking<sup>16</sup></p>
--	---

---

<sup>1</sup> <guess> [↑ where he is]

<sup>2</sup> /city/

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> /forward/

<sup>5</sup> <up> unequally upon

<sup>6</sup> <their> □ their

<sup>7</sup> /noise/ ] *The original word in Spanish, estruendo, is written below, possibly as a sign of doubt upon the translation.*

<sup>8</sup> <spirits> [↑ /phantoms/ spectres]

<sup>9</sup> [74A-5<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 96.

<sup>10</sup> /full of awe/

<sup>11</sup> <before> him

<sup>12</sup> /salute him/

<sup>13</sup> <And> In

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> [And]

<sup>16</sup> [74A-4<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 97. 170-171 ] *Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.*

- 315 sin poder parar jamás,  
de extraño empuje llevado  
con precipitado afán;  
entretanto que su guía  
delante de él sin hablar,  
320 sigue misterioso, y sigue  
con paso rápido, y ya  
se remonta ante sus ojos  
en alas del huracán,  
visión sublime, y su frente  
325 ve fosfórica brillar,  
entre lívidos relámpagos  
en la densa oscuridad,  
sierpes de luz, luminosos  
engendros del vendaval;  
330 y cuando duda si duerme,  
si tal vez sueña o está  
loco, si es tanto prodigio,  
tanto delirio verdad,  
otra vez en Salamanca  
335 súbito vuélvese a hallar,  
distingue los edificios,  
reconoce en dónde está,  
y en su delirante vértigo  
al vino vuelve a culpar,  
340 y jura, y siguen andando  
ella delante, él detrás.
- «¡Vive Dios!, dice entre sí,  
o Satanás se chancea,  
o no debo estar en mí  
o el Málaga que bebí  
345 en mi cabeza aún humea.
- »Sombras, fantasmas, visiones...  
Dale con tocar a muerto  
y en revueltas confusiones,  
350 danzando estos torreones
- Without ever □  
By a strange force □  
With precipitated □  
And □ his guide  
In front of him without talk<sup>1</sup>  
Goes mysteriously and<sup>2</sup> follows  
With a rapid step and<sup>3</sup> now  
□  
Upon the wings of the storm<sup>4</sup>  
Vision sublime □  
Sees to<sup>5</sup> shine phosphorical  
But □ livid lightning  
In the dense □  
Serpents of light, luminous  
Offspring of the □:  
And when he doubts if he sleepeth  
If perchance he dreameth or □  
Is mad, if so many □<sup>6</sup>  
So many ravings are □  
Again within Salamanca  
Suddenly himself □  
He distinguishes the buildings  
Remembering where he is now  
And in his whirling delirium  
The wine □  
And he swears, and<sup>7</sup> on the thy trace  
She in front and<sup>8</sup> he behind.
- By God! to himself he said<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>  
Either □ Satan's joke  
And myself □  
Or □ in my head  
The Málaga yet doth smoke
- Shadows and<sup>11</sup>, illusions  
'Tis their will dead bells to take  
And in □<sup>12</sup> confusions  
These towers I saw delusions

---

<sup>1</sup> /without talk/

<sup>2</sup> <+> [↑ †] mysteriously [and]

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> /storm/

<sup>5</sup> <Phosphor> [↑ Sees to]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-4<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 98.

<sup>7</sup> [and]

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> <he said> to himself he said

<sup>10</sup> [74-96<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 99. 171 ] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> [and]

<sup>12</sup> \*rev □

	al compás de tal concierto.	Dancing to this concert's tune.
355	»Y el juicio voy a perder entre tantas maravillas, que estas torres llegué a ver, como mulas de alquiler, andando con campanillas.	My mind □ Among so many marvels That these towers I □ saw Like hired mules □ Walking about with bells
360	»¿Y esta mujer quién será? Mas si es el diablo en persona, ¿a mí qué diantre me da? Y más que el traje en que va en esta ocasión, le abona.	And this woman who is she? <sup>1</sup> But is she the very devil What the devil is it with me? Besides, the dress that I see Wearing *now <sup>2</sup> , makes it true.
365	»Noble señora, imagino que sois nueva en el lugar: andar así es desatino; o habéis perdido el camino, o esto es andar por andar.	Noble lady, □ <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> That in this place we are new □ <sup>5</sup> Either you have lost the way Or this is walking □
370	»Ha dado en no responder, que es la más rara locura que puede hallarse en mujer, y en que yo la he de querer por su paso de andadura».	□ she won't answer me <sup>6</sup> Which is the madness most rare That any a woman can have <sup>7</sup> □ □
375	En tanto don Félix a tientas seguía, delante camina la blanca visión, triplica su espanto la noche sombría, sus hórridos gritos redobla Aquilón.	Meanwhile that Don Felix <sup>8</sup> □ did follow <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> In front of him walketh the vision in white Its horror doth treble the <sup>11</sup> night □ hollow The <sup>12</sup> north wind redoubles his howls that affright
	Rechinan girando las férreas veletas,	And <sup>13</sup> whirling do □ the □ of iron <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-8r]: See Fig. 100. 172 ] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>2</sup> <That> [↑ <The dress>] <+> [↑ Wearing \*now]

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-8r]: Noble lady, I believe | You are newly in this town

<sup>4</sup> [74-96r]: See Fig. 99.

<sup>5</sup> <To walk in this> □

<sup>6</sup> There is a variant of this and the following two verses in manuscript [74A-8r]: She won't answer me | Which is the madness most rare | That in women can be found

<sup>7</sup> /in/ [↑ any] a woman can /be/ [↑ have]

<sup>8</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>9</sup> There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-10v]: □ | In front <th> □ the vision /of [↑ in]/ white | □ | The North-wind redoubles its howls that affright

<sup>10</sup> [74-94r]: See Fig. 101.

<sup>11</sup> th<a>/e\

<sup>12</sup> <Its> The

<sup>13</sup> [And]

- crujir de cadenas se escucha sonar,  
las altas campanas, por el viento inquietas  
pausados sonidos en las torres dan.
- 380 Ruido de pasos de gente que viene  
a compás marchando con sordo rumor,  
y de tiempo en tiempo su marcha detiene,  
y rezar parece en confuso son.
- 385 Llegó de don Félix luego a los oídos,  
y luego cien luces a lo lejos vio,  
y luego en hileras largas divididos,  
vio que murmurando con lúgubre voz,
- enlutados bultos andando venían;  
y luego más cerca con asombro ve,  
390 que un féretro en medio y en hombros  
traían  
y dos cuerpos muertos tendidos en él.
- Las luces, la hora, la noche, profundo,  
infernally arcano parece encubrir.  
Cuando en hondo sueño yace muerto el  
mundo,  
395 cuando todo anuncia que habrá de morir
- al hombre, que loco la recia tormenta  
corrió de la vida, del viento a merced,  
cuando una voz triste las horas le cuenta,  
y en lodo sus pompas convertidas ve,
- 400 forzoso es que tenga de diamante el alma  
quien no sienta el pecho de horror palpitar,  
quien como don Félix, con serena calma
- And<sup>3</sup> □ of chains is heard to resound  
The bells on the towers □  
□
- The noise of the footsteps of people □<sup>4</sup> 5  
□ marching with □ ground  
From time on to time their marching detain  
And<sup>6</sup> say to pray in a □ sound
- Came to Don Felix<sup>7</sup> □ to his hearing<sup>8</sup>  
[...]<sup>9</sup>
- To him who the storm<sup>10</sup> of life □ madly<sup>11</sup>  
□<sup>12</sup> at will of the wind  
When a □ sadly  
And in □<sup>13</sup> find,
- Perforce, he a soul □ possesses  
Who feels not his bosom with terror to beat  
Who even □ as Don Felix with calmness

<sup>1</sup> There is a variant of this stanza and the first verse of the next one in manuscript [74-94<sup>r</sup>], which contains indications 172 on top of page and 173 after first stanza, both indicating the page number in Pessoa's Spanish edition: □ riot | The clatter of chains □ | The bells upon high by the wind's fury unquiet | □ || The □

<sup>2</sup> [74A-10<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 102.

<sup>3</sup> [And]

<sup>4</sup> There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-10<sup>v</sup>]: The sound of footsteps of people advancing | In orderly marching with □ | Who once and again their march □ | [And] seem to □ pray in □

<sup>5</sup> [74-99<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 103.

<sup>6</sup> [And]

<sup>7</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>8</sup> [74A-10<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Verses 385-395 are missing.

<sup>10</sup> <†> [↑ storm]

<sup>11</sup> [74-97<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 104. 173 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>12</sup> <Of I> □

<sup>13</sup> in <dot> □

ni en Dios ni en el diablo se ponga a pensar. □

- 405 Así en tardos pasos, todos murmurando,  
el lúgubre entierro ya cerca llegó,  
y la blanca dama devota rezando,  
entrambas rodillas en tierra dobló.
- 410 Calado el sombrero y en pie, indiferente  
el féretro mira don Félix pasar,  
y al paso pregunta con su aire insolente  
los nombres de aquellos que al sepulcro  
van.
- 415 Mas ¡cuál su sorpresa, su asombro cuál  
fuera,  
cuando horrorizado con espanto ve  
que el uno don Diego de Pastrana era,  
y el otro, ¡Dios santo!, y el otro era él...!
- Él mismo, su imagen, su misma figura,  
su mismo semblante, que él mismo era  
en fin:  
y duda y se palpa y fría pavura  
un punto en sus venas sintió discurrir.
- 420 Al fin era hombre, y un punto temblaron  
los nervios del hombre, y un punto temió;  
mas pronto su antigua vigor recobraron,  
pronto su fiereza volvió al corazón.
- Lo que es, dijo, por Pastrana,
- So in lagging steps and<sup>1</sup> all lowly saying  
The funeral gloomy □  
And □ lady with devout praying  
□
- His hat † indifferently<sup>2</sup> standing  
Don<sup>3</sup> Felix □ watches the □ to □  
Now with an insolent air is<sup>4</sup> demanding  
The names of the two whom they been to the  
grave.
- <sup>5 6</sup>
- When struck with horror and<sup>7</sup> □ he doth see  
That one □  
And t'other oh God the other was he.
- The same, 'tis his visage, □ mirror<sup>8</sup>  
The same countenance, the same it has<sup>9</sup>
- He doubts □ a cold terror  
A while in his veins he felt to pass.<sup>10</sup>
- He was but a man and a moment<sup>11</sup> did tremble  
The man's nerves, a moment with fear that did start<sup>12</sup>  
But soon they<sup>13</sup> did the old vigour assemble  
And soon all his courage returned to his heart.<sup>14</sup>
- By Pastrana □<sup>15 16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [and]

<sup>2</sup> /in fact/ [↑ indifferently]

<sup>3</sup> <The> Don

<sup>4</sup> <Then> Now with [↑ an] insolent air [↑ is]

<sup>5</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza and the first three verses of the following one in manuscript [74-98]:* <W>/But\ what his surprise, his □ | When stricken w[ith] horror astounded <he sees> [↑ doth see] | That one D[on] D[iego] □ | [And] the other God [and] the other was he. || The same □ his image his very figure | □ | He doubts [and]

<sup>6</sup> [74-97<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 105.

<sup>7</sup> [and]

<sup>8</sup> /error/ [↑ mirror]

<sup>9</sup> <'tis> it has

<sup>10</sup> <to flow> [↓ pass.]

<sup>11</sup> [and] a /while/ [↑ moment]

<sup>12</sup> /The nerves of the man, [and] a /while/ [↑ moment] he did fear/ [↓ The man's nerves, a moment <that> with fear [↑ that] did start]

<sup>13</sup> soon <their> [↑ they]

<sup>14</sup> /And <soon> [↑ soon]/ [↓ And soon all his courage returned to his heart.]

<sup>15</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-2<sup>v</sup>], which has number 174 on top of page, corresponding to the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition:* By Pastrana, □ | □ | □ | To bury me, □

<sup>16</sup> [74-100<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 106.

- 425 bien pensado está el entierro;  
mas es diligencia vana  
enterrarme a mí, y mañana  
me he de quejar de este yerro. □  
But the trouble is quite<sup>1</sup> vain  
To bury me □; I'll complain  
To-morrow □
- 430 Diga, señor enlutado,  
¿a quién llevan a enterrar?  
-Al estudiante endiablado  
don Félix de Montemar»-,  
respondió el encapuchado. - "Tell me, sir, who dress so sad  
Whom to □ you bear?  
- "The student □ and<sup>2</sup> mad  
Don Felix<sup>3</sup> de Montemar  
Answered<sup>4</sup> he who murmuring had.
- 435 -Mientes, truhán. -No por cierto.  
-Pues decidme a mí quién soy,  
si gustáis, porque no acierto  
cómo a un mismo tiempo estoy  
aquí vivo y allí muerto. Rascal<sup>5</sup>, you lie – □<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup>  
Tell me then □ who I'm  
If you please, □  
How I am at the same time  
□
- 440 -Yo no os conozco. -Pardiez,  
que si me llevo a enojar,  
tus burlas te haga llorar  
de tal modo, que otra vez  
conozcas ya a Montemar. - I know you not, -<sup>8</sup>  
Are you move my rage too far  
Your □  
In such way □  
You'll know quite well Montemar.
- 445 ¡Villano!... mas esto es  
ilusión de los sentidos,  
el mundo que anda al revés,  
los diablos entretenidos  
en hacerme dar traspiés. "Villain! □<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>  
An illusion of the senses  
The world □  
And the devils □  
□
- 450 ¡El fanfarrón de don Diego!  
De sus mentiras reniego,  
que cuando muerto cayó,  
al infierno se fue luego  
contando que me mató. "Don Diego<sup>11</sup>, the bragging dunce!<sup>12</sup>  
His silly lies I renounce<sup>13</sup>  
When he got the death he willèd me  
Down to hell he went at once  
Believing that he had killèd me."

---

<sup>1</sup> is <†> [↑ quite]

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>4</sup> /Replied/ [↑ Answered]

<sup>5</sup> *There is a variant of this and the following stanza in manuscripts [74-100<sup>r</sup>] and [74-100<sup>v</sup>]: "Rascal, you lie" - □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | "I know you not" - | If you push any rage too far | □ | □ | You'll know quite well Montemar.*

<sup>6</sup> □ <No, 'tis true, ->

<sup>7</sup> [74A-2<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 107. 175 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> - <†>

<sup>9</sup> *There is a slight variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-2<sup>r</sup>]: Villain! □*

<sup>10</sup> [74-100<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 108.

<sup>11</sup> D[iego]

<sup>12</sup> *There is a slight variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-59<sup>a</sup>]: Don Diego, the bragging dunce! | His silly lies I denounce | When he got the death he willèd me | Down to hell he went at once | Believing that he had killed me*

<sup>13</sup> /de/[↑ re]nounce

	Diciendo así, soltó una carcajada, y las espaldas con desdén volvió: se hizo el bigote, requirió la espada, y a la devota dama se acercó.	[...] <sup>1</sup>
455		
	Con que, en fin, ¿dónde vivís?, que se hace tarde, señora. 460 -Tarde, aún no; de aquí a una hora lo será. -Verdad decís, será más tarde que ahora.	Well now at last where live you <sup>2</sup> For it gets late, you'll *allow – Late not yet it shall be so In an hour <sup>3</sup> – That's very true It will be later than now.
	Esa voz con que hacéis miedo, de vos me enamora más: 465 yo me he echado el alma atrás; juzgad si me dará un bleo de Dios ni de Satanás.	And <sup>4</sup> that voice with which you frighten <sup>5</sup> Makes me love you but *the more: My soul □ □ □
	- Cada paso que avanzáis lo adelantáis a la muerte, 470 don Félix. ¿Y no tembláis, y el corazón no os advierte que a la muerte camináis?	By <sup>6</sup> every step you are brought Nearer to death □ bearing Don Felix <sup>7</sup> - Tremble you not Give your heart to you no thought That unto death you are nearing <sup>8</sup>
	Con eco melancólico y sombrío dijo así la mujer, y el sordo acento, 475 sonando en torno del mancebo impío, rugió en la voz del proceloso viento.	With echo melancholical and <sup>9</sup> sad <sup>10</sup> So spoke she and <sup>11</sup> her □ □ Roared in the voice of the tempestuous wind.
	Las piedras con las piedras se golpearon, bajo sus pies la tierra retembló, las aves de la noche se juntaron, 480 y sus alas crujir sobre él sintió:	Stones against stones did strike □ and <sup>12</sup> hit Beneath his feet earth trembled and □ <sup>13</sup> The birds of night □ meet <sup>14</sup> And their wings cross over above be heard <sup>15</sup>
	y en la sombra unos ojos fulgurantes	And <sup>1</sup> in the shadow eyes with a gleaming

<sup>1</sup> Verses 454-457 are missing.

<sup>2</sup> [74A-1<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 109. 176. ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> <It will be> [↑ In an hour]

<sup>4</sup> [And]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-1<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 110.

<sup>6</sup> [↑ By]

<sup>7</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>8</sup> /coming [↓ nearing]/

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-43<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 111. 176 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> /the woman [↑ she]/ [and]

<sup>12</sup> [and]

<sup>13</sup> [and] <did reel> □

<sup>14</sup> <And the> [↑ The birds] of night <↑ meet> □ meet

<sup>15</sup> /him [↑ above]/ be <↑> heard

- vio en el aire vagar que espanto inspiran,  
siempre sobre él saltándose anhelantes:  
ojos de horror que sin cesar le miran.
- 485 Y los vio y no tembló: mano a la espada  
puso y la sombra intrépido embistió,  
y ni sombra encontró ni encontró nada;  
sólo fijos en él los ojos vio.
- 490 Y alzó los suyos impaciente al cielo,  
y rechinó los dientes y maldijo,  
y en él creciendo el infernal anhelo,  
con voz de enojo blasfemado dijo:
- 495 «Seguid, señora, y adelante vamos:  
tanto mejor si sois el diablo mismo,  
y Dios y el diablo y yo nos conozcamos,  
y acábese por fin tanto embolismo.
- »Que de tanto sermón, de farsa tanta,  
juro, pardiez, que fatigado estoy:  
nada mi firme voluntad quebranta,
- 500 sabed en fin que donde vayáis voy.
- »Un término no más tiene la vida:  
término fijo; un paradero el alma;  
ahora adelante.» Dijo, y en seguida  
camina en pos con decidida calma».
- 505 Y la dama a una puerta se paró,
- He saw in air<sup>2</sup> to wander that strike fear on top  
Ever upon him in □ seeing  
Eyes full of horror that sans ceasing stare.
- He saw nor trembled to his sword he brought<sup>3</sup> 4  
His hand<sup>5</sup> against the shadow boldly went<sup>6</sup>  
But found nor shadow he, nor found he naught  
Only those eyes he saw upon him bent<sup>7</sup>
- And his he raised impatiently to Heaven  
And ground his teeth and<sup>8</sup> cursed  
And in him grew the infernal □  
With angry voice blasphemously<sup>9</sup> he said:
- Lady go on and<sup>10</sup> forward let me go<sup>11</sup>  
Better if you are the very devil  
And God the Devil and I at length may know<sup>12</sup>  
Each other and<sup>13</sup> such confusion may at length  
unravel.
- For of so much of sermon and<sup>14</sup> of farce  
Lady I swear that I am tired quite  
Nothing my will most firm can □ makes weak or  
scarce<sup>15</sup>
- Know that, in fine, □
- An end no more hath life  
A fixed ending and<sup>16</sup> the soul a home  
Now, forward He speaks and then<sup>17</sup>  
Calmly the<sup>18</sup> lady he doth come.
- Before a portal stopped the lady then<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> [And]

<sup>2</sup> /in air/

<sup>3</sup> He saw <them trembled not> [↑ nor trembled]: <his hand> [↑ \*to his sword] he \*brought

<sup>4</sup> [74A-43<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 112.

<sup>5</sup> There is a mark possibly indicating the continuation of the first version and the variation.

<sup>6</sup> <Upon his sword> [↑ His hand] [and] <boldly did> [↑ against the shadow boldly went]

<sup>7</sup> <Only those eyes fixed on him> [↑ <But the> Only those eyes [↑ he saw] upon him bent]

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> Not to be read as “blasphemously”.

<sup>10</sup> [and]

<sup>11</sup> [74A-41<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 113. 177 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>12</sup> [and] I <each other> [↑ at \*length] \*my know

<sup>13</sup> [← Each other] [and]

<sup>14</sup> of <† †> [↑ so much] of sermon [and]

<sup>15</sup> firm <can> [↓ can] □ /or scarce/ [↑ makes weak or scarce]

<sup>16</sup> [and]

<sup>17</sup> forward He /spoke/ [↑ speaks] [and] <follows> then

<sup>18</sup> <He walks> Calmly <†> the

<p>y era una puerta altísima, y se abrieron sus hojas en el punto en que llamó, que a un misterioso impulso obedecieron; y tras la dama el estudiante entró; 510 ni pajes ni doncellas acudieron; y cruzan a la luz de unas bujías fantásticas, desiertas galerías.</p>	<p>'Twas an enormous portal whose doors did<sup>2</sup> □ Which at her word wide throve and<sup>3</sup> without dim To a mysterious impulse did obey: After the lady went the student in: Pages nor damosels did meet their way At some dim<sup>4</sup> candles' light they □ Fantastical, deserted galleries.</p>
<p>Y la visión como engañoso encanto, por las losas deslizase sin ruido, 515 toda encubierta bajo el blanco manto que barre el suelo en pliegues desprendido; y por el largo corredor en tanto sigue adelante y síguela atrevido, y su temeridad raya en locura, 520 resuelto Montemar a su aventura.</p>	<p>The vision then like a deceiving pleasure<sup>5</sup>, Over the flag-stones trod without a sound Hidden under the mantle treasure<sup>6</sup> Which in folds glideth<sup>7</sup> o'er the ground The while over the wide corridor's<sup>8</sup> measure She goeth on □ □<sup>9</sup> □<sup>10</sup></p>
<p>Las luces, como antorchas funerales, lánguida luz y cárdena esparcían, y en torno en movimientos desiguales las sombras se alejaban o venían: 525 arcos aquí ruinosos, sepulcrales, urnas allí y estatuas se veían, rotas columnas, patios mal seguros, verbosos, tristes, húmedos y oscuros.</p>	<p>And the pale lights like torches funeral<sup>11</sup> A languid light □ do cast, And all around the shadows rise and fall With movements unequal, wide and vast: Here ruined arches dim and sepulchral, Urns there and statues were seen to be placed, Shattered columns, cloisters not secure, Grassy and sad and humid and obscure.</p>
<p>Todo vago, quimérico y sombrío, 530 edificio sin base ni cimiento, ondula cual fantástico navío que anclado mueve borrascoso viento. En un silencio aterrador y frío</p>	<p>And all is vague, chimerical and dark,<sup>12 13</sup> A building sans foundation, nor designed<sup>14</sup>, Reeleth and rolleth like a fancied bark Which anchored swayeth the tempestuous wind, In a deep silence cold and dread and stark</p>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-59<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 114.

<sup>2</sup> |'Twas an| ever † portal [→ whose doors did <†>

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> dim<e>

<sup>5</sup> <And> the vision [↑ then] like [↑ a] deceiving [→ pleasure]

<sup>6</sup> /beneath [↑ under]/ the mantle <measure> [↑ treasure]

<sup>7</sup> folds <†> [↑ glideth]

<sup>8</sup> the [↑ †] corridor's

<sup>9</sup> <The> □

<sup>10</sup> *After the blank space there is a crossed-out stanza:* <The lights like torches funeral | A languid light [and] □ do cast | And all around the shadows rise [and] fall | With movement unequal [← wide] vast | Here ruined arches, dim [and] sepulchral | Urns there and statues were seen to be placed | Shattered columns, □ not secure | Grassy and sad and humid and obscure.>

<sup>11</sup> [74A-44<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 115.

<sup>12</sup> *There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-57<sup>r</sup>]:* All<'s> vague chimerical and dark doth float | An edifice sans base □ | Sways [and] □ like a fantastic boat | That \*ancored moveth □ wind | In a deep silence, terrible □ | All things there lie □ | □ <sil> [↓ silent, /dead/] | Time runneth there, in sleep all buried.

<sup>13</sup> [74A-44<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 116.

<sup>14</sup> /designed/

535	yace allí todo: ni rumor, ni aliento humano nunca se escuchó; callado, corre allí el tiempo, en sueño sepultado.	All things there lie: no sound to sense defined <sup>1</sup> Nor human breath was ever heard there: deep In silence there time runs buried in sleep.
540	Las muertas horas a las muertas horas siguen en el reloj de aquella vida, sombras de horror girando aterradoras, que allá aparecen en medrosa huida; ellas solas y tristes moradoras de aquella negra, funeral guarida, cual soñada fantástica quimera, vienen a ver al que su paz altera.	And to dead hours do the dead hours succeed <sup>2 3</sup> In the inhuman clock □ And shades of horror that around do speed □ <sup>4</sup> □ Of that dread dwelling dark and <sup>5</sup> funeral Like to a dreamèd shade fantastical <sup>6</sup> They troop to see him who their peace doth fall.
545	Y en él enclavan los hundidos ojos del fondo de la larga galería, que brillan lejos, cual carbones rojos, y espantaran la misma valentía: y muestran en su rostro sus enojos	On him they fix their <sup>7</sup> eyes' <sup>8</sup> deep awful stare <sup>9</sup> From the deep gallery's end □ in night That like burning coals □ do shine afar And courage self had stricken with affright.
550	al ver hollada su mansión sombría, y ora en grupos delante se aparecen, ora en la sombra allá se desvanecen.	[...] <sup>10</sup>
555	Grandiosa, satánica figura, alta la frente, Montemar camina, espíritu sublime en su locura, provocando la cólera divina: fábrica frágil de materia impura, el alma que la alienta y la ilumina, con Dios le iguala, y con osado vuelo	A grand <sup>11</sup> satanic figure crime <sup>12</sup> Erect his front, pine treadeth Montemar, A spirit in his madness yet <sup>13</sup> sublime □ Frail fabric of the □ of time The soul that holds it □ Makes him God's equal □
560	se alza a su trono y le provoca a duelo.	□

<sup>1</sup> /nor [↑ to] sense defined/

<sup>2</sup> *There are three variants of this and the next two verses. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-51<sup>r</sup>]: Dead hours [↑ to] dead hours succeed | In the □ | Forms of horror that /around [↑ awhirl]/ do speed. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-57<sup>v</sup>]: Dead hours on dead hours succeed | In the □ | Forms of horror that around do speed. And the third one is found in manuscript [74A-59<sup>o</sup>]: Dead hours [and] dead hours on each other follow | In the □ | <And> shapes of horror □*

<sup>3</sup> [74A-59<sup>o</sup>]: See Fig. 117.

<sup>4</sup> [74A-51<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 118.

<sup>5</sup> [and]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-59<sup>o</sup>]: See Fig. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *In an apparent lapse, the original says: they.*

<sup>8</sup> the[ir] [↑ eyes']

<sup>9</sup> [74A-59<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 119. *The manuscript starts with a crossed-out stanza: <All vague, <qu> [↑ chimerical] □ dark | A building □ foundation □ | Reeeth and rolleth like a fancied bark | Which anchored swayeth the tempestuous wind | In a deep silence cold and dread and stark | All things there lie: no [↑ breath nor] sound defined | Nor human breath was ever heard there: \*deep | <Sile> [↓ In silence there time runs buried in sleep.>*

<sup>10</sup> *Verses 549-552 are missing.*

<sup>11</sup> [← A] grand

<sup>12</sup> [74A-54<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 120.

<sup>13</sup> /all [↓ yet]/

- Segundo Lucifer que se levanta  
del rayo vengador la frente herida,  
alma rebelde que el temor no espanta,  
hollada sí, pero jamás vencida:  
565 el hombre en fin que en su ansiedad  
quebranta  
su límite a la cárcel de la vida,  
y a Dios llama ante él a darle cuenta,  
y descubrir su inmensidad intenta.
- Y un báquico cantar tarareando,  
570 cruza aquella quimérica morada,  
con atrevida indiferencia andando,  
mofa en los labios, y la vista osada;  
y el rumor que sus pasos van formando,  
y el golpe que al andar le da la espada,  
575 tristes ecos, siguiéndole detrás,  
repiten con monótono compás.
- Y aquel extraño y único rüido  
que de aquella mansión los ecos llena,  
580 en el suelo y los techos repetido,  
en su profunda soledad resuena;  
y expira allá cual funeral gemido  
que lanza en su dolor la ánima en pena,  
que al fin del corredor largo y oscuro  
salir parece de entre el roto muro.
- 585 Y en aquel otro mundo, y otra vida,
- A second Lucifer that doth □<sup>1</sup>  
By<sup>2</sup> the avenging bolt the wounded brow  
A rebel soul that terror<sup>3</sup> could not shake  
□ but never conquerèd  
The man in fine that in his □ doth break  
The limit to life's □  
[...]<sup>4</sup>
- Carolling lightly a light drinking song<sup>5 6</sup>  
He traverses<sup>7</sup> □ maze  
With bold indifference treading firm and<sup>8</sup> strong  
Scorns on his lips, with dauntless gaze:  
And the □ noise his footsteps trace along  
And the □  
Sad echoes, following on He and<sup>9</sup> beat  
In monotonous equalness<sup>10</sup> do repeat
- That foreign sound, that sound alone<sup>11</sup>  
That did the echoes of the mansion fill  
In floor and ceiling re-echoed<sup>12</sup> □<sup>13</sup>  
In its profoundest solitude doth thrill:  
And dies away like a funereal moan<sup>14</sup>  
Which from its pain the □  
Which at the end of the wide corridor  
And dark seems from the torn wall to □
- And<sup>15</sup> in that other world and<sup>16</sup> life<sup>17 1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-53<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 121.

<sup>2</sup> /From [↑ By]/

<sup>3</sup> /fear [↑ terror]/

<sup>4</sup> Verses 567-568 are missing.

<sup>5</sup> /Mumbling with lightness song/ [↑ Carolling lightly a light drinking song]

<sup>6</sup> [74A-47<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 122.

<sup>7</sup> He <cross> [↑ traverses]

<sup>8</sup> [and]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> <a> monotonous /compass [↑ equalness]/

<sup>11</sup> [74A-58<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 123.

<sup>12</sup> <t> [↓ In floor [and] ceiling re-echoed]

<sup>13</sup> The page starts with a cross-out variation of these first three verses: <And □ foreign [and] only sound | Which of that mansion doth the echoes fill, | In the floor □, in the ceiling doth resound>

<sup>14</sup> d<y>/i\es away like a funereal /groan [↑ moan]/

<sup>15</sup> [And]

<sup>16</sup> [and]

<sup>17</sup> There are two variants of this stanza. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-58<sup>r</sup>]: And in that other /life/ [and] other /world/ | World all of shadows, life that is a <dream> [↑ sleep], | Life that with death made one □ | □ | <A> world, vague illusion □ | Of our /own/ world, □. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-50<sup>r</sup>], which has an upper indication, 182, that corresponds to the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition: And in that other world [and] other life | World of shadows, life that is a sleep | Life that □ | <t> □ | World □ | Of our own world and

<p>mundo de sombras, vida que es un sueño,  vida, que con la muerte confundida,  ciñe sus sienas con letal beleño;  mundo, vaga ilusión descolorida  590 de nuestro mundo y vaporoso ensueño,  son aquel ruido y su locura insana,  la sola imagen de la vida humana.</p>	<p>World all of shadow, life that is in<sup>2</sup> sleep,  Life that with death confounded<sup>3</sup>  □  World, vague illusion □  Of our world and a dream □ and<sup>4</sup> deep,  Are that □ sound and its mad *in-strife<sup>5 6</sup>  The only images of human life.</p>
<p>Que allá su blanca misteriosa guía  de la alma dicha la ilusión parece,  595 que ora acaricia la esperanza impía,  ora al tocarla ya se desvanece:  blanca, flotante nube, que en la umbría  noche, en alas del céfiro se mece;  su airosa ropa, desplegada al viento,  600 semeja en su callado movimiento:</p>	<p>For there his white guide and<sup>7</sup> mysterious<sup>8</sup>  Seems the illusion of the happy □<sup>9</sup>,  Which now the impious hope □  Now<sup>10</sup>, near to touching it □,  A white, a floating cloud that in the dark  Night on the wings of the soft wind doth move,  Her graceful dress, abandoned to the wind  Is like □:</p>
<p>humo süave de quemado aroma  que al aire en ondas a perderse asciende,  rayo de luna que en la parda loma,  cual un broche su cima al éter prende;  605 silfa que con el alba envuelta asoma  y al nebuloso azul sus alas tiende,  de negras sombras y de luz teñidas,  entre el alba y la noche confundidas.</p>	<p>The □ smoke of a burnt incense  Which in air to be dispelled ascends<sup>11</sup>  A ray of moonlight that in the □<sup>12</sup>  Like to a brooch its top with<sup>13</sup> aether binds  A sylph that to morn □ broke<sup>14</sup>  And to the cloudy blue its wings extends  Woven of blackest shadows and<sup>15</sup> of light  Mixed between the morrow and<sup>16</sup> the night.</p>
<p>Y ágil, veloz, aérea y vaporosa,</p>	<p>And light and rapid and aerial and<sup>17</sup> self-dispelling<sup>18 1</sup></p>

□. *On the back of this paper*: Gustave Ficker 4 Rue de Savoie (VI<sup>e</sup>) Occultist and Spiritiste Works - †† or some † like it

<sup>1</sup> [74A-42<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 124.

<sup>2</sup> /a [† in]/

<sup>3</sup> /confounded/

<sup>4</sup> [and] a dream □ [and]

<sup>5</sup> *There is one variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-42<sup>r</sup>]: <The>/Are\ □ sound [and] all its mad in-strife | The only image/s/ of □ human life.*

<sup>6</sup> [74A-59<sup>a</sup>]: See Fig. 125. p. 180 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>7</sup> [and]

<sup>8</sup> [74A-58<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 126.

<sup>9</sup> <soul> [† <spirit>]

<sup>10</sup> Now <tou>

<sup>11</sup> in <waves rises in air to be dispelled [† winds]> [† air to be dispelled ascends]

<sup>12</sup> loma ] Pessoa wrote the originally Spanish word, possibly indicating doubt regarding the translation (hill).

<sup>13</sup> /to [† with]/

<sup>14</sup> /sylph/ that to morn □ /awoke [→ broke]/

<sup>15</sup> [← Woven] of [† blackest] shadows /black all-woven/ [and]

<sup>16</sup> [and]

<sup>17</sup> [and] /swift [† rapid]/ [and] aerial [and]

<sup>18</sup> *There is a variation of this stanza, most of it crossed out, in manuscript [74A-59<sup>a</sup>]: And agile, rapid, airy, <vaporous> | <That only toucheth> | <The magic vision of the veil of white: | [← The] faithful image of the □ | Which haply man in heaven will delight | Thought without formula and [← without name] numberless | That makes man pray and curse.>*



640	ya ante él pasando en confusión el mundo, ya oyendo gritos, voces y palmadas, y aplausos y brutales carcajadas;	□ world Already hearing □ □
645	llantos y ayes, quejas y gemidos, mofas, sarcasmos, risas y denuesos, y en mil grupos acá y allá reunidos, viendo debajo de él, sobre él enhiestos, hombres, mujeres, todos confundidos, con sandia pena, con alegres gestos, que con asombro estúpido le miran y en el perpetuo remolino giran.	Wailings and tears and complaints and moans <sup>1</sup> Sarcasms, □ laughter And in a thousand groups □ He saw beneath him □ And men and women □ With stupid sadness, with glad gestures That with <sup>2</sup> a stupid wonder look on him And in perpetual whirling □ are dim.
650	Siente, por fin, que de repente para, y un punto sin sentido se quedó; mas luego valeroso se repara, abrió los ojos y de pie se alzó; y fue el primer objeto en que pensara la blanca dama, y alrededor miró,	He <sup>3</sup> feels at last that to a stop is brought <sup>4 5</sup> And for a while he is brought swound <sup>6</sup> But soon <sup>7</sup> with courage he □ His eyes he opened and <sup>8</sup> his feet he found And the first object upon which he thought Was the white lady and <sup>9</sup> he looked around
655	y al pie de un triste monumento hallóla, sentada en medio de la estancia, sola.	And by a sad monument's stone Middle of <sup>10</sup> the room he saw her sit, alone.
660	Era un negro solemne monumento que en medio de la estancia se elevaba, y a un tiempo a Montemar, ¡raro portento!, una tumba y un lecho semejaba: ya imaginó su loco pensamiento que abierta aquella tumba le aguardaba; ya imaginó también que el lecho era tálamo blando que al esposo espera.	It was a black and <sup>11</sup> solemn monument <sup>12</sup> That in the middle of the □ <sup>13</sup> rose And Montemar at one time <sup>14</sup> (strange portent!) A tomb and bridal bed did it <sup>15</sup> suppose And his mad thought fancied with horrid bent That the open tomb awaited his repose; And □ □
665	Y pronto, recobrada su osadía,	And □ <sup>1 2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-49r]: See Fig. 130. p. 182-183 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>2</sup> [← That] with

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant of the first six verses of this stanza in manuscript [74A-49r]: He feels at last □ | □ | But □ | His eyes he opened [and] his feet he found: | And the first object upon which he thought | Was the white lady, and he looked around,

<sup>4</sup> that <suddenly he stops> [↑ to a stop is brought]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-46r]: See Fig. 131. 182-183 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>6</sup> And <without sense a while did he> for a while he /was/ [↑ is] brought swound

<sup>7</sup> But <after> soon

<sup>8</sup> <Opened> His eyes [↑ he opened] [and]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> <Her [and] †> [↑ Middle of]

<sup>11</sup> [and]

<sup>12</sup> [74A-59a<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 117.

<sup>13</sup> the <|> □

<sup>14</sup> <To> [↑ [And]] Montemar [← at one time]

<sup>15</sup> did [↑ it]

<p>y a terminar resuelto su aventura, al cielo y al infierno desafía con firme pecho y decisión segura: a la blanca visión su planta guía, 670 y a descubrirse el rostro la conjura, y a sus pies Montemar tomando asiento, así la habló con animoso acento:</p>	<p>Resolved □ adventure □ end Heaven and hell □ defies With a firm heart and<sup>3</sup> will that doth not bend. And to the vision white his way he hies □<sup>4</sup> And Montemar as a seat he did seek At her feet, thus with accents brave did speak:</p>
<p>«Diablo, mujer o visión, que, a juzgar por el camino 675 que conduce a esta mansión, eres puro desatino o diabólica invención:</p>	<p>“Devil,<sup>5</sup> woman or illusion<sup>6</sup> Because, to judge by the way That to this mansion doth stray You’re pure madness, a delusion Devil’s invention</p>
<p>»Siquier de parte de Dios, siquier de parte del diablo, 680 ¿quién nos trajo aquí a los dos? Decidme, en fin, ¿quién sois vos? y sepa yo con quién hablo:</p>	<p>Whether by<sup>7</sup> God’s bidding<sup>8</sup> Or by<sup>9</sup> the Devil’s Who brought us hither<sup>10</sup> □ the two? Tell me in fine: who thou art<sup>11</sup> Let me know to whom I speak:</p>
<p>»Que más que nunca palpita resuelto mi corazón, 685 cuando en tanta confusión, y en tanto arcano que irrita, me descubre mi razón.</p>	<p>For more than ever my breast<sup>12</sup> Resolvèd and firm doth beat<sup>13</sup> When in a<sup>14</sup> maze so complete In so angering a □ My reason shows<sup>15</sup> me</p>
<p>»Que un poder aquí supremo, invisible se ha mezclado, 690 poder que siento y no temo, a llevar determinado</p>	<p>That a power, supreme here Invisible its being<sup>16</sup> doth bend A power I feel yet not fear,<sup>17</sup> Determined unto<sup>1</sup> the end</p>

<sup>1</sup> *There is a variant of the first five verses of this stanza in manuscript [74A-46’]:* But □ | And firm to see his adven[tur]e to the end | Hell [and] heaven □ he doth defy | With a firm heart [and] with decision sure: | Towards the white vision □

<sup>2</sup> [74A-49’]: See Fig. 132.

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> <And> □

<sup>5</sup> “Devil <or>,”

<sup>6</sup> *There is a variant of this and the next four verses in manuscript [74A-45’]:* <†> [† Devil], woman <or thing> of evil, [→ dream,] | That to judge by the road | That to this mansion <doth> [† we] travel | Thou art madness pure [and] broad | Or invention of the Devil

<sup>7</sup> <If from> [† Whether by]

<sup>8</sup> [74A-45’]: See Fig. 133.

<sup>9</sup> <If from> [† <Whether> Or by]

<sup>10</sup> us <here> [† hither]

<sup>11</sup> /are you [† thou art]/

<sup>12</sup> <That> [† For] more than ever <† beat> [† my breast]

<sup>13</sup> [and] firm <my heart> [† doth beat]

<sup>14</sup> When <among> [† in a]

<sup>15</sup> reason <†> shows

<sup>16</sup> Invisible <is mixed> [† its being]

<sup>17</sup> [† A] power I feel /[and] do not/ [† without] [↓ yet not] fear

	esta aventura al extremo.»	This my adventure to bear <sup>2</sup> .
	Fúnebre	Mournful <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>
	llanto	Singing <sup>5</sup>
695	de amor,	Love-found
	óyese	Is heard there
	en tanto	Upspringing <sup>6</sup>
	en son	A sound <sup>7</sup>
	flébil, blando,	Soft and feeble <sup>8</sup>
700	cual quejido	Like the wailing
	dolorido	Unavailing
	que del alma	That the spirit
	se arrancó;	Hath drowned <sup>9</sup>
	cual profundo	Like the sighing
705	¡ay! que exhala	That is loose <sup>10</sup>
	moribundo	Of the dying
	corazón.	Heart's wound.
	Música triste,	Sad music vague
	lánguida y vaga,	Languid in motion
710	que a par lastima	Plugging the spirit <sup>11</sup>
	y el alma halaga;	In a deep ocean <sup>12</sup>
	dulce armonía	Harmony holy
	que inspira al pecho	Breathing in us
	melancolía,	Sweet melancholy,
715	como el murmullo	Like the awaking
	de algún recuerdo	Of some remembrance
	de antiguo amor,	Of love grown old
	a un tiempo arrullo	Both love's soft speaking
	y amarga pena	And bitter sorrow
720	del corazón.	The heart doth hold.
	Mágico embeleso,	Magical □ <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>
	cántico ideal,	And ideal chaunt

<sup>1</sup> Determined <to> unto

<sup>2</sup> This [↑ my] adventure to /bear/

<sup>3</sup> <Funeral> [↑ <Funereal> Mournful]

<sup>4</sup> [74A-30<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 134.

<sup>5</sup> <\*Song> \*Singing

<sup>6</sup> <The †> Upspringing

<sup>7</sup> A <no> sound

<sup>8</sup> <Weak> [↑ Soft] and [→ feeble]

<sup>9</sup> /drowned/

<sup>10</sup> <Profound> [↑ That is loose]

<sup>11</sup> /Paining yet making/ [↑ /Plugging the spirit/]

<sup>12</sup> The soul her [↑ /In a deep/] ocean

<sup>13</sup> *There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-17<sup>r</sup>]:* Magical □ | <And ideal chaunt> [↑ ideal]

□,

<sup>14</sup> [74A-30<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 135.

725	que en los aires vaga y en sonoras ráfagas aumentando va: sublime y oscuro, rumor prodigioso, sordo acento lúgubre, eco sepulcral,	730	músicas lejanas, de enlutado parche redoble monótono, cercano huracán, que apenas la copa del árbol menea y bramando está: olas alteradas de la mar bravía, en noche sombría	740	los vientos en paz, y cuyo rugido se mezcla al gemido del muro que trémulo las siente llegar: pavoroso estrépito, infalible présago de la tempestad.	745	Y en rápido <i>crescendo</i> , los lúgubres sonidos más cerca vanse oyendo y en ronco rebramar; cual trueno en las montañas que retumbando va,	750	That in air doth wander <sup>1 2</sup> And in gusts <sup>3</sup> sonorous Groweth more and <sup>4</sup> more Sublime and <sup>5</sup> obscure □ prodigious □ Echo sepulchral <sup>6</sup> , Music to a distance <sup>7</sup> , □ Monotonous tolling <sup>8</sup> □ squall Which only the □ Of the tree doth □. And □ howl: Waves in commotion In the swaying <sup>9</sup> Ocean, In dark night the wind <sup>10</sup> □ at all <sup>11</sup> And whose □ roaring <sup>12</sup> Is joined the □ Of the wall that trembling <sup>13</sup> Feels them to □ □ <sup>14</sup> terrible Infallibly presaging Of the □ storm.  And in □ <sup>15</sup> The □ <sup>16</sup> sounds More near are ever <sup>17</sup> growing And in a □ <sup>18</sup> hoarse Like in the mounts thunder That rumbling □ course
-----	--	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	--

<sup>1</sup> There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-30<sup>v</sup>]: That in air □

<sup>2</sup> [74A-17<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 136. 188 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>3</sup> in <sonorous> [↑ gusts]

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> [and]

<sup>6</sup> [← Echo] Sepulchral

<sup>7</sup> Music <afar off> [↑ /in/ a distance] [→ to]

<sup>8</sup> /doubling tolling/

<sup>9</sup> /swaying/

<sup>10</sup> /a/ [↑ dark] night <of \*darkness> [↑ the wind]

<sup>11</sup> <† † † †> at all

<sup>12</sup> [74A-17<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 137.

<sup>13</sup> trembles [↑ trembling]

<sup>14</sup> <† †> □

<sup>15</sup> [74A-18<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 138. 186 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>16</sup> The <funerar> □

<sup>17</sup> are [← ever]

<sup>18</sup> a <hoarse> [↑ <†>] □

755	cual rujen las entrañas de horrisono volcán.	Or as the shak'n earth under A volcano's dread <sup>1</sup> force.
760	Y algazara y gritería, crujir de afilados huesos, rechinamiento de dientes y retemblar los cimientos, y en pavoroso estallido las losas del pavimento separando sus juntas irse poco a poco abriendo, siente Montemar, y el ruido	□ and <sup>2</sup> shouting Of □ bones the shocking □ of teeth gnashing And the foundations rocking And in a fearful □ The ground's stones up-† Their junctures, and <sup>3</sup> then □ gaping And slowly slowly unlocking Montemar hears and <sup>4</sup> the noise <sup>5</sup>
765	más cerca crece, y a un tiempo escucha chocarse cráneos, ya descarnados y secos, temblar en torno la tierra, bramar combatidos vientos,	Nearer, nearer grows and <sup>6</sup> now □ skulls the bumping <sup>7</sup> Already fleshless and <sup>8</sup> □ And □ the earth to tremble Of clashing winds the □
770	rugir las airadas olas, estallar el ronco trueno, exhalar tristes quejidos y prorrumpir en lamentos: todo en furiosa armonía,	The □ waves to roar □ thunder □ sad □ But lamentations □ All in a harmony furious
775	todo en frenético estruendo, todo en confuso trastorno, todo mezclado y diverso.	All in a phrenetical □ All in confused trouble All mingled and <sup>9</sup> diverse.
780	Y luego el estrépito crece confuso y mezclado en un son, que ronco en las bóvedas hondas tronando furioso zumbó; y un eco que agudo parece del ángel del juicio la voz, en triple, punzante alarido,	And sudden the □ groweth <sup>10</sup> Confused and <sup>11</sup> mixed in a sound Which hoarse in □ deepness <sup>12</sup> With furious thundering did bound; An echo that □ seemeth Of th'angel of judgment the tone In a □
785	medroso y sonoro se alzó; sintió, removidas las tumbas, crujir a sus pies con fragor	Sonorous and fearful uprose <sup>13</sup> He felt □ tomb-stones removèd <sup>14</sup> To <sup>1</sup> stroke at his feet

<sup>1</sup> A <vulca> [↑ volcano's] [← dread]

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> [and]

<sup>4</sup> [and]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-18<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 139.

<sup>6</sup> [and]

<sup>7</sup> □ <of> skulls the /crashing/ [↑ bumping]

<sup>8</sup> Already <dry> [↑ fleshless] [and]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-19<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 140. 187 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> [and]

<sup>12</sup> □ [→ deepness]

<sup>13</sup> [and] fearful [→ uprose]

<sup>14</sup> □ [→ tomb-stones removèd]

	chocar en las piedras los cráneos con rabia y ahínco feroz,	The skulls on the stones to clatter <sup>2</sup> With anger and fierce <sup>3</sup> □
790	romper intentando la losa, y huir de su eterna mansión, los muertos, de súbito oyendo el alto mandato de Dios.	To tear □ their gravestone And fly <sup>4</sup> from their mansion The dead, suddenly hearing The □ bidding of God.
	Y de pronto en horrendo estampido	□ in a horrible crumbling <sup>5</sup>
795	desquiciarse la estancia sintió, y al tremendo tartáreo rüido cien espectros alzarse miró:	□ <sup>6</sup> to □ he □ And □ rumbling Full a hundred spectres rise he saw
	de sus ojos los huecos fijaron y sus dedos enjutos en él;	Of their eyes the hollow □ And their fingers they pointed at him
800	y después entre sí se miraron, y a mostrarle tornaron después;	And then each one looked at his fellow And to show him □
	y enlazadas las manos siniestras, con dudoso, espantado ademán contemplando, y tendidas sus diestras	And their left hands <sup>7</sup> □ blending With a doubtful, fantastical air Looking on him, their right hands outstretching <sup>8</sup>
805	con asombro al osado mortal,	To the mortal most bold <sup>9</sup>
	se acercaron despacio y la seca calavera, mostrando temor, con inmóvil, irónica mueca inclinaron, formando enredor.	And some then approach and the □ <sup>10</sup> Skull □ With a moveless ironic contortion They bowed □ around
810	Y entonces la visión del blanco velo al fiero Montemar tendió una mano, y era su tacto de crispante hielo, y resistirlo audaz intentó en vano:	And then the vision of the veil of white <sup>11 12</sup> To the bold Montemar one <sup>13</sup> hand did stretch And icy cold was □ its grasp and <sup>14</sup> tight And to avoid he □ avoid its reach <sup>15</sup> :
815	galvánica, cruel, nerviosa y fría, histérica y horrible sensación,	Galvanic, cruel, nervous, cold Hysterical sensation horrible

---

<sup>1</sup> <Be> To

<sup>2</sup> /clatter/

<sup>3</sup> [and] [→ fierce]

<sup>4</sup> <The dead> /[And] fly\

<sup>5</sup> [74A-19<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 141.

<sup>6</sup> <The> □

<sup>7</sup> left <hands> hands

<sup>8</sup> /extending/ [↓ outstretching]

<sup>9</sup> <With> [↓ To the mortal most <w> bold]

<sup>10</sup> [and] the <yellow> □

<sup>11</sup> There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-10<sup>v</sup>]: In front □ <th> □ the vision /of [↑ in]/ white | The † and † its hands that †

<sup>12</sup> [74A-20<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 142.

<sup>13</sup> To [↑ the] bold Montemar /its/ [↑ one]

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> <tried in vain> [↓ avoid its reach]

	toda la sangre coagulada envía agolpada y helada al corazón...	That the whole blood icy and chill did <sup>1</sup> hold And to the heart with horror <sup>2</sup> doth compel.
820	Y a su despecho y maldiciendo al cielo, de ella apartó su mano Montemar, y temerario alzándola a su velo, tirando de él la descubrió la faz.	□ <sup>3</sup> From her did take his hand Montemar □ Taking it from her he her face laid bare
825	<i>¡Es su esposo!</i> , los ecos retumbaron, <i>¡La esposa al fin que su consorte halló!</i> Los espectros con júbilo gritaron: <i>¡Es el esposo de su eterno amor!</i>	'Tis her husband! the echoes □ out The wife at last her husband hath trove The spectres then with gladness □ did shout It is the husband of her endless love!!
	Y ella entonces gritó: <i>¡Mi esposo!</i> Y era (¡desengaño fatal!, ¡triste verdad!) una sórdida, horrible calavera, la blanca dama del gallardo andar...	She cried then My husband □ Fatal <sup>4</sup> disillusion □ A sordid and <sup>5</sup> horrible skeleton □
830	Luego un caballero de espuela dorada, airoso, aunque el rostro con mortal color, traspasado el pecho de fiera estocada, aún brotando sangre de su corazón,	And then a □ wearing <sup>6 7</sup> Good † though his face with the colour of <sup>8</sup> death His breast □ bearing □ yet.
835	se acerca y le dice, su diestra tendida, que impávido estrecha también Montemar: -Al fin la palabra que disteis, cumplida; doña Elvira, vedla, vuestra esposa es ya.	Approaches and <sup>9</sup> says his right hand extended Which fearless doth shake Montemar At last the promise you gave □ Doña Elvira □
840	-Mi muerte os perdono. Por cierto, don Diego, repuso don Félix tranquilo a su vez, me alegre de veros con tanto sosiego, que a fe no esperaba volveros a ver.	My death I do pardon: Don Diego <sup>10</sup> for certain <sup>11</sup>  Don Felix replied. □ I'm glad that I see you □ For truly I hoped not to see you again.
	En cuanto a ese espectro que decís mi esposa, raro casamiento venísme a ofrecer: su faz no es por cierto ni amable ni	And as to the spectre, my wife, in your saying  The marriage you offer is rare and <sup>12</sup> □ Her face to be sure is neither pretty nor □

<sup>1</sup> icy [→ [and] chill] / [and] / [→ did]

<sup>2</sup> heart [↓ with horror]

<sup>3</sup> [74A-20<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 143. 189 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>4</sup> <†> [↑ Fatal] There is a mark at the beginning of the verse, possibly indicating doubt regarding the translation.

<sup>5</sup> [and]

<sup>6</sup> □ <with spurs golden> [↑ wearing]

<sup>7</sup> [74A-25<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 144. 189. ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>8</sup> [← Good †] though <her> [↑ his] face [← with the colour of]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> D[on] D[iego]

<sup>11</sup> [74A-25<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 145.

<sup>12</sup> [and]

- hermosa,  
 845 mas no se os figure que os quiera ofender. But don't you believe that I wish to offend.
- Por mujer la tomo, porque es cosa cierta,  
 y espero no salga fallido mi plan,  
 que en caso tan raro y mi esposa muerta,  
 tanto como viva no me cansará.  
 For my wife I take<sup>1</sup> her, because □  
 [...]²
- 850 Mas antes decidme si Dios o el demonio  
 me trajo a este sitio, que quisiera ver  
 al uno o al otro, y en mi matrimonio  
 tener por padrino siquiera a Luzbel: But tell me before this<sup>3</sup> if God or the Devil<sup>4</sup>  
 Brought me to this place, for<sup>5</sup> to see  
 Or one or the other, and<sup>6</sup> at my marriage revel  
 To have as<sup>7</sup> a witness at least Lucifer:
- 855 Cualquiera o entrambos con su corte toda,  
 estando estos nobles espectros aquí,  
 no perdiera mucho viniendo a mi boda...  
 Hermano don Diego, ¿no pensáis así? Or either or both with the court  
 I □ these noble spectres all here  
 Would not lose much by attending my wedding  
 Don Diego my brother do you<sup>8</sup> not think so?
- 860 Tal dijo don Félix con fruncido ceño,  
 en torno arrojando con fiero ademán  
 miradas audaces de altivo desdeño,  
 al Dios por quien jura capaz de arrostrar. So speaking Don Felix<sup>9</sup> with brows □ reining<sup>10</sup>  
 Around him did fling with fierce<sup>11</sup> countenance  
 Bold glances of haughty counterfeit and<sup>12</sup> disdain  
 To God against Whom he thinks
- 865 El cariado, lívido esqueleto,  
 los fríos, largos y asquerosos brazos,  
 le enreda en tanto en apretados lazos,  
 y ávido le acaricia en su ansiedad:  
 y con su boca cavernosa busca  
 la boca a Montemar, y a su mejilla  
 la árida, descarnada y amarilla  
 junta y refriega repugnante faz. The □ skeleton □ livid<sup>13</sup>  
 With its arms cold, and large and<sup>14</sup> loathsome traces  
 □ then<sup>15</sup> in with awful closening embraces  
 And □ lust  
 And with its cavernous mouth seeketh  
 Montemar's mouth, and<sup>16</sup> to his cheek its fellow  
 Arid and fleshless, without warmth and<sup>17</sup> yellow  
 It joins and rubs □
- 870 Y él, envuelto en sus secas coyunturas, And he □<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For <my> [↑ my] wife I <take> [↑ take]

<sup>2</sup> Verses 847-849 are missing.

<sup>3</sup> before [↑ this]

<sup>4</sup> [74A-26<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 146. Page begins with crossed-out illegible words.

<sup>5</sup> place, <to> for

<sup>6</sup> [and]

<sup>7</sup> /for/ [↑ as]

<sup>8</sup> D[on] D[iego] my brother do <not>/you \

<sup>9</sup> D[on] F[elix]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-26<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 147.

<sup>11</sup> with [← fierce]

<sup>12</sup> [and]

<sup>13</sup> [74A-3<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 148.

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> <Enfold him> then

<sup>16</sup> [and]

<sup>17</sup> /Arid/ and fleshless, without warmth [and]

<p>aún más sus nudos que se aprieta siente,          baña un mar de sudor su ardida frente          y crece en su impotencia su furor;          pugna con ansia a desasirse en vano,          875 y cuanto más airado forcejea,          tanto más se le junta y le desea          el rudo espectro que le inspira horror.</p>	<p>□          □          □          He fights in qualmcy in vain to release air          And the more angrily the fight doth tire          The more doth □ and the more doth desire him<sup>2</sup>          The horrid phantom that doth make him fear.</p>
<p>Y en furioso, veloz remolino,          y en aérea fantástica danza,          880 que la mente del hombre no alcanza          en su rápido curso a seguir,          los espectros su ronda empezaron,          cual en círculos raudos el viento          remolinos de polvo violento          885 y hojas secas agita sin fin.</p>	<p>And in furious, □ whirling          In<sup>3</sup> aërial phantastical dancing          † the vision of man<sup>4</sup> hath no chancing          In its horrible course to attain<sup>5</sup>          The spectres their □ commencèd<sup>6</sup>          As the wind in circles wide motion          □ commotion          And<sup>7</sup> dead leaves □</p>
<p>Y elevando sus áridas manos,          resonando cual lúgubre eco,          levantóse con su cóncavo hueco          semejante a un aullido una voz:          890 pavorosa, monótona, informe,          que pronuncia sin lengua su boca,          cual la voz que del áspera roca          en los senos el viento formó.</p>	<p>And their □ uplifting          □          □ hollow          □          □ monotonous formless          [...] <sup>8</sup></p>
<p>«Cantemos, dijeron sus gritos,          895 la gloria, el amor de la esposa,          que enlaza en sus brazos dichosa,          por siempre al esposo que amó:          su boca a su boca se junte,          y selle su eterna delicia,          900 suave, amorosa caricia          y lánguido beso de amor.</p>	<p>“Oh! sing did they say<sup>9</sup> in their shouting<sup>10</sup>          The brides’ love and glory and<sup>11</sup> blisses          For e’er<sup>12</sup> in her arms that caresses          The husband her heart that<sup>13</sup> did more          Her mouth to his mouth □ be joined          And sealed their pleasure unending<sup>14</sup>          By this □ blending<sup>15</sup>          And languid kiss<sup>16</sup> of love.</p>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-6<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 149.

<sup>2</sup> □ /<desire> him/ [↓ [and] the more doth desire him]

<sup>3</sup> <The> [↑ In]

<sup>4</sup> /mind/ [↑ vision] /of man/

<sup>5</sup> <To follow where’er it doth tend,> [↓ In its horrible course to attend]

<sup>6</sup> <The spectres their> [↓ The spectres their □ commencèd]

<sup>7</sup> [And]

<sup>8</sup> Verses 891-893 are missing.

<sup>9</sup> they <cry> [↑ say]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-12<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 150. 192 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> [and] glory [and]

<sup>12</sup> /With joy/ [↑ For e’er]

<sup>13</sup> <For ever the> [↑ The husband] her heart <†> that

<sup>14</sup> [← pleasure] <pleasure> [↑ unending]

<sup>15</sup> <Of> <A> By <a> this □ <the †> [↑ blending]

<sup>16</sup> languid [← kiss]

<p>»Y en mutuos abrazos unidos, y en blando y eterno reposo, la esposa enlazada al esposo 905 por siempre descansen en paz: y en fúnebre luz ilumine sus bodas fatídica tea, es brinde deleites y sea a tumba su lecho nupcial.»</p>	<p>“And held by mutual embraces<sup>1</sup> In soft and<sup>2</sup> eternal reposing The wife □ For ever in peace may<sup>3</sup> they rest And<sup>4</sup> □ Their bridal a torch □ □ The grave □</p>
<p>910 Mientras, la ronda frenética que en raudo giro se agita, más cada vez precipita su vértigo sin ceder; 915 más cada vez se atropella, y en círculos se desata violentos más cada vez:</p>	<p>Meanwhile □<sup>5</sup> □ □ enhances This whirl without end More every time More every time it is whirl Itself in circles unfurling More violent every time.</p>
<p>y escapa en rueda quimérica, y negro punto parece 920 que en torno se desvanece a la fantástica luz, y sus lúgubres aullidos que pavorosos se extienden, los aires rápidos hienden 925 más prolongados aún.</p>	<p>□ And a black dot<sup>6</sup> it appeareth<sup>7</sup> That around disappeareth In the fantastical light And its funeral howlings □ The air ruffle are tearing<sup>8</sup> More prolonged still.<sup>9</sup></p>
<p>Y a tan continuo vértigo, a tan funesto encanto, a tan horrible canto, a tan tremenda lid; 930 entre los brazos lúbricos que aprémianle sujeto, del hórrido esqueleto, entre caricias mil:</p>	<p>To so □<sup>10</sup> To a death's<sup>11</sup> charm so haunting To such horrible chaunting To □ In the embraces lúbric<sup>12</sup> Where with □ presses<sup>13</sup> Mid<sup>14</sup> a 1000 caresses Of<sup>1</sup> the dread skeleton:</p>

<sup>1</sup> [74A-12<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 151. 192 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> peace <†> may

<sup>4</sup> <And in f> [↑ And]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-13<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 152. 192. :2: ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>6</sup> black [↑ dot]

<sup>7</sup> [74A-13<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 153.

<sup>8</sup> <While> [↓ \*The \*air † are tearing]

<sup>9</sup> More <long> prolonged [→ still.]

<sup>10</sup> [74A-16<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 154. 193 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>11</sup> a [↑ death's]

<sup>12</sup> etc ] Word written below the last verse. This last verse is repeated, with no variations, in manuscript [74A-6<sup>r</sup>].

<sup>13</sup> [74A-6<sup>r</sup>]: See Fig. 155.

<sup>14</sup> <In> [↑ Mid]

935	Jamás vencido el ánimo, su cuerpo ya rendido, sintió desfallecido faltarle, Montemar; y a par que más su espíritu desmiente su miseria	His mind ever <sup>2</sup> unconquered <sup>3 4</sup> His frame quailing already <sup>5</sup> □ unsteady <sup>6</sup> Felt Montemar to quail, <sup>7</sup> And the more that <sup>8</sup> his spirit Against <sup>9</sup> misery was rébel Matter weak and <sup>10</sup> feeble Beginneth to fail. <sup>11</sup>
940	la flaca, vil materia comienza a desmayar.	
945	Y siente un confuso, loco devaneo, languidez, mareo y angustioso afán: y sombras y luces la estancia que gira, y espíritus mira que vienen y van.	He feels a confused <sup>12</sup> A wild □ emotion Calms and <sup>13</sup> deep commotion And a bitter woe: He sees lights and <sup>14</sup> shadows The whole mansion reeling And dim spirits wheeling Which do come and <sup>15</sup> go.
950	Y luego a lo lejos, flébil en su oído, eco dolorido lánguido sonó, cual la melodía	And soon at a distance Feeble in his hearing, An echo woe – hearing Languidly did sound, Like the melody
955	que el aura amorosa, y el aura armoniosa de noche formó:	Which the soft wind blowing <sup>16</sup> With love-music glowing <sup>17</sup> In <sup>18</sup> the night doth found. <sup>19</sup>
	y siente luego su pecho ahogado	And he feels drownèd <sup>20</sup> His weak breast ailing

---

<sup>1</sup> [← Of]

<sup>2</sup> mind <never> [↑ <+>] [↑ ever]

<sup>3</sup> *There is a variant of this and the next five verses in manuscript [74A-6']:* His spirit ne'er conquered | His frame □ quailing | □ failing | And all the while his spirit | □ | Matter □

<sup>4</sup> [74A-15']: See Fig. 156. 193 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>5</sup> His <body now> [↑ frame /already/] quailing [→ already]

<sup>6</sup> <He felt> □ <failing> unsteady

<sup>7</sup> <To lack Montemar> [↑ Felt Montemar to quail,]

<sup>8</sup> more [↑ that]

<sup>9</sup> <+> [↑ Against]

<sup>10</sup> <The> Matter weak [and]

<sup>11</sup> faint. [↓ <fail> fail.]

<sup>12</sup> [74A-7']: See Fig. 157.

<sup>13</sup> [and]

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> [and]

<sup>16</sup> Which <the amorous morning> [↑ the /night/ [↑ soft] wind blowing]

<sup>17</sup> <With dim music loving> [↑ With love-music glowing]

<sup>18</sup> <On> [↓ In]

<sup>19</sup> *Below this verse there is an unidentifiable incomplete verse:* □ elsewhere

<sup>20</sup> [74A-6']: See Fig. 155.

960	y desmayado, turbios sus ojos, sus graves párpados flojos caer: la frente inclina	And feebly failing, His eyes in dimness, His with □ <sup>1</sup> eyelids Fall with the *taint: His front he bendeth
965	sobre su pecho, y a su despecho, siente sus brazos lánguidos, débiles, desfallecer.	□ [...] <sup>2</sup>
970	Y vio luego una llama que se inflama y murió; y perdido,	And a flame <sup>3 4</sup> That was kindled And <sup>5</sup> that dwindled He descried; And soon gone <sup>6</sup>
975	oyó el eco de un gemido que expiró.	Heard the echo Of a moan □ died.
980	Tal, dulce suspira la lira que hirió, en blando concepto, del viento	So sweetly [...] <sup>7</sup>
985	la voz,  leve, breve son.	
990	En tanto en nubes de carmín y grana su luz el alba arrebolada envía, y alegre regocija y engalana las altas torres al naciente día;	And then in clouds of carmine and <sup>8</sup> of red <sup>9</sup> Its light <sup>10</sup> the □ morn did □ gay And with its gladness □ adorn The □ the □ day

<sup>1</sup> His [→ <Of>] [↑ <heavily> with <heavy> □

<sup>2</sup> Verses 966-969 are missing.

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant of this and the following three verses in manuscript [74A-6']: □ | His arms he feeleth | Languid and<sup>3</sup> feeble | Weakly to faint. A second variant was crossed out in manuscript [74A-7']: <He saw flames | T □ kindle | And to dwindle | And to die>

<sup>4</sup> [74A-11']: See Fig. 158.

<sup>5</sup> [And]

<sup>6</sup> There is a variant of this and the following two verses in manuscript [74A-7']: And <gone by> □ | Heard the echo | Of a sigh

<sup>7</sup> Verses 979-988 are missing.

<sup>8</sup> [And] then in clouds of carmine [and]

<sup>9</sup> [74A-14<sup>v</sup>]: See Fig. 159. 195 ] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

<sup>10</sup> <The †> [↑ Its light]

<p>sereno el cielo, calma la mañana, blanda la brisa, trasparente y fría, 995 vierte a la tierra el sol con su hermosura rayos de paz y celestial ventura.</p>	<p>Serene the sky and<sup>1</sup> ☐ morn The breeze is soft, transparent, cold And the sun on earth<sup>2</sup> with its loveliness Pours rays of peace and<sup>3</sup> heavenly happiness.</p>
<p>Y huyó la noche y con la noche huían sus sombras y quiméricas mujeres, y a su silencio y calma sucedían 1000 el bullicio y rumor de los talleres; y a su trabajo y a su afán volvían los hombres y a sus frívolos placeres, algunos hoy volviendo a su faena de zozobra y temor el alma llena:</p>	<p>Fled is the night and with the night were going<sup>4</sup> ☐<sup>5</sup> Its shadows and<sup>6</sup> its women ☐ And to its silence, to its calm were succeeding<sup>7</sup> The turmoil and<sup>8</sup> the noise of ☐ streams And to the work and toil<sup>9</sup> ☐ Men and<sup>10</sup> to their frivolous pleasures Some to-day into the task<sup>11</sup> returning full Of wearings and fear within<sup>12</sup> the soul:</p>
<p>1005 ¡Que era pública voz, que llanto arranca del pecho pecador y empedernido, que en forma de mujer y en una blanca túnica misteriosa revestido, aquella noche el diablo a Salamanca 1010 había en fin por Montemar venido!... Y si, lector, dijeres ser comento, como me lo contaron, te lo cuento.</p>	<p>‘Twas a report tearfully to affright<sup>13</sup> The sinning breast and<sup>14</sup> hardened too far That in a woman’s form and<sup>15</sup> in a white Mysterious tunic cloaked To Salamanca in the very night The Devil at last had come for Montemar<sup>16</sup> And reader, if thou say it is not true As they have told it now I tell you.</p>

---

<sup>1</sup> [and]

<sup>2</sup> [And] the sun <poureth> [↑ on earth]

<sup>3</sup> of <light> peace [and]

<sup>4</sup> [and] w[ith] the night <\*have fled> [↑ were going]

<sup>5</sup> [74A-14r]: See Fig. 160.

<sup>6</sup> [and]

<sup>7</sup> [And] to its silence, to its calm <succeeded> [↑ were succeeding]

<sup>8</sup> The <turmoil> [↑ turmoil] [and]

<sup>9</sup> [And] to the work [and] <+> [↑ toil]

<sup>10</sup> Men [↑ /Did/] [and]

<sup>11</sup> the <task> [↑ task]

<sup>12</sup> [and] fear <the> [↑ within]

<sup>13</sup> [74A-29r]: See Fig. 161.

<sup>14</sup> [and]

<sup>15</sup> [and]

<sup>16</sup> Devil [↑ at last] had come for Montemar <at last>

## Annex of Related Documents

### *Editorial Plans and To-Do Lists*

[144N-14<sup>r</sup>]<sup>1</sup>

21.

June 8<sup>th</sup>: Keats: Odes and other poems.

Laing: "Modern Science and<sup>2</sup> Modern Thought."

June 9<sup>th</sup>: Keats: Ibidem.

Weber: "History of European philosophy" – up to Protagoras.

Espronceda: "Estudiante de Salamanca."

June 10<sup>th</sup>: Keats. Espronceda.

June 11<sup>th</sup>: Espronceda.

June 12<sup>th</sup>: Laing. Keats: "Early Poems." Spectator 10 – Colin d'Harleville: "Vieux Célibataire."

[48B-129<sup>v</sup>]<sup>3</sup>

"Da Necessidade e do method da Revolução."

"The Voyage." – Poem

"Dictionary of the English Language."

"Prometheus Rebound." – Dramatic poem.

"Marino" – A Tragedy.

"Principles of Ontology."

The World as Power."

"The Death of God." – Book of poems.

"Miscellaneous Poems." – Another book.

"On Sensation."

"The Realist."

"The Case of the Science Master."

"The Narrative of a Stranger."

"Edgar Allan Poe."

"Genera in Literature."

"On Art and Morality."

"Rational Graphology."

"The Voice of the Unknown."

"Jacob Dermot."

[48B-129<sup>v</sup>]<sup>1</sup>

"The Circle of Life."

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 162. This manuscript is part of a "Reading Diary" that ranges from [144N-13] to [144N-17<sup>r</sup>], and includes readings from April to August 26 of the same year. These pages were previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, pp. 618-620; as well as in *Cadernos*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: INCM, 2009, pp. 217-218.

<sup>2</sup> [and]

<sup>3</sup> See. Fig. 163. List on front and back of page dated from c. 1906-1907, previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: INCM, 2006, pp. 173-174.

"The Black Spider."  
 "Espronceda – The Student of Salamanca." – Translation.  
 "Mandinke."  
 "Percy Bysshe Shelley."  
 "On the Nose."  
 "Essay on Free-Will."  
 "Creation ex nihilo."  
 "Essay on Impulse."  
 "On the Infinite."

[28A-1<sup>r</sup>]<sup>2</sup> Reading during the month of May.  
 No note taken before the 6<sup>th</sup>.  
 6<sup>th</sup> Abel Botelho: "O Barão de Lavos".  
 7<sup>th</sup> finished the above.  
 8<sup>th</sup> A. Quental: "Odes Modernas".  
 Gomes Leal: "Claridades do Sul".  
 António<sup>3</sup> Nobre: "Despedidas".  
 9<sup>th</sup> Cazotte: "Diable Amoureux".  
 10<sup>th</sup> Poe: "Arthur Gordon Pym".  
 11<sup>th</sup> Hollander: "Scientific Phrenology" (begun).  
 Shakespeare<sup>4</sup>: "Merchant of Venice".  
 12<sup>th</sup> Hollander (continued).  
 13<sup>th</sup> Finished Eça de Queiroz: "O Crime do Padre Amaro".  
 Guerra Junqueiro: "Morte de D. João".  
 14<sup>th</sup> Hollander (continued).  
 15<sup>th</sup> António<sup>5</sup> Nobre: *Só* (half).  
 16<sup>th</sup> Wurtz: Article on Lavoisier  
 Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" ch. 1.  
 Tennyson: Early Poems.  
 18<sup>th</sup> Addison and Steele: "Spectator": 17 papers.  
 19<sup>th</sup> □  
 20<sup>th</sup> Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" (lessons 2, 3, 4, 5).  
 A. Nobre: *Só* (finished)

[28A-1<sup>v</sup>]<sup>6</sup> *Work done*

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 165. List dated from c. 1907. This diary was published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, pp. 622-623.

<sup>3</sup> Ant[ónio]

<sup>4</sup> Sh[akespeare]

<sup>5</sup> Ant[ónio]

<sup>6</sup> See Fig. 166.

9<sup>th</sup> May: Almost finished 1<sup>st</sup> part "Student<sup>1</sup> of Salamanca."

10<sup>th</sup> May: continued same work.

13<sup>th</sup> May: continued.

14<sup>th</sup> no work done.

16<sup>th</sup>: about 600 words of "Very Original<sup>2</sup> Dinner."

- [133M-96<sup>r</sup>]<sup>3</sup>
1. Commercial Codes: 3 letter code.  
5 figure code.  
Ten code.  
Elementary Code.
  2. Tratado de Pronuncia Ingleza.
  3. Gamage, or another, or elseways:  
Table-football.  
Table-cricket<sup>4</sup>.  
Strategy.  
Opposition.  
Aspects<sup>5</sup>  
Lomelino's game.
  4. Lista de palavras hespanholas
  5. Compendio de Astrologia
  6. Anthologia sensacionista
  7. Livro em casa do Jayme.
  8. M. Nunes da Silva:  
Conta a pagar + 1000.  
Gramophone e discos.  
Bath, crockery, etc.
  9. Frank Forbes-Leith.  
Manuel Gouveia de Sousa.
  10. Livros que ainda tem  
Da Cunha Dias.  
Victor<sup>6</sup> Hugo Nunes.
- [133M-96<sup>v</sup>]<sup>7</sup> 11. Traducção lettra romanzas (Victoriano<sup>8</sup> Braga)

---

<sup>1</sup> St[udent]

<sup>2</sup> V[ery] O[riginal]

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 167. This makes part of a list with 65 books and projects that also includes manuscripts [133M-97] and [133M-98]. It is dated from c. 3 August 1907, and was published in *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2009, pp. 434-438.

<sup>4</sup> /Table-cricket/

<sup>5</sup> /Aspects/

<sup>6</sup> V[ictor]

<sup>7</sup> See. Fig. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Trad[ucção] lettra romanzas (V[ictoriano])

- 
12. \*Phenobracleygraphia.
- 
13. Cosmopolis (ver<sup>1</sup> Caderno azul)
- 
14. Small book on Shakespeare<sup>2</sup> - Bacon.  
Larger [book on Shakespeare<sup>3</sup> - Bacon.]
- 
15. Anthologia Portugueza
- 
16. "All about Portugal" – a compilation (with<sup>4</sup> possible articles from specialists)
- 
17. Contos Quaresma – em livro ou folhetos.
- 
18. Trad. Sonetos de Camões (inglez)  
Poemas de Poe (Port)  
Poemas<sup>5</sup> em prosa de Wilde (Port.)
- 
19. War poems, in English and in French.
- 
20. M's rimes Sengo has. But examine.
- 
21. Alvaro de Campos: Book: (perhaps with adv[ertisemen]ts<sup>6</sup>.)
- 
22. Trad. "Estudiante de Salamanca"

[133F-53<sup>v</sup>]<sup>7</sup> Work for the 3<sup>rd</sup> September,

At least 500 words in the "Door."  
Type up to page 50, at the least, "Very Original Dinner<sup>8</sup>."  
Finish reading "Religio Medici"  
Finish reading first part "Sartor

---

<sup>1</sup> v[er]

<sup>2</sup> Sh[akespeare]

<sup>3</sup> Sh[akespeare]

<sup>4</sup> w[ith]

<sup>5</sup> [Poemas]

<sup>6</sup> w[ith] adv[ertisemen]ts

<sup>7</sup> See. Fig. 169. To-do list dated from 1907 and previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, p. 491.

<sup>8</sup> V[ery] O[riginal] D[inner]

Type, finishing, the first canto of Espronceda.  
Send off poem.<sup>1</sup>

[49C<sup>1</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>]<sup>2</sup> Books

The Portuguese Regicide and the Political Situation in Portugal.  
(June-October.)

---

“The Mental Disorder of Jesus” – a Critique of Dr. Binet-Sanglé’s *La Folie de Jésus*. (for Rationalist Press Association - ?)<sup>3</sup>

---

*Espronceda*. The Student of Salamanca.  
*Mors Dei*: To be published in Lisbon

---

The Meaning of Rationalism.  
(for Rationalist Press Association<sup>4</sup>)

---

Le Cas d’Exhibionnisme

---

Fear of Death – Poe.

[78B-63<sup>r</sup>]<sup>5</sup> Notes regarding the publication of poems.

1. The first book of poems to be published is the translation of Espronceda.
2. After this an original book of poems; this is to be formed of the poems in parts 2 and 3 of “Delirium” (as called on the sheets), namely those called “Meaning” and “Delirium” proper.
3. Then a book composed of the poems in the first part of “Delirium” (sheets) and called there “Oddities.”
4. After this a book made up of the poems in the 5<sup>th</sup> part of “Delirium” (sheets) – “Agony.”
5. Subsequently a book composed of the poems in part 4 of “Delirium” (sheets).

---

<sup>1</sup> This line is followed by two unrelated verses: There is a bed to shake | A toy [↑ joy] for \*infants [and] for negroes.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 170. List dated from c. 1908 and published in *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret, ed. Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2006, p. 40, and in Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura, 2006, p. 243.*

<sup>3</sup> [→ (for R[atationalist] P[ress] A[ssociation] - ?)]

<sup>4</sup> R[atationalist] P[ress] A[ssociation]

<sup>5</sup> See Fig. 171. List dated from c. January – March 1908, and previously published in *Poemas Ingleses Tomo II, ed. João Dionísio, Lisboa: INCM, p. 223.*

6. After this a book of Songs, more lyrical, from the sheet-cover called "Lyrical Poems."
7. About this time a book of poems called "Nonsense;" see cover so named.
8. After all these<sup>1</sup>, the "Death of God."
9. After "Death of God" a book containing earlier poems, "Old Castle," etc., etc.
10. Then a book containing other longer poems, such as "Vincenzo," "Voyage," etc.
11. Another volume: "Sonnets in Many Woods." (When to publish?)<sup>2</sup>

[48B-31<sup>r</sup>]<sup>3</sup> Traducções – Universal<sup>4</sup> Anthology.

---

Espronceda –

---

A Oligarchia das Bestas<sup>5</sup> - Decline and Fall.  
O Triunpho do Radicalismo<sup>6</sup>  
Fim de Outomno.

---

Portugal etc.

---

Francis Bacon

---

The Duke of Parma

---

[48B-53<sup>r</sup>]<sup>7</sup> *Volumes da Collecção Portugueza não de vivos*<sup>8</sup>

Camões: Obras completas – 1 vol<sup>9</sup>.

Anthero de Quental – 1 vol<sup>10</sup>.

João de Deus – 1 vol<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> After [↑ all] these

<sup>2</sup> *Abbreviation on lower right indicates text continues on the back side.*

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 172. This list could be dated from c. 1913, based on the similarity with the lists published in *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret* (2006).

<sup>4</sup> Univ[ersal]

<sup>5</sup> Oli[garchia] das B[estas]

<sup>6</sup> Rad[icalismo]

<sup>7</sup> See Fig. 173.

<sup>8</sup> [→ não de vivos]

<sup>9</sup> v[ol]

<sup>10</sup> Anth[ero] de Quental – 1 v[ol]

Gil Vicente – 1 vol<sup>2</sup>.  
 Cancioneiros – 1 vol<sup>3</sup>.

---

Espronceda – 1 vol<sup>4</sup>.

---

Almeida Garrett – 1 vol<sup>5</sup>. (poesia) - [?]  
 Alexandre Herculano (Historia<sup>6</sup> de Portugal). [?]  
 - (other things)

---

Gama Barros [?].  
 Antonio Nobre. José Duro. Cesario Verde.

[48B-120<sup>r</sup>]<sup>7</sup>      { Pela Republica.  
                           A Egreja  
 Translation Espronceda.  
 “Logical Basis of Anarchy.”  
 “Death of God.”  
 “Dictionary of the English Language.”  
 “Narrative of the voyage of Beoldus, native.”<sup>8</sup>  
 “Papers of the Nameless Club.”<sup>9</sup>?  
 “Metaphysics.”  
 “Essays.”  
 “Nothing.” (Formerly “Sub Umbra”)  
 “On Will.”

[48B-148<sup>v</sup>]<sup>10</sup>      2.  
 Publicar talvez uma edição completa de Espronceda, Campoamor (?),  
 etc.<sup>11</sup>

[48I-10<sup>r</sup>]<sup>1</sup>      *Translations:*

---

<sup>1</sup> v[ol]

<sup>2</sup> v[ol]

<sup>3</sup> v[ol]

<sup>4</sup> v[ol]

<sup>5</sup> v[ol]

<sup>6</sup> Alex[andre] Herculano (Hist[oria])

<sup>7</sup> See Fig. 174.

<sup>8</sup> native[.]

<sup>9</sup> Club[.]

<sup>10</sup> See Fig. 175. List previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of this manuscript contains lists of other projects.

Estudiante de Salamanca.  
 Sonnets of Camoens.  
 Songs from the old Portuguese Song-Books.  
 Spanish and Portuguese Sonnets. (Brazilian?)  
 Portuguese Proverbs.  
 Portuguese Folk Verse.

*Articles (Thomas Crosse):*

The Birthplace of Columbus.  
 The Origin of the Discoveries.  
 A Pre-Romantic (José Anastacio da Cunha).  
 The Myth of King Sebastian.

[144D-7<sup>v</sup>]<sup>2</sup>

-B.-

1. "Translated Verse." (chiefly for the Portuguese<sup>3</sup>)
2. "Translations."
3. "The Student of Salamanca."
4. Anthero de Quental: "Sonnets."
5. Junqueiro: "Patria."

[144D-6<sup>r</sup>]<sup>4</sup>

-C-

1. "The Portuguese School of Poets."
2. "The Detective Story."
3. "History of a Dictatorship."
4. "History of Portuguese Literature."
5. "Forms of Fiction."

-D-

1. "The Book of Friar Maurice."
2. "Dictionary of the English Language." Bedlam<sup>5</sup>

[144E-8<sup>r</sup>]<sup>6</sup>

Espronceda: "The Student of Salamanca."

---

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 176. Lists dated from c. 1913-1914 or possibly 1915 (year associated to Thomas Crosse). Previously published in *Provérbios Portugueses*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari, Lisbon: Babel, 2010, pp. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 177.

<sup>3</sup> P[ortu]guese

<sup>4</sup> See Fig. 178.

<sup>5</sup> [↓ Bedlam]

<sup>6</sup> See Fig. 179.

Anthero de Quental: "Sonnets."

[144T-51<sup>r</sup>]<sup>1</sup> Typewriter Shifter.  
 Commercial Code.  
 Shorthand.  
 Cipher – advertise  
     (to be printed)  
 Stamps.  
 Gold. with<sup>2</sup> proof etc. (Sell for H<sup>ty</sup>)<sup>3</sup>  
 Very Original<sup>4</sup> Dinner  
 Espronceda.  
 Other Tales.  
 Delirium.  
 Study. Psychology and<sup>5</sup> Science.  
 Tit-Bits<sup>6</sup> etc Anecdote.

Kuhne Book

[167-170<sup>r</sup>]<sup>7</sup> 1. "Portugal".  
 2. "Livro do Desasocego".  
 3. "Cancioneiro" (Livro I ou mais).  
 4. "A Tormenta".  
 5. (qualquer cousa em prosa).  
 -----  
 1. "Mrs. Harris".  
 2. "Erostratus".  
 3. "The Mouth of Hell".  
 4. Little Book of Poems.  
 5. "The Student of Salamanca" (ahead).  
 -----  
 1. Caeiro.  
 2. Edições Sá-Carneiro.

[137A-24<sup>r</sup>]<sup>1</sup> "English Poems, I & II" (Antinous, Incriptions). Fernando Pessoa.

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 180.

<sup>2</sup> w[ith]

<sup>3</sup> [→ (Sell for H<sup>ty</sup>)]

<sup>4</sup> V[ery] O[riginal]

<sup>5</sup> Psych[ology] [and]

<sup>6</sup> T[it]-Bits

<sup>7</sup> See Fig. 181.

“English Poems, III & IV” (Epithalamium, Five Songs). Fernando Pessoa.  
 “English Poems, V.” (Elegy). Fernando Pessoa.  
 “English Sonnets, Book I.” Fernando Pessoa.  
 “English Sonnets, Book II.” Fernando Pessoa.  
 “Theory of Political Suffrage.” Fernando Pessoa.  
 “Prometheus Revinctus – A Dramatic Poem.”<sup>2</sup> Fernando Pessoa.  
 “How Napoleon Never Existed.” (Pères). Trad.  
 “The Student of Salamanca”. (Espronceda). Trad. Fernando Pessoa.  
 “Sonnets of Camoens.” Trad. Fernando Pessoa.  
 “Sonnets of Quental.” Trad. Fernando Pessoa.  
 “Complete Poems of Alberto Caeiro.” Trad. Thomas Crosse.  
 “Songs” (Antonio Botto). Trad.  
 “Songs from the Old Portuguese Song-Books”. Trad. Fernando Pessoa.  
 “The Duke of Parma – A Tragedy”. Fernando Pessoa.  
 “All About Portugal”. Ed. Fernando Pessoa (special).  
 “The Southern Review” (quarterly or half-yearly).

[71-50<sup>v</sup>]<sup>3</sup> Idea of the Directory.  
 Idea of the Vocabulary, or Vocabularies.  
 The Code, completed.  
 Shorthand system, to be devised fully yet.  
 Code<sup>4</sup> Prod. Port. in some fit and appropriate system.  
 Games, the ones invented.  
 Condensing Code, apart from the one mentioned above.  
 Will, etc. Course, or something of the sort.  
 Espronceda (rather strange for the Propaganda<sup>5</sup> side).  
 The Great Anthology.  
 The Propaganda Review, a proposition in itself.  
 (The pamphlet containing the dictionary<sup>6</sup> articles).  
 (Cambridge Literary Agency).  
 Such prominent agencies (and simple ones) as one thought of, either  
 in England or near.

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 182. List dated from c. 1921. It corresponds to the editorial plan of *Olisipo*.

<sup>2</sup> Poem<s>[.]”

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 183. List dated from c. 1924-1925, which belongs to a series of film-related projects (in the era of silent films), previously published in *Argumentos para Filmes*, ed. Patricio Ferrari and Claudia Fischer, Lisbon: Babel, 2011, pp. 97-98.

<sup>4</sup> C[ode]

<sup>5</sup> Prop[aganda]

<sup>6</sup> dict[ionary]

English Poems.

Journalistic free-lance work, of several sorts (one basis being work on Spanish & Portuguese elements).

(The Directory as made here for abroad – here before leaving).

--- The proposition<sup>1</sup> basis other than first thought of: not the bureau, but an intellectual property<sup>2</sup> thus conducted on a private and individual basis. --- £30 a month and, perhaps, an initial £100, would do quite well.

Films (completing the one begun<sup>3</sup>).

[133M-30<sup>r</sup>]<sup>4</sup> Commercial Code.<sup>5</sup>  
 Typewriter Fixings.  
 Song-writing.  
 System of Shorthand.  
 Espronceda.  
~~Stamps to Foreign Countries.~~  
~~III. Post Cards.~~  
 (Advertise for Cipher Agency – America).<sup>6</sup>  
~~Fables and Sketches<sup>7</sup>.~~  
 Anecdotes (Portuguese).  
~~Stamps here.~~  
~~Portuguese peculiar stories.~~

1. System of Shorthands.
2. Look for door - in instead of out.

[167-181<sup>r</sup>]<sup>8</sup> Espronceda.  
 Three Pessimists.  
 The Famous Sonnets of the World. Edgar Poe.  
 Tempest.  
 Jekyll and Hyde.<sup>9</sup>  
 (one from each author)

---

<sup>1</sup> prop[osition]

<sup>2</sup> intell[ectual] prop[erty]

<sup>3</sup> <be> \*begun

<sup>4</sup> See Fig. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Commercial Code. [→ <Machine †>]

<sup>6</sup> This line is surrounded by a square.

<sup>7</sup> Ske[t]ches

<sup>8</sup> See Fig. 185. List dated from c. 1931, and previously published in *A Educação do Stoico*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2007, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> The /Great/ [↑ Famous] Sonnets of the World. [→ Edgar Poe. | Tempest. | Jekyll [and] Hyde.]

Thomas<sup>1</sup> Russell.  
 Felix Arvers.  
 Blanco White.  
 Camillo<sup>2</sup> Pessanha.  
 Angelo de Lima.  
 Francis Thompson<sup>3</sup>  
 Frei Fortunato de São Boaventura.<sup>4</sup>

Some are not celebrated outside the language they were written in, but it is enough that they were celebrated there.

*Observations about "The Student of Salamanca"*

[14<sup>6</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>]<sup>5</sup> Poems like Student<sup>6</sup> of Salamanca indifferent<sup>7</sup> morally, neither good nor bad. Yet they must make an effect on the moral man. Such is \*to us good, because<sup>8</sup> it elevates. A man reads it and<sup>9</sup> admires purely, is \*abdicated *from himself*. It is an \*elevating and therefore<sup>10</sup> a moral work. The sublime is always pure. It is as impossible for the sublime to be coarse as for gold<sup>11</sup> to resemble mud.

[55L-11<sup>r</sup>]<sup>12</sup> The generation that followed the glory in life of Byron was □ by the admiration of the "romantic" character. I refer not only to the "romantic" character in books, but also and<sup>13</sup> principally to what is<sup>14</sup> called the "romantic" character in life and<sup>15</sup> habit. The word "romantic" means little<sup>16</sup> more than kindred expressions for a kindred use as that unhappy term "fin de siècle" so □ by Nordau.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Tho[ma]s

<sup>2</sup> C[amillo]

<sup>3</sup> Fr[ancis] Thom[pson]

<sup>4</sup> Fr[ei] For[tunato] de S[ão] Boaventura.

<sup>5</sup> See Fig. 186.

<sup>6</sup> St[udent]

<sup>7</sup> indif[feren]t

<sup>8</sup> [because]

<sup>9</sup> [and]

<sup>10</sup> [and therefore]

<sup>11</sup> for /water/ [↑ gold]

<sup>12</sup> See Fig. 187.

<sup>13</sup> [and]

<sup>14</sup> what <many> is

<sup>15</sup> [and]

<sup>16</sup> means <no> [↑ little]

<sup>17</sup> [↓ as that † term "fin de siècle" so □ by Nordau.]

Preliminary essay to translation of Espronceda.

*Envelope Indication*

[133H-63<sup>v</sup>]<sup>1</sup> Espronceda (D. José de):

Obras poéticas.

Paris, 1876.

XIX-448.

enc.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 188.

"The Student of Salamanca"

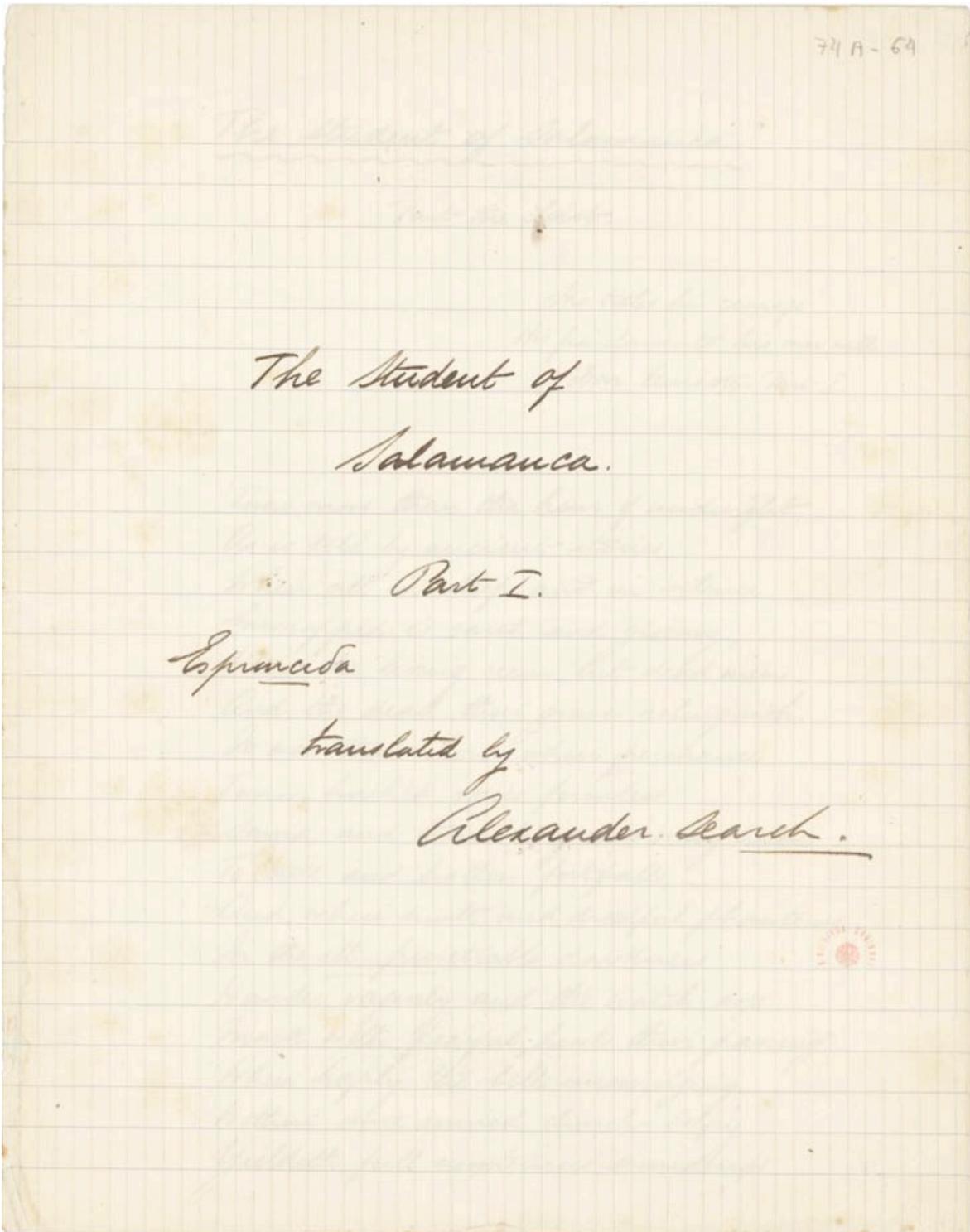


Fig. 1. BNP / E3, [74A-64]

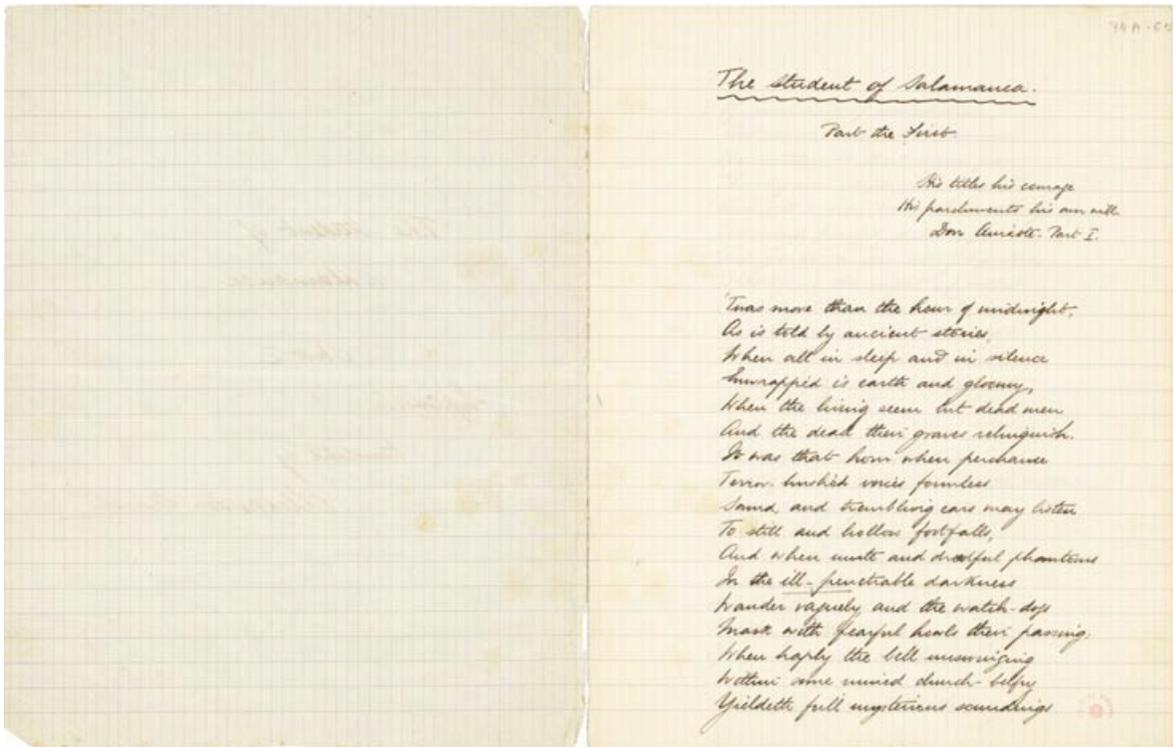


Fig. 2. BNP / E3, [74A-65']

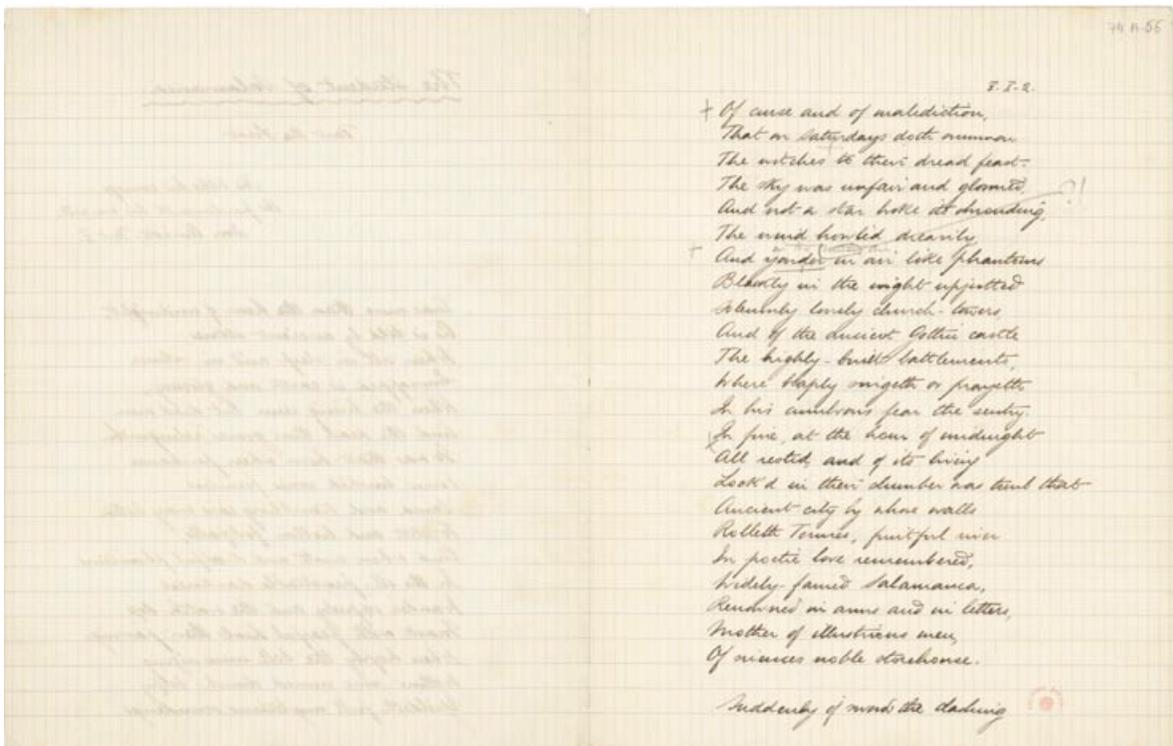


Fig. 3. BNP / E3, [74A-66']

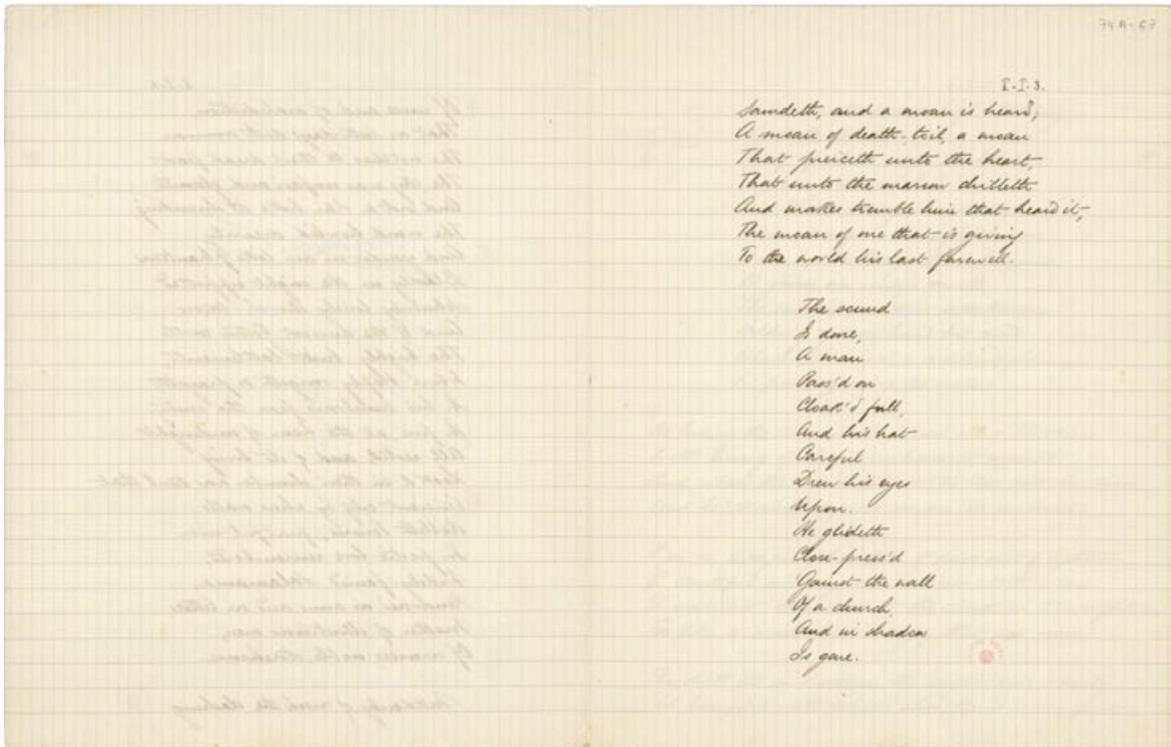


Fig. 4. BNP / E3, [74A-67']

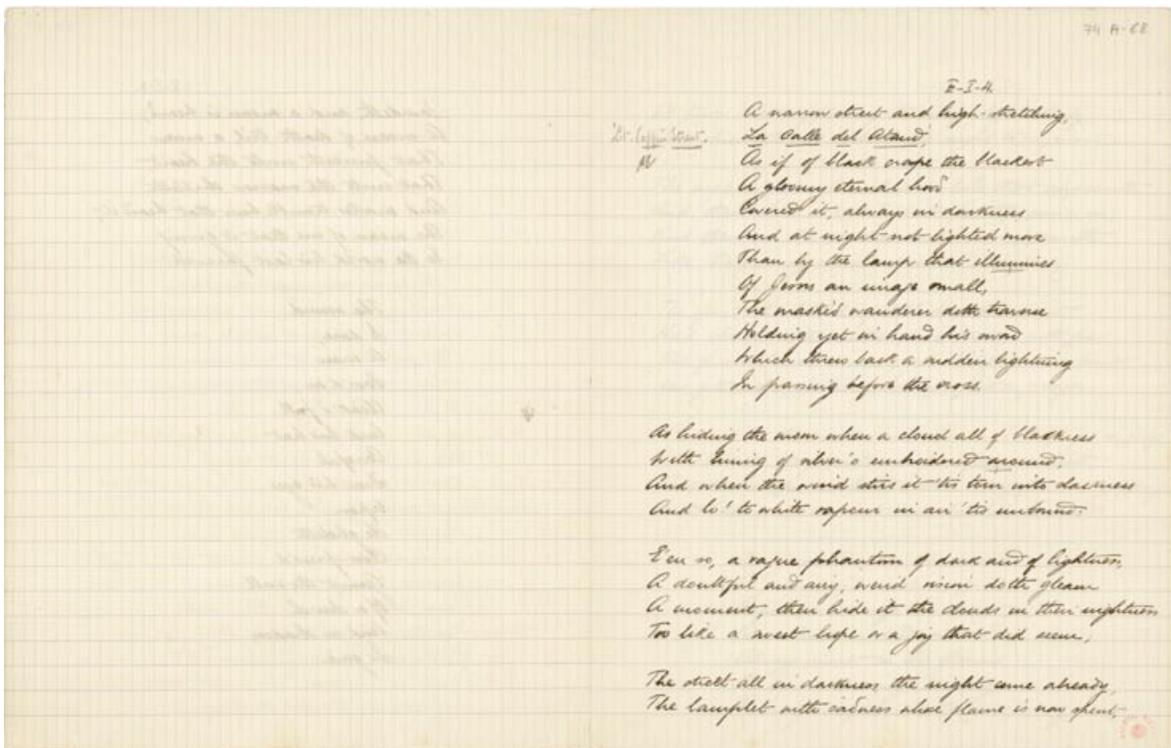


Fig. 5. BNP / E3, [74A-68']

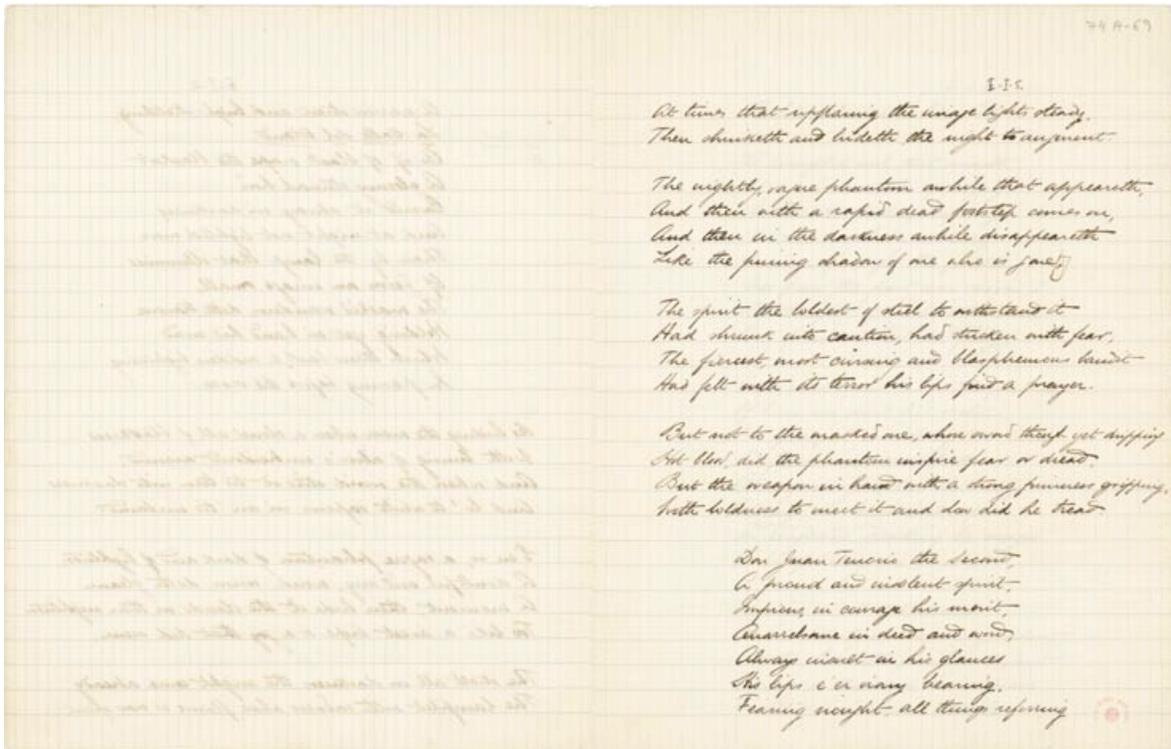


Fig. 6. BNP / E3, [74A-69']

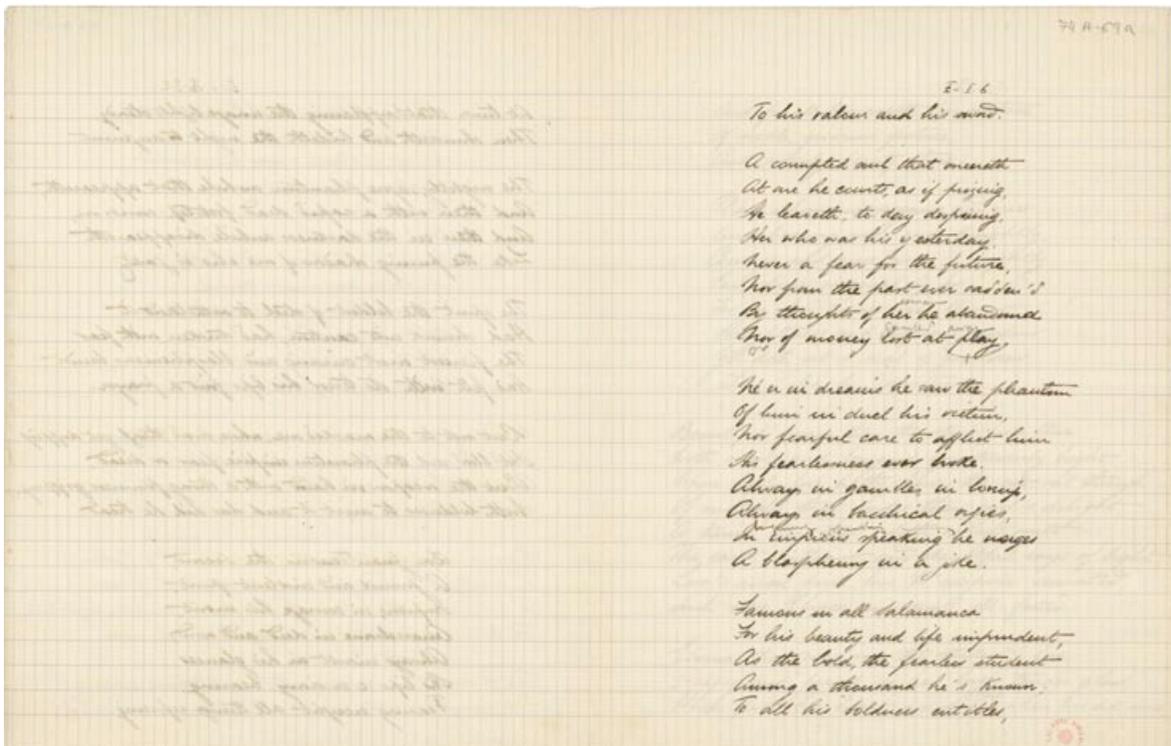


Fig. 7. BNP / E3, [74A-69a']

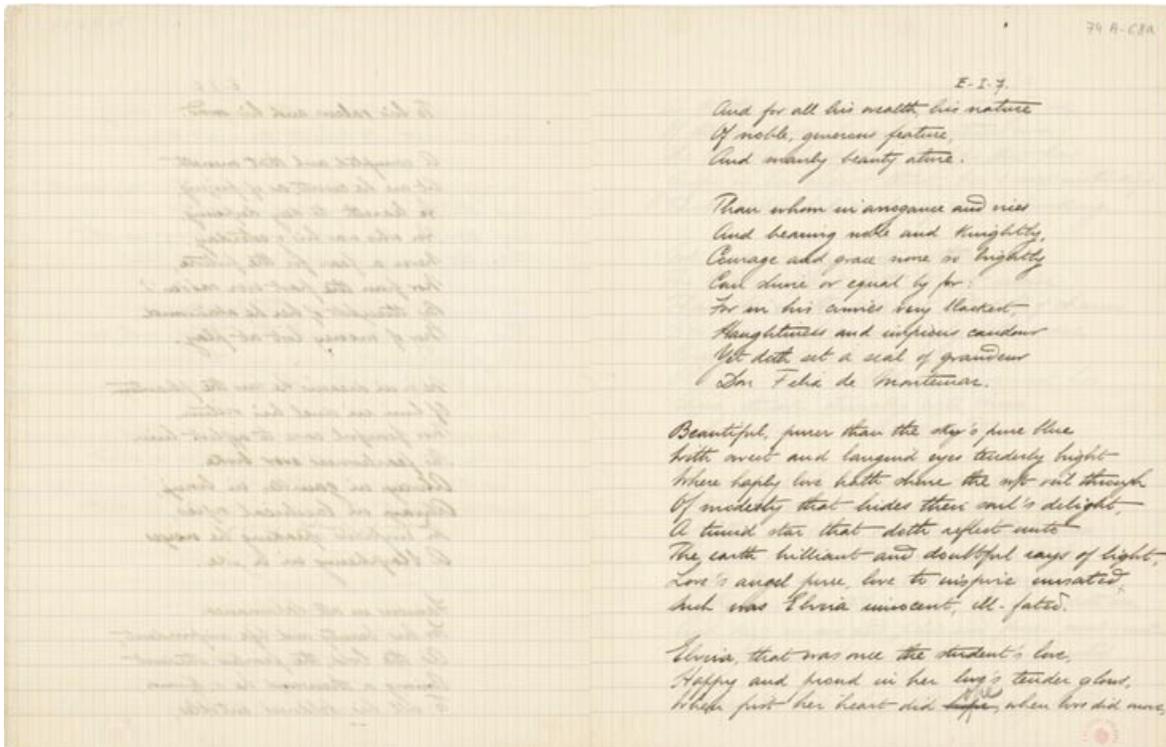


Fig. 8. BNP / E3, [74A-68a']

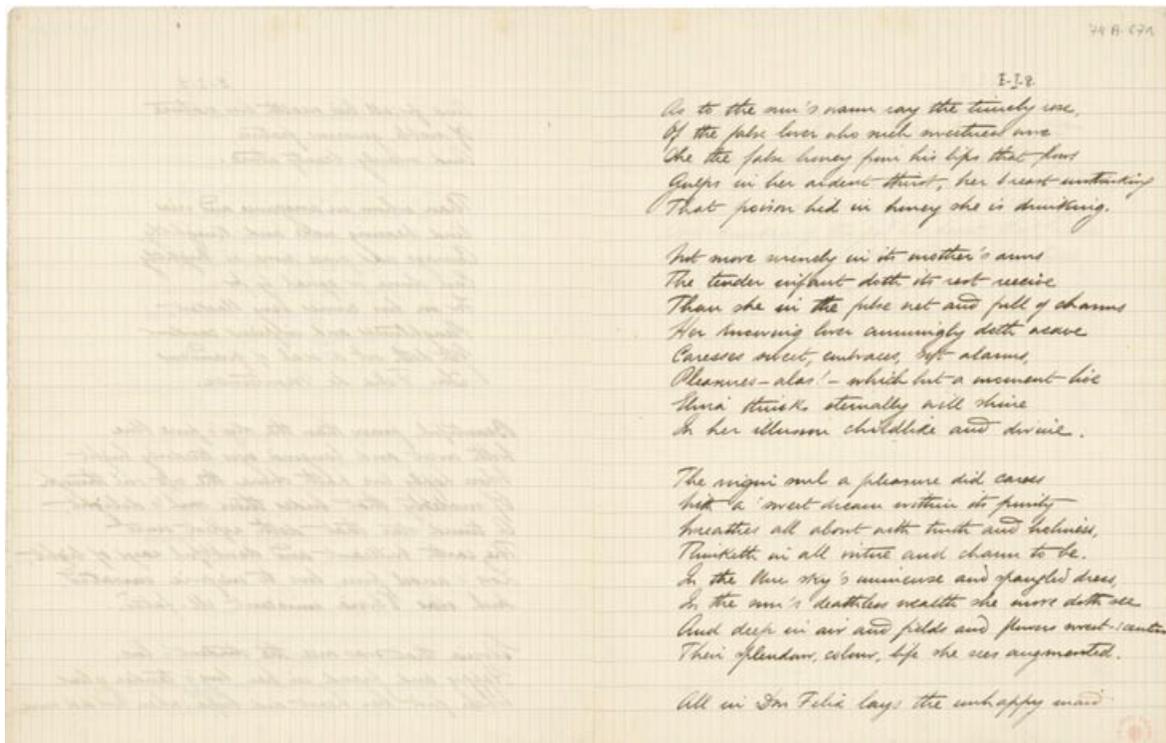


Fig. 9. BNP / E3, [74A-67a']

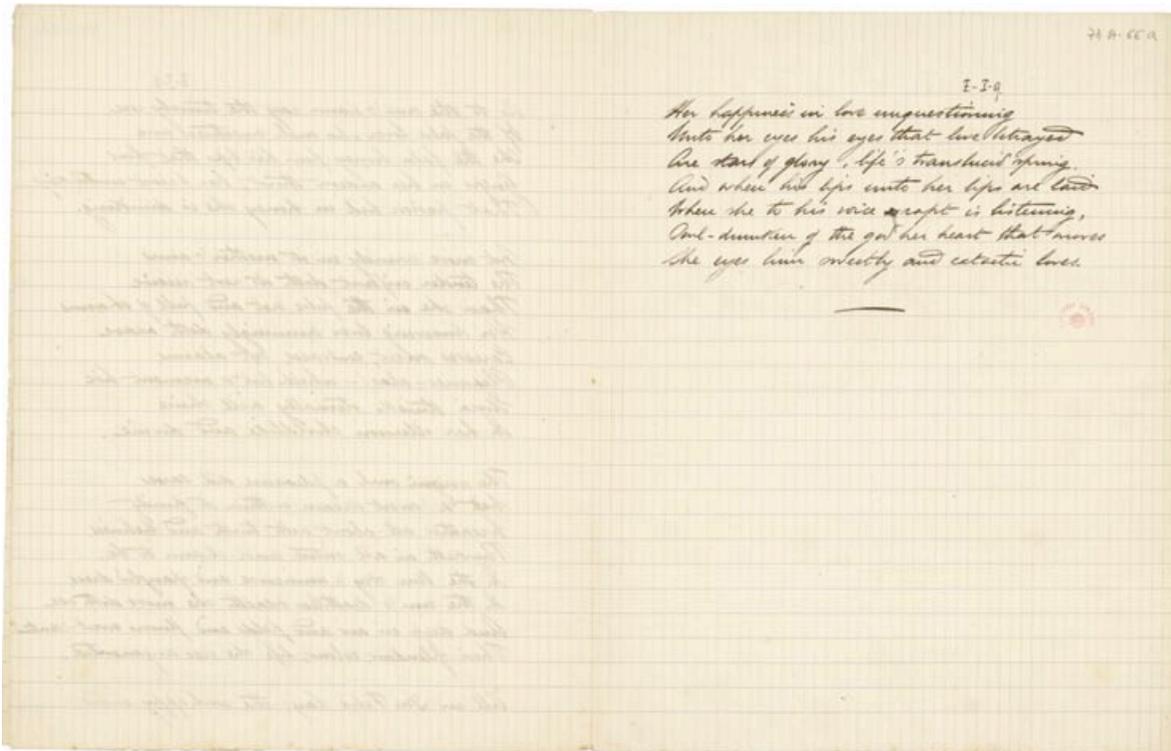


Fig. 10. BNP / E3, [74A-66a<sup>r</sup>]

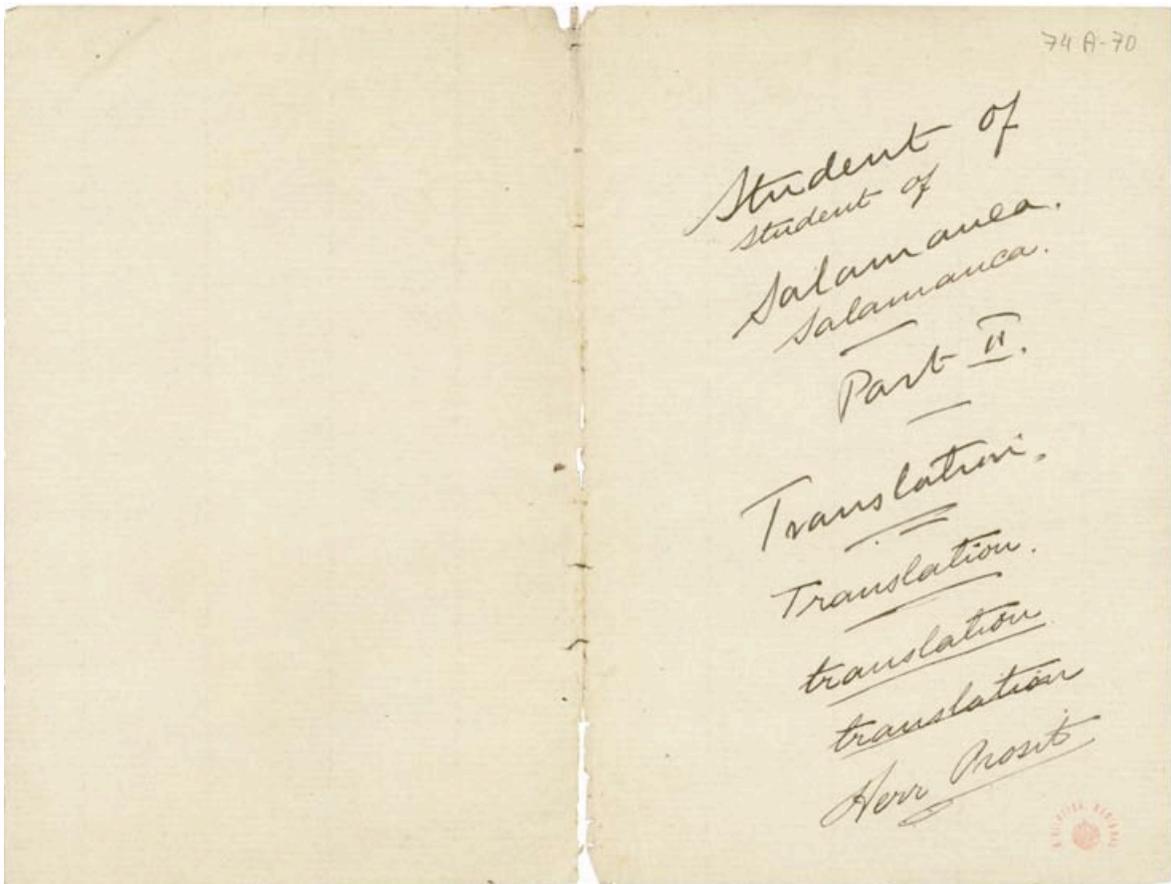


Fig. 11. BNP / E3, [74A-70<sup>r</sup>]



As the  
 Haply awakens <sup>to</sup> murmur  
 And the eyes <sup>in</sup> unfold  
 They move to white haze down  
 As the doves, acacia,  
<sup>They</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>hull</sup>  
 And aptate hands & flowers  
 And <sup>embalmy</sup> ~~that~~ themselves <sup>in</sup> perfume:  
 So pure is its light so holy  
 As that upon which their wings  
  
 The eyes <sup>unfold</sup>  
 Over the first flame  
 That love is <sup>light</sup>  
 In the paradise of Eden  
  
 A woman ~~is~~! Is it perchance  
 A ruffle white & white  
 That <sup>is</sup> the ray of the moon  
 Haply mysteriously wanders?  
 White is her dress unbound  
 Her hair waves up her shoulder  
 Leaf after leaf the flowers  
 That ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~the~~ ~~scattered~~  
 That she has <sup>scattered</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>flowers</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>carnets</sup>

Fig. 13. BNP / E3, [74A-90']

74 A-75

has, left, her, leaves  
 one eye, new steps  
 A tear from her eye is poured  
 & beneath

Her cheek, it is a wave  
 of the sea that is under storm  
 The winds of passion's breath  
 and shall with her soul.

Her eye sits down, and cries  
 The sudden answer (the treason)  
 and love to life.



Fig. 14. BNP / E3, [74A-75]



74 A-79

talante =	<del>talante</del>	<del>talante</del>	talante
acaso =	<del>talante</del>	<del>talante</del>	talante
tal vez =	<del>talante</del>	<del>talante</del>	talante
nacarado =	<del>talante</del>	<del>talante</del>	talante
cardeua =	<del>talante</del>	<del>talante</del>	talante

---

And oh, this night, this very  
 man are the same that indifferent  
 looks up to happiness  
 As they now sit on the misery  
 Oh, weep, oh weep, poor Olivia  
 Sad & abandoned mistress!  
 There of their lives  
 That inattentive dust scatter

But the poor unhappy maiden  
 Whither the wind way leads to?  
 There with whom you love have  
 God Thy music & all thy joys  
 The poor flowers of the soil

Fig. 16. BNP / E3, [74A-79]



74 A-86

<sup>WA</sup>  
 The heart lurches ~~at~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~nothing~~!  
 A sad plain all covered ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup>  
~~with~~ the lawn of suffering  
 A desert of vibrant beauty  
 { where } out a flame ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~spire~~  
 { theme }  
 Distant.  
~~Afar~~ off a dark ~~wood~~ <sup>wood</sup> to you  
 The sun rises in the sea's ~~state~~  
~~on the beach~~ on the beach  
~~And~~ <sup>And</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>a vessel</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~sun~~  
 And ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> afar off a vessel  
 Out with the wind reach.  
 —  
 An optic glass ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~front~~  
 In a phantasm <sup>illumination</sup>  
 And ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~eye~~ <sup>eye</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~light~~  
~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~vision~~ <sup>vision</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~conjunction~~  
 The fancy in sweet confusion  
 —  
 Woman then act a lead ~~light~~  
 Transport of loneliness  
 How to thee, if for the flight  
 Man in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~light~~ <sup>light</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~his~~  
~~off~~ <sup>off</sup> ~~mystic~~ <sup>mystic</sup> ~~crystal's~~ <sup>crystal's</sup> ~~Selyst~~.



Fig. 18. BNP / E3, [74A-86']

74 A-82

White cloud of morning  
 White of moon

Rising light thee doth adorn  
 Precursor  
 Of the morning sweet + clear.

Page 134 end.

<sup>live</sup> But do! Elvira happily  
<sup>live</sup> In your very sadness  
 For even sun beams gladness  
 When they tender breast  
 doth sigh  
 Dost thou see thee thy <sup>mysterious</sup> ~~simple~~  
 madness:



Fig. 19. BNP / E3, [74A-82']

P. 185 For reason is but a bell 74 A-80  
 And rather veils it to save  
 without mind, that to compel  
 Thought upon fully, with grave  
 Analysis cold and fell.  
 Analysis coldly well.

Fig. 20. BNP / E3, [74A-80']

*the* *C* Behold her, as <sup>she</sup> dreamt <sup>it</sup> in her madness 74 A-87  
 Present the happiness she ever lost  
 Sweet words with love she murmurs without  
 The thinker to hear the ~~love~~ <sup>sadness</sup> ~~lover~~ she hath loved.

Fig. 21. BNP / E3, [74A-87']

Behold her  
 Present the good that has for ever fled:  
 Sweet words with love she murmurs

Behold her, implor  
 As if present there she saw him  
 Behold her +  
 Behold her madman to smile.

Fig. 22. BNP / E3, [74A-74']

And her mind in a 74A-74  
 As ~~time~~ her confused thought + undefined  
 Like clouds that <sup>in</sup> black + white profusion  
 Cover the sky & <sup>hand</sup> to the wind,



Fig. 23. BNP / E3, [74A-74']

74A-72  
 Behold her carefully choosing flowers  
 She takes them joined in the  
 And imperial garland <sup>of her</sup> ~~of her~~ ~~love~~  
 That garland she doth ~~let her~~ ~~to~~ weave.



Fig. 24. BNP / E3, [74A-72']

136

74A-89

What are to me thy calm  
 O tranquil night! or solitary moon  
 If ye cannot ally Fate's cruelty  
 Nor give me <sup>hope</sup> of future boon?  
 What are ye <sup>to</sup> give a heart cut to me  
 To <sup>lose</sup> a <sup>love</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>vain</sup> <sup>ye</sup> <sup>cut</sup> <sup>into</sup> <sup>known</sup>  
~~to give a heart cut to me~~  
 If the <sup>del</sup> <sup>france</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>ye</sup> <sup>me</sup> <sup>deem</sup>  
 He <sup>deem</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>ask</sup> <sup>the</sup>  
 He <sup>also</sup> <sup>ask</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>eyes</sup>  
 Dear attempt - he <sup>plant</sup> - <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>with</sup>  
~~But~~ <sup>her</sup> <sup>breast</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>head</sup> <sup>also</sup> <sup>heavily</sup>  
 And <sup>and</sup> <sup>her</sup> <sup>hummed</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>and</sup>  
 The <sup>last</sup> <sup>words</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>soft</sup>  
 The <sup>eyes</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>love</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>his</sup> <sup>tender</sup> <sup>plaint</sup>  
 A <sup>melancholy</sup> <sup>song</sup> <sup>her</sup> <sup>heart</sup> <sup>little</sup> <sup>found</sup>  
 A <sup>song</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>leaves</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>mind</sup> <sup>&</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>&</sup> <sup>faint</sup>  
 A <sup>plaint</sup> - <sup>also</sup> - <sup>the</sup> <sup>heart</sup> <sup>wound</sup>



Fig. 25. BNP / E3, [74A-89']

74 A-84

Happen thro' her by her rest death  
 A candid rose that pain hath shaken  
 A tender scent that the traveller <sup>of the heart</sup>  
 And whil' the breeze upon its wings hath <sup>taken</sup>

Vessel of benedictine, colour bright  
 Within its crystal daylight did reflect,  
 But earth did choke <sup>its splendour</sup>  
 And man with unpinions hand  
 its heart <sup>wrecked</sup>.

One sweet illusion did her mind caress  
 A heavenly soul to love <sup>adoration</sup> born  
 Love was the fountain of her livingness  
 And near to dream her

Lover of the land, a flower.  
 She died (alas!) - <sup>to love + youth to wear</sup>  
 She woke with pleasure in the morning  
 And in the evening slept within <sup>her</sup> <sup>bird</sup>

But from ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~man's~~ <sup>also she makes</sup>  
 up to <sup>the</sup> ~~end~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~her~~ <sup>day</sup>

And <sup>in the</sup> <sup>man's</sup> <sup>bird</sup>  
 Back to her mind her <sup>person</sup> <sup>lost</sup> <sup>her</sup>

Fig. 26. BNP / E3, [74A-84]

Consider!                      bitter truth  
 The food departed and the present  
 She happy!                      <sup>pain</sup> ~~mouth~~  
 She felt the weight <sup>last</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~  
 And among her <sup>and</sup>  
 Her cheek did have a tear  
 And to the faithful lover with a hand  
 Trembling <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~

---

Fig. 27. BNP / E3, [74A-84']

I am dying; pardon me if each accent  
 Fleeth impetuous to modest-thine ear;  
 It is, Oh Felicia, the last-lament  
 of her to whom myself <sup>has been</sup> ~~was~~ so dear,  
<sup>Death's</sup> ~~My~~ hand already doth feel beat  
 Farewell: I ask my love's holy pity's tear  
 distill & pardon <sup>me</sup> if when I die,  
 My tears from me right.)  
 from the dying - wings a rip  
 from her dear memory my with

Fig. 28. BNP / E3, [74A-77']

74 A-77

Farewell, farewell for ever. In the stream  
 of life I felt run softly once thru for thee,  
then the mouth from thy lips that came  
 has a heavenly extreme for me.

My heart got lighter in the dearest  
 That ever man - in the memory ! dream  
 All things are gone with thee, all thy right  
 Quot hour of love, has so 1 thru the yet!



Fig. 29. BNP / E3, [74A-77']

f We'll, of I We'll, happy times 74 A-76  
 That from my many years are away  
 Love's images the dawn of old dreams  
 Put off to my eyes bring tears  
 But do I ever see?  
 -  
 Is come: oh pardon, <sup>(forgive)</sup> pardon me <sup>my last day</sup> my last day  
 If do love my madness to record.

p. 138.  
 Last-stanza



Fig. 30. BNP / E3, [74A-76']

74 A-88  
 Remember that mine eyes are now with keeping  
 The Tears about tears of bitterness  
 To say (what) that I to write & keep  
 Can this consolation give & my satisfaction  
 but fit a man his will  
 Remember to me & forget.

Many long years the days  
 Remember to me, & other women love.



Fig. 31. BNP / E3, [74A-88']



74A-78

Farewell, f. for ever, a moment slight  
 I feel of life & of love <sup>with</sup> in my heart  
 The fire yet burneth, & by wondering sight  
 Is vague & troubled... give rest  
 Unto my troubled death! Alone  
 Leave me; no, pardon me; useless request!  
 Farewell, farewell! thy heart from me has  
 - For me all things that <sup>within the world</sup> the world has <sup>is</sup>  
 are dead.

= p. 139 stg 3.

Fig. 33. BNP / E3, [74A-78']

74A-73

And her soul went unto the host  
 The eyes <sup>the soul</sup> <sup>are</sup> Sad are the flowers  
 That earth doth yield <sup>her</sup> around  
 The zephyr <sup>her</sup> <sup>love</sup> <sup>through</sup>  
 the soft <sup>her</sup> <sup>home</sup>.

Fig. 34. BNP / E3, [74A-73']

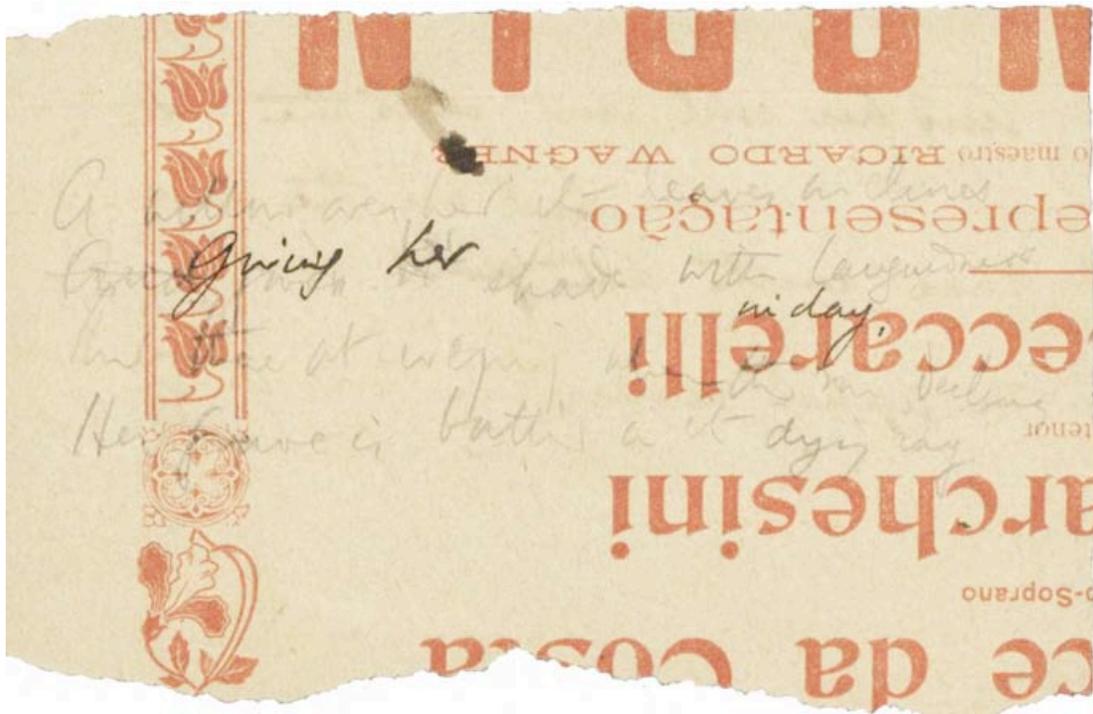


Fig. 35. BNP / E3, [74A-73<sup>v</sup>]

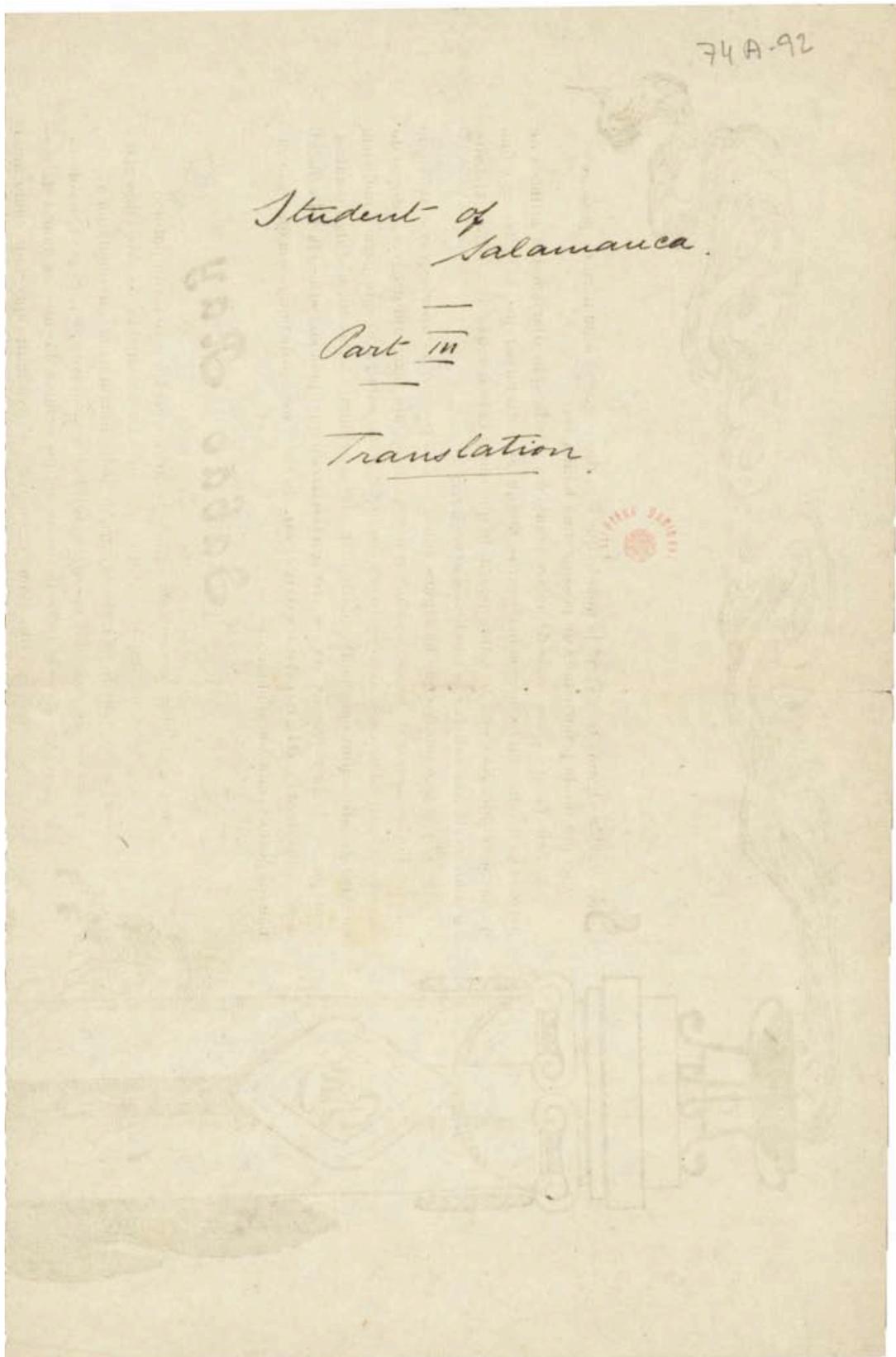


Fig. 36. BNP / E3, [74A-92']



74A-107

And the mysterious thing  
Is heard of the storm outside  
Which lashes the heavy windows  
With its rays as it goes by.



Fig. 38. BNP / E3, [74A-107]

I.

74 A-111

The <sup>Queen</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>1</sup> ~~has~~ <sup>out</sup> ~~come~~ <sup>with</sup>

What <sup>2</sup> ~~can~~ <sup>is</sup> it ~~then?~~

~~And~~ <sup>3</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Queen</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>there</sup>

For <sup>2</sup> ~~little~~ <sup>you</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~small~~

A <sup>1</sup> ~~heap~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~best~~ -

I <sup>1</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~Christ~~ <sup>2</sup> ~~Do~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~see~~

Your <sup>1</sup> ~~end~~ <sup>has</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>yet</sup>

There <sup>1</sup> ~~never~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~any~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>air</sup>

Will <sup>2</sup> ~~you~~ <sup>mind</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>your</sup> ~~best~~ <sup>man?</sup>

A <sup>1</sup> ~~thousand~~ <sup>quint</sup> ~~of~~

~~more~~

~~more~~

Fig. 39. BNP / E3, [74A-111']

You are cowardly ~~and~~ ~~light~~

Are you ready? They are all here  
 Let us be going: Long ago?  
 Last fifteen hundred or so.

~~Don~~ ~~Diego~~

Do not now  
 You are not yet

Don Felix,

Well, How much have you lost now?  
 A thousand dollars  
 When is he? / We do not know

Barbosa

Barbosa in all Salamanca  
 For his life and his good fortune

Now then, Sir.  
 Don Diego, true  
 My crime was not very great  
 I saw how she loved, & how good  
 She died, and the fault is not mine  
 And your pardon I offer

But no woman dies of love

Fig. 40. BNP / E3, [133N-20']



74A-106

to 100 lira also  
 enters).

Don Felix, no hour <sup>the</sup> were worse  
 For you to arrive. You've ~~lost~~ <sup>gones</sup>  
~~lost~~ <sup>lost</sup> the money which you gave  
 And this very mining purse.  
 So

Don Felix de Montemoral  
 must lose. Don must deny him  
 this favour, ay! but must fly him  
 if he saw him <sup>D.F.</sup>

To ~~get~~ <sup>set</sup> money is now my task  
 Of love I'm <sup>tried</sup> <sup>(to the all)</sup> unto pain,  
 Gentleman, <sup>all</sup> for this chain  
 A thousand ducats I ask.

Fig. 42. BNP / E3, [74A-106]

74A-48 a

145-

You eat the piece high <sup>3°</sup>  
F:  
 I eat it as to with no use  
 If any salt you  
 by it. This end of the line (line' are out)

F:

Among fine  
 To 400 sweets  
 To the end of deamed. there there!  
 No. 2 but you I don't eat  
<sup>1°</sup>  
 I am my other salt  
 He can, have <sup>3°</sup> it is here! →  
 - 6°  
 He's now

Fig. 43. BNP / E3, [74A-48a]

98

3.

74A-112

The ace of diamonds! There  
You have <sup>the</sup> if you I don't count  
10

I am sorry that you said.

The ace! the ace! <sup>30</sup> it is here

~~He has won.~~  
15  
D.F.

At a single <sup>cast</sup> throw  
A thousand ducats I

<sup>30</sup>  
In a throw?

~~say~~  
You have lost - <sup>?</sup>  
D.F.

I have lost - my soul  
And the little is no matter

30

DF

30

DF

Keep cool



Fig. 44. BNP / E3, [74A-112']

p. 98 (large ed.) <sup>74A-96</sup>  
 Lucky. At one throw of dice  
 I struck a thousand sweets  
 You are most  
 You have lost.  
 E.  
 Lost? May not be  
 A little bit does not matter  
 

Fig. 45. BNP / E3, [74A-96']

I'll play you further  
 A hundred times, I'll state  
 For all the profit you will  
 With a frame of pins - then  
 etc  
 with the paper.

Fig. 46. BNP / E3, [74A-112<sup>v</sup>]

74 A-100

p.147. — "What do you?"  
 lovely woman.  
 Tru not dear.  
 You wish to stalk the.  
 they are here.  
 And I will win. If you do  
 I've no more friends, you see



Fig. 47. BNP / E3, [74A-100']

p.147

001-A HF

"What do you?" —  
 This image, did heart not mine  
 lovely woman.  
 Tru not dear.  
 If she wishes to stalk the  
 you wish to stalk the.  
 they are here.  
 And I will win. If you do  
 I've no more friends, you see



Fig. 48. BNP / E3, [74A-100'']

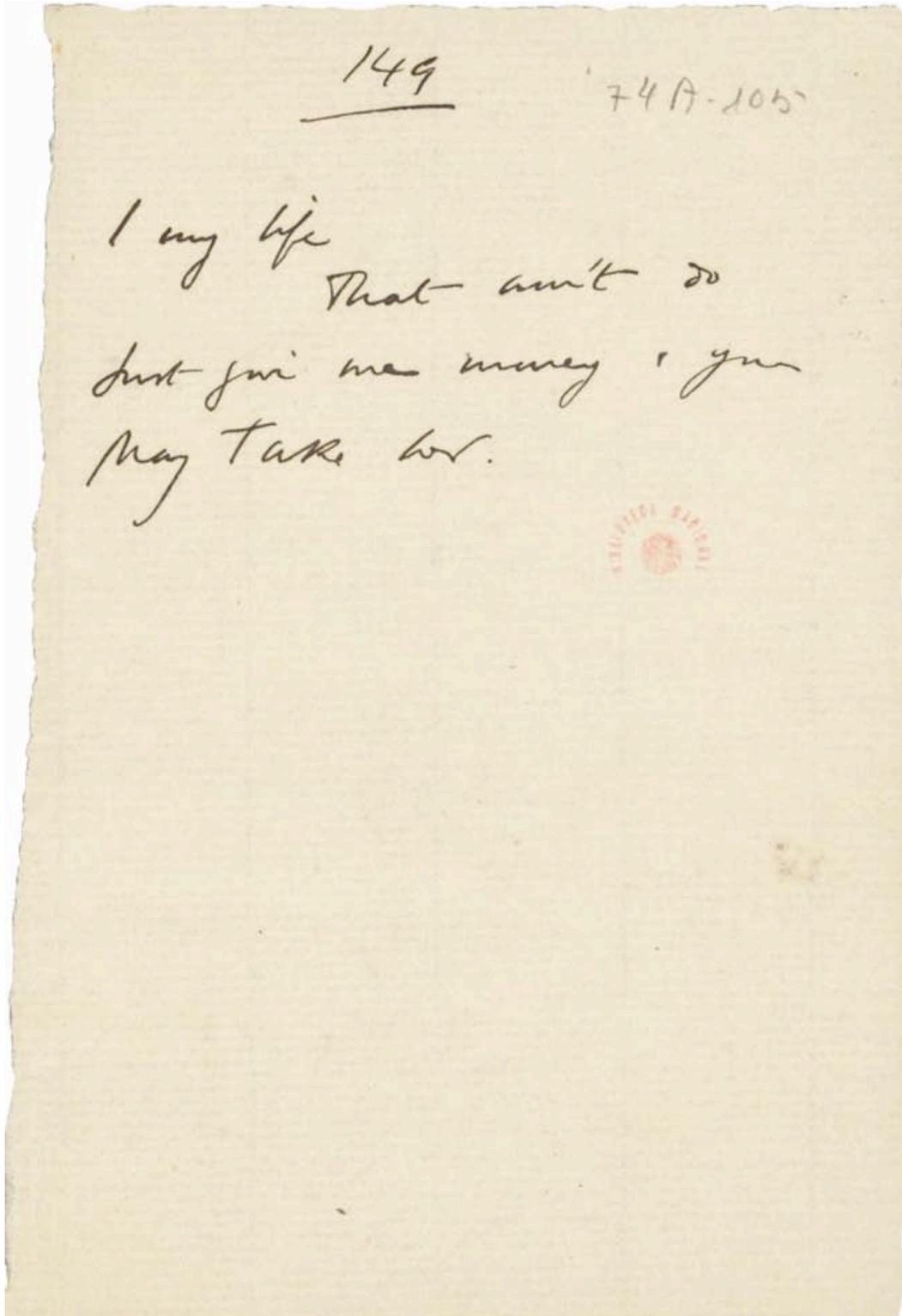


Fig. 49. BNP / E3, [74A-105']

p. 151. 74A-113

Pale in his  
 his glances, although perturbed  
 Having in it a firm & will intent  
 To give death

A man did enter cloaked into the eyes,  
 And hat pushed low upon his frowning brow:  
 Unto his face his heart makes hatred rise  
 His step is firm, his spirit

A man's figure ~~f~~ fate  
 The thrust of that did parch his soul,  
 His spirit ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~firm~~ ~~of~~ ~~white~~ ~~hate~~,  
 Penitence had kindled his heart & whole

He comes beside Don Felix & abstract  
 He speaks to no one nor his head he bows;  
 And standing as fit of him  
 He looks upon him with enraged brows,

Don Felix also looks upon the  
 Appeared thence Eyes on his are bent  
 And with a sarcasm full  
 Fixing his upon him

Fig. 50. BNP / E3, [74A-113']

p. 153. 74A-93  
 Ah! Don Felis? know you not-  
 Don Diego de Pastran  
 D.B. Mr. you but man, a  
 Sister! think you have got.

Fig. 51. BNP / E3, [74A-93']

154 top  
 pain  
~~but~~ she won't come to life again.

Fig. 52. BNP / E3, [74A-57']

74A-101

I see and hear thee and doubt  
 Whether / my sword shall soil  
 In that most curst blood, or coil  
 My fingers thy neck about,  
 And with unmercy most brute,  
 Setting fair challenge apart,  
 To tear from thy breast thy heart  
 And tread thy tongue under foot.



Fig. 53. BNP / E3, [74A-101']

74A-110

And with unmercy most  
 brute  
 Setting defiance apart  
 To tear from thy breast thy  
 heart  
 And tread thy tongue under  
 foot.  
 A soul, a life ~~is~~  
 satisfaction too light  
 A thousand fold, as I will  
 I'd give <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ take them  
 again.  
 H. Vega

Hold  
 D. J. ... D. D. ...



Fig. 54. BNP / E3, [74A-110']

74A-97

~~the~~

Making quarrels. How  
 You sword, D. Diego & behav  
 That—  
 And  
 I know not why, that so cold  
 In my carriage to bold  
 To your mind I give ear



Fig. 55. BNP / E3, [74A-97]

153 74A-98

Come with ~~the~~ by my fault  
 Of life to ~~the~~ I am clay  
 And heard through the  
 Can see the for  
 death

O pain + why  
 That even by your debt can



Fig. 56. BNP / E3, [74A-98]

74 A-109

Come with me, in  
 he no tin  
 Now - Da D. if you die  
 let - not - another  
 To <sup>settle the accounts</sup> square accounts, I'm  
 with you in a minute but we  
 cannot this by wrong way, the  
 There are my money - for you  
 I lose here a quantity  
 Considerable of gold <sup>what</sup> most  
 Provoked I stand for 4 July >  
 10 > 15 ~~off for some day~~  
 Tale of he I <sup>from</sup> ~~hear~~ <sup>lost</sup> ~~lost~~?

Your act is rather only  
 to risk the chance that I kill you  
 I tell you all as I feel it

Fig. 57. BNP / E3, [74A-109]

74 A-104

D. D. [unclear]

You're cowardly & slow  
 And ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~and~~ a kind

D.D.

By, Du D, but <sup>cool</sup> ~~all~~  
 For fighting in me's too late.  
 If they were <sup>the</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>my</sup>,  
 On you capture I'd <sup>be</sup> ~~be~~  
 You'd need but to ask a <sup>line</sup>  
 For the <sup>decease</sup> & the <sup>quest</sup>

D. D.

Fig. 58. BNP / E3, [74A-104']

74 A-95

You laugh?

Death is too near <sup>you</sup> ~~the~~  
 to Chaff!

Fig. 59. BNP / E3, [74A-95']

Scene VI.      74.A-99

This

RECEIVED

AT THE

He has quite probably will  
 His death hence etc.

RECEIVED

Who has been  
 I shall please to  
 Will please to be  
 killed.

Fig. 60. BNP / E3, [74A-99]

74A-94

n. 158. This death to my  
 heart for the  
 who am  
 tall.

RECEIVED

Fig. 61. BNP / E3, [74A-94]

74B-30  
IV.1

Behold Don Felix with his sword in hand,  
 Serene his countenance and his heart well,  
 Elvira's brother, who had vengeance planned,  
 Dead at his feet and without pity fell.

He with a tranquil boldness doth advance  
 Along the fatal street del Atarid,  
<sup>his reason full of fear his spirit doth</sup>  
 Nor fearful vision doth his mind entrance,  
 Nor Jesus' visage doth perturb his mood.

The dying lamplight's ill-awaken'd light  
 Tremulously doth its last gleam discover  
 And ~~see~~ <sup>with</sup> profoundest darkness, horrid night  
 The street mysterious like a hood ~~doth~~ <sup>doth</sup> cover.

Montemaran moveth his undaunted feet  
 Within the darkness with uncertainty  
 When having trodden part of the long street  
 Suddenly next to him he hears a sigh.

He felt the breath upon his face to creep  
 And in spite of him did his nerves contract,  
 But past their first involuntary leap,  
 To their own iron hardness did retract.

Fig. 62. BNP / E3, [74B-30]

74B-31  
IV. 2

"Who goes?" he asks with his calm voice at length  
 That feigns not courage and is not afraid,  
 His soul full of indomitable strength  
 Full confident on his Toledan blade.

He feels around him and with impious vigour  
 Curses, and boldly his bold walk resumes,  
 When towards him a vague and fateful figure  
 Wrapp'd in white garments mystically comes.

Floating and vague the clouds thick and intense  
 He dispels, and animates itself and grows  
 With an ill-wakened light and in the dense  
 Darkness its silver whiteness clearer shows.

His eyes upon her fixed, Montemar  
 With more wonder than fear her doth behold;  
 Perchance he thinks her a slow-moving star  
 That through the space of heaven is on-rolled.



Fig. 63. BNP / E3, [74B-31']

Now  
 Let ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~eye~~ <sup>eye</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~silver~~ <sup>silver</sup> ~~shining~~ <sup>shining</sup> 74-95  
 A planet of clear light without a stain  
 The gloomy horizon maketh wide  
 And in the ~~shadow~~ <sup>shadow</sup> ~~apart~~ <sup>apart</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~light~~ <sup>light</sup>  


---

 "God ~~wishes~~ <sup>wills</sup> to frighten me! I would  
 it were!  
 He ~~did~~ <sup>unmurmured</sup> laughing yes!  
 For then, by God, who I ~~am~~ <sup>am</sup> hold to know  
 The human monarch of the  
 abyss

Fig. 64. BNP / E3, [74-95']

IV.3. 74B-32

Haply of his own eyes a strange delusion  
 A lying form that in his dreams he made,  
 Or yet the wine's ridiculous illusion *confusion*  
 Which his reason at last hath disarrayed.

But never the Shereyan nectar had  
 Sufficed his mind to alter and to stain  
 For *full a thousand times* times a thousand and in orgies mad  
 Himself to he had tried in vain.

As he spoke this *insult*, with new light

And a veiled woman clad in garb of white  
 Before the image kneeling he descried.

"Welcome the light!" the impious student said,  
 ✓ "Thank God or thank the Devil": and with bold  
 And firm intention, madly without dread,  
 Towards the veiled lady he his way doth hold.



Fig. 65. BNP / E3, [74B-32]

IV. 4.

74 B-33

And while he walks, in seeming move away  
 The light, the image and the lady fair,  
 But if he stop, their motion do their stay:  
 And dolorously drops tear after tear

The image from its eyes unmovable.

His footsteps bold or his impiety quell

The street seems to move on and shift with strange motion  
 He feels underfoot the whole earth fail and swim;  
 His eyes the-dead glance charms with mystic commotion  
 Of Christ that intensely is fixed upon him.

And plunged in the madness his mind that diseases -  
 The wine's (so he thinks) that his reason affrights -  
 The lamplight with insolent boldness he seizes  
 From the altar where God's holy image it lights.



Fig. 66. BNP / E3, [74B-33']

161.

↓ looks to be fine, but by <sup>(young white)</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>will hidden</sup>  
 in disconcerting way  
 But the life is put out by ~~the~~ <sup>sudden</sup>  
 and to lay in while the feet <sup>did rise</sup>

---

=161-162=  
 74A-28

is described

And as if the softest of carpets were treading  
 And noiseless <sup>rough</sup> ~~light~~ <sup>lighter</sup> ~~foot~~ <sup>cloth</sup> glide

to flee

That went  
 & how (that is merged in) the foam of the sea.

Before us ~~then~~ <sup>air</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~illumination~~ <sup>gross</sup>  
 And shaketh the soul with  
 The while that firm reason its <sup>disturbance</sup> chase.

Fig. 67. BNP / E3, [74A-28']

=161-162=  
 74A-28

And but for a moment he thought he was seeing  
 A face which  
 And glad & vague remembrance did call with being  
 Of times that were better & now are no more  
 The face of an angel he saw in sweet dreaming  
 Like a sentiment that the spirit did flood,  
 That shadows the best  
 That never by reason shall ~~never~~ understood.

is described

And as if the softest of carpets were treading  
 And noiseless <sup>rough</sup> ~~light~~ <sup>lighter</sup> ~~foot~~ <sup>cloth</sup> glide

to flee

That went  
 & how (that is merged in) the foam of the sea.

Before us ~~then~~ <sup>air</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~illumination~~ <sup>gross</sup>  
 And shaketh the soul with  
 The while that firm reason its <sup>disturbance</sup> chase.

Fig. 68. BNP / E3, [74A-28']

162-163

74 A-27

Lady, the same  
 Will ~~be~~ tell me by signals "No"  
 I have "reduced" eyes & so  
 To please you I am bound

And I shall remain where you <sup>IP/1</sup> ~~stand~~  
 If you be angry or frownd

Even if the infernal were  
 And <sup>be</sup> your father, or's that  
 With his names & his honors - all  
 Down to the bottom of hell

You in front of I behind  
~~shall~~ ~~shall~~ ~~shall~~ ~~shall~~  
~~shall~~ ~~shall~~ ~~shall~~ ~~shall~~

Although you are now Heaven



Fig. 69. BNP / E3, [74A-27']

p. 163. 74A-23  
 And were you Satan  
 with his flames and horns  
 will  
 Down to the bottom of hell  
 You in front & I behind  
 we would go, there's a God  
 Even were Heaven to hinder it

Fig. 70. BNP / E3, [74A-23']

116 to by pleom even

if it may the children  
 of our uncastles wives  
~~there~~

115) not with by god I mean  
 that any shall think but  
 for fear

Fig. 71. BNP / E3, [74A-27']

163 74 A-24  
 I will know  
 what you have in the state  
 of women in my wish there be  
 that it were discounty  
 so late also you to leave.

Fig. 72. BNP / E3, [74A-24']

163-164 (2). 74 A-22  
 Profound from her heart <sup>the</sup> a moan woe-  
 expressing  
 The heart of the vessel that suffering  
 did wear,  
 which ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> the hearing impressing  
 But that the heart  
 doth tear  
 A moan of a bitter remembrance  
 departed  
 of pain that is present, of trouble  
 ill-known

Fig. 73. BNP / E3, [74A-22']

From the pass - <sup>venom upstart</sup> see that rests ~~the~~  
 spirit upon.  
 A moan as of dying she cast, ~~the~~  
 The figure of white <sup>in silence</sup> moved in its  
 feet -  
 As a butterfly moves its wings with  
 violence  
 That scarcely ~~do~~ touch in the  
Code-water's sheet

Fig. 74. BNP / E3, [74A-22']

74A-21  
 Not to him who happily one day <sup>some</sup> departed  
 The ~~joy~~ which eternal his heart did  
 And in <sup>believe</sup> with all of cloudiness, in pain  
~~As~~ a sea without shores, did <sup>broken hearts</sup> ~~dying~~  
 receive.  
 He saw <sup>some chambers</sup> when ~~the~~ the mind to have taken  
 The tears of his <sup>by</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>lost</sup> in the sea  
 & no one to come to his <sup>heart</sup> ~~death~~ - <sup>heart</sup>  
~~darkness~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>his</sup> misery

Fig. 75. BNP / E3, [74A-21']

74 A-34

The joy that eternal his heart did believe  
 In a sea witht' stony  
 Alone & with him in his bedst Shaken  
looking  
 Eternal Companion his own cruel pain  
 The magical pleasure of shaken  
 His sorrow his grief, his rustles most true;



Fig. 76. BNP / E3, [74A-34']

He has seen the moon to shine in the  
 serene & in columns <sup>heavenly</sup> to shake he did  
 He has seen near to pass weep  
 & no-one to the key to 

His pain in his heart profund <sup>trampling</sup> in life  
 & deep in his soul his <sup>descently</sup>  
 with a miraculous fulfilling his life in dress.

Fig. 77. BNP / E3, [74A-21']

164-165

74 A-35

to man to the heaven  
 serene & calmly to what part his did  
 him  
 And now at his weeping to his did turn.  
 Himself dread; the world and scorning  
 his pain in his heart his like  
 his sleep in his soul while he felt on his  
 morning  
 with smile all of fulness his lips ~~did~~ abide  
 a " a li lips he made for to abide.

Fig. 78. BNP / E3, [74A-35']

165

74 A-36

Oh he who hath counted the hours time  
 hath ~~been~~ banished  
 The hours that on time joy made short  
 To-day lonely weeps <sup>in their day</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>how have</sup>  
 Forever with them — the joys of yesterday.  
 As they the most joys he has lost (to have never)  
 How fast was the world for there  
 And he lives in the world <sup>he has</sup> ~~never~~ lived ever  
 And for his those pleasures & joys are no  
 more.

Fig. 79. BNP / E3, [74A-36']

love to him who at last lying  
 ——— who he had read Sir  
 the who the relation of the end  
 the false pretence dang  
 =

Fig. 80. BNP / E3, [74A-31v]

74 A-38

love him who in the part his only  
 To him who his soul in its pain  
 The hours that have past he will call  
sad & lonely  
 The hours that he once gave & will never  
return  
 ———  
 who eyes upon eyes — with the superior  
spend  
 Hours that are evidence of our with the end;  
 ———

Fig. 81. BNP / E3, [74A-38v]

166 74 A-33

A poisonous lake of ice  
 his team ~~born of sorrow~~ that pain  
 Returning to dream their <sup>made us to grow</sup>  
 No hope find; ever, not break is his  
woe...

That man of ~~the~~ <sup>phantom</sup> ~~phantom~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup>  
 The ~~my~~ <sup>rely</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>is it</sup>  
 hold her, & to show mine, could not  
 the value had ~~been~~ <sup>been</sup>, & had understood)



Fig. 82. BNP / E3, [74A-33]

DF 166 74 A-37

If some false are  
 myself! offer <sup>me</sup> ~~me~~ <sup>vanity</sup>, zealous,  
 but ~~rather~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~feigned~~  
 Or you are ~~warred~~ <sup>warred</sup>, ~~fair~~  
 by a husband who is jealous

---

And I true?  
 To make ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~warmer~~ <sup>warmer</sup> ~~tones~~,  
 To ~~write~~ <sup>write</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>men</sup>;  
 Write ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup>, ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~green~~ <sup>green</sup>;  
 I speak little & ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> much.



Fig. 83. BNP / E3, [74A-37]



167 ① 74-87

Me on his side, they say  
 The pain of the lady  
 The night & the day & the night - lonely  
 are better moments to be had

- There's only a family - end  
 - Perhaps the  
 - But the very thing that's the



Fig. 86. BNP / E3, [74-87']

167. ①  
 fill me.

fill me

Fig. 87. BNP / E3, [74-87']

167- 6. 74 A-32  
 In fact the word's treasure  
 - Halls! the the runs on! Oh terrible  
 for you  
 Oh terrible lest pleasure  
 To pains eternal -  
 So I to hear the                      lent an awaiting  
 Afterward as speak, his meet



Fig. 88. BNP / E3, [74A-32']

167. 74-88  
 To listen to them   
 And learn that tone severe with <sup>glad</sup> solemn  
 Whedn, lady, I mean ~~the~~ <sup>it</sup> you must had.

Fig. 89. BNP / E3, [74-88']

74-92

But life is but life: when its brief span is  
ended  
in her <sup>its</sup> last hour all pleasure has also  
its last.  
To cares most uncertain why let her  
be blundered?  
For we there is neither nor future nor  
past.  
To-morrow, if dying, the hour be a bad one,  
Or good, as they say - why then, what care I?  
The present enjoying, let that be a glad  
one;  
The Devil may take me as soon as I die.

Fig. 90. BNP / E3, [74-92]

74-93

168  
They will be done, oh fool, at last, the fierce  
Fatidical + mighty di exclaim  
And in his heart redoubt all his injur  
D. F felt and after her he ~~was~~  
came.

Fig. 91. BNP / E3, [74-93]

74-91

They cross saddened streets,  
 solitary squares,  
 old and ruined walls,  
 where her horrid prayers  
 and false demon-calls,  
 in the weird, unbright,  
 tempest-filled night,  
 An accursed witch  
 with hoarse voice doth spread  
 and from their still graves  
 lifteth up the dead;



Fig. 92. BNP / E3, [74-91']

And the echoes follow  
 of their footsteps hollow  
 in the solitude,  
 All the while in silence  
 doth the city brood  
 and with midnight moan  
 Chamette its reposing  
 The north-wind alone.

Fig. 93. BNP / E3, [74-91'v]

p. 168.

They cross saddened streets,  
 Solitary squares,  
 Old and ruined walls,  
 Where her horrid prayers  
 And ~~wild~~ demon-calls false  
 In the weird, unlight  
 Tempest-filled night  
 An accursed witch  
 With hoarse voice both spread,  
 And from their still paves  
 Lifteth up the dead,  
 And the celsoes follow  
 Of their footsteps hollow  
 In the solitude  
 All the while in silence  
 Over the city hood  
 And with unsharpened ~~moon~~<sup>moon</sup>  
~~the~~ ~~reposing~~ ~~charmetty~~  
 The North wind alone.

One street they cross & another  
 Still further & further on,  
 Now has the ~~way~~ an ending  
 No cease they their midnight walk,

Fig. 94. BNP / E3, [74A-9']

74A-9

And coming, passing, turning a hundred  
 Streets behind them they let fall,  
 And step after step they follow,  
 And always they travel on:  
 To fail in reason, legend  
 And lose himself in human  
 No knows he whether he treadeth  
 Now ~~of~~ <sup>where he is</sup>  
 And other streets he doth traverse,  
 Other squares, another city  
 And he sees fantastic towers  
 From their lasting pedestal  
 To lead themselves + their massive  
 Black masses forward to move,  
 Leaning in their angles  
 Which ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> unequally upon  
 The earth themselves their standing;  
 At their monstrous walk  
 The bells in the steeples shaken  
 With mystic lulling appeal  
 All the while in grotesque dances  
 To the <sup>noise</sup> extraneous funeral

Fig. 95. BNP / E3, [74A-9]

Around him a 100 <sup>phantoms</sup> ~~phantoms~~ <sup>74A-5</sup>  
 Dance with companion full of awe;  
 And the ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup>  
 Lower ~~before~~ <sup>as he</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>phantoms</sup>  
 And the spectres salute him  
 And in  
  
 In the bell's echoes to sound,  
 But- ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~ceases~~  
 And in silence, in dead peace all  
 Is fled & 'disappeared  
 Sudden ~~to~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~town~~;  
 Palaces, temples are changed  
 In fields lovely  
 & in a ~~silent~~  
<sup>melancholy</sup>  
~~hush~~ <sup>hush</sup> ~~nor~~ <sup>nor</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~nor~~ <sup>nor</sup> ~~beauty~~ <sup>beauty</sup>  
 In ~~immensity~~ <sup>lost</sup>.

Fig. 96. BNP / E3, [74A-5']

170-171

74 A-4

he thinks he is walking  
 without ever  
 by a stage free  
 with precipitate  
 and his guide  
 in front of him not talk  
~~from~~ ~~regarding~~ & follows  
 with a rapid step & now  
 upon the edge of the stone  
 with a rubbing  
 the sea to this phenomenal  
 but his body  
 in the dense  
 Serpents of light - luminous  
 offspring of the  
 And when he walks of his sleep  
 if perhaps he dreamt of



Fig. 97. BNP / E3, [74A-4]

to read, if so my  
 to my range, me  
 You with Salamanca  
 suddenly himself  
 He outgrows the build's  
 Remembrance he is now  
 And in his whole delivery  
 The same  
 And he means & on the way  
 He is just to be behind.

Fig. 98. BNP / E3, [74A-4']

171

74-96

By far! he said to himself he said  
 Ette Sate's joke  
 Of myself  
 Or lying head  
 The Malaga yet with smoke

---

Shadows & phantoms, Minson's  
 Tri them will do' bet, to take  
 And in our confusion  
 These towers I saw delusion's  
 Song; Ette concert's tunes

---

by ~~mind~~ <sup>mind</sup>  
 Any so my manly  
 That - there towers I saw  
 In his mind  
 Kally what with bells



Fig. 99. BNP / E3, [74-96]

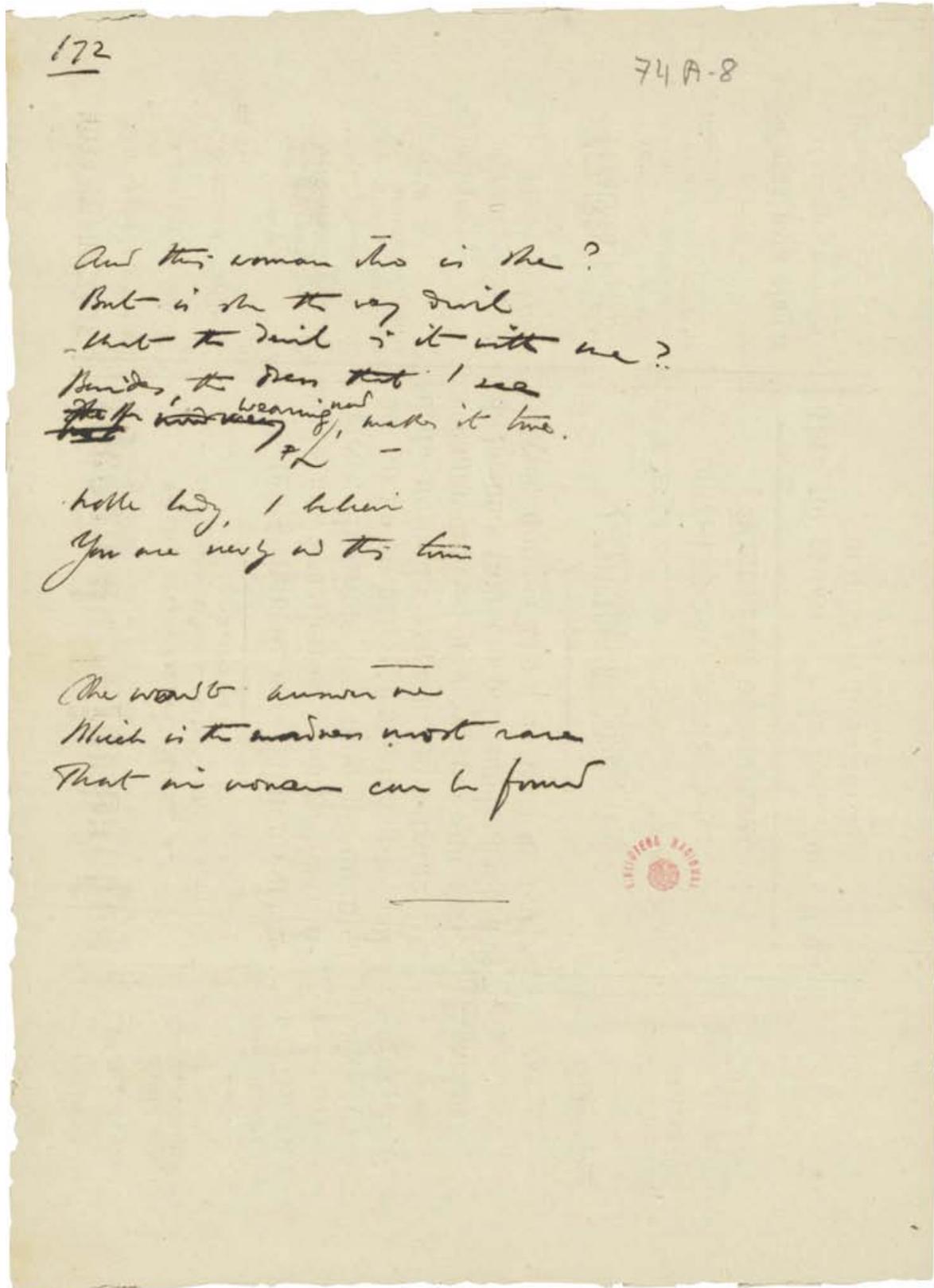


Fig. 100. BNP / E3, [74A-8]

74-94

172

Meanwhile that S F did follow  
 in front of in walk the window white  
 he heard the bells that night & showed  
 the narrow road, his hands that appear  
 rest

The clatter of chains  
 The bells upon the by the wind's purring  
 unquiet

173

The



Fig. 101. BNP / E3, [74-94]

in front the noise the noise (if) white  
 The bark and redoubt, its howls that affright  
 of whirling do the of iron  
 & of chains is heard to resound  
 the bells on the towers  
  
 The sound of footsteps of people advancing  
 loudly marching with  
 like ~~it~~ and ~~again~~ their march  
 & seems to ~~proceed~~  
 Came to D.F. to this hearing  
  
 You are very truly  
 Your obedient servant  
 [Signature]

Fig. 102. BNP / E3, [74A-10']

74-99

The name of the father of people  
 having with ground  
 from the one to the other the way between  
 of way to pay in a small



Fig. 103. BNP / E3, [74-99]

173  
74-97

To him the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ 14  
 off at will of the wind  
 when a lady  
 and in ~~the~~ find,  
 Perforce, he a mil — possesses  
 who feels not his own with bound of beat  
 who can — the Felix with calmness

So in lagg' steps & all loudly saying  
 The funeral song  
 as lady with death pray'g

His hat increment in <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>difficult</sup> ~~difficult~~ standing  
 near Felix watches the <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~  
~~the~~ ~~son~~ with <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>last</sup> ~~last~~ <sup>air</sup> ~~air~~ <sup>lamenting</sup> ~~lamenting~~  
 The names of the two as they lie to the grave.



Fig. 104. BNP / E3, [74-97]

when struck with horror + he with see  
 That we  
 and t'other d go to other in he.

The same, 'Eis li tricy, mind  
error  
 The same Antenor, the same that it was  
 He doubts  
 As while in his veins he felt to ~~to pass~~ <sup>and terror</sup> ~~to pass~~  
 He is to a want a while <sup>moment</sup> of tremor  
 The nerves of the heart, <sup>moment</sup> a while to suffer  
 But no ~~they~~ in the de vigas oselle  
 As sun

The man's nerves, <sup>1 gets</sup>  
 a moment ~~that~~ with gasp down  
 And soon all his energy returned <sup>start</sup>  
 to his heart

Fig. 105. BNP / E3, [74-97]

174.

74-100

By Pastrana

But the trouble is ~~too~~ quite vain  
 To buy me; I'll complain  
 To-morrow

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

—  
 "Tell me, sir, who dress so sad  
 Whom to you bear?"

— The student + maid  
 D. F. de Martensan  
Replied he who ~~was~~ wearing had.

—  
 — "Rascal, you lie" —

Fig. 106. BNP / E3, [74-100']

74A-2

[2]      175

- I know you not, - ~~Sanctus~~

Am you above my nose too far  
 Your  
 In such way  
 You'll know quite well Montemar -  
 William!



[1]

Reveal, you lie - ~~to, his time~~ -  
 Tell me then who I'm  
 If you please,  
 How I am at the same time

Fig. 107. BNP / E3, [74A-2']

— You know you not —  
 If you push any rage to far  
 .  
 .  
 You'll know quite well Montemaior  
 Villain!  
 An usurper of the senses  
 The world  
 and the devil,  
 "Don I, the bragg'd dunce!  
 His nilly lies, I denounce  
 When he get the death he will  
 Soon to hell be sent at once  
 Believ' that he has killed me"

Fig. 108. BNP / E3, [74-100']

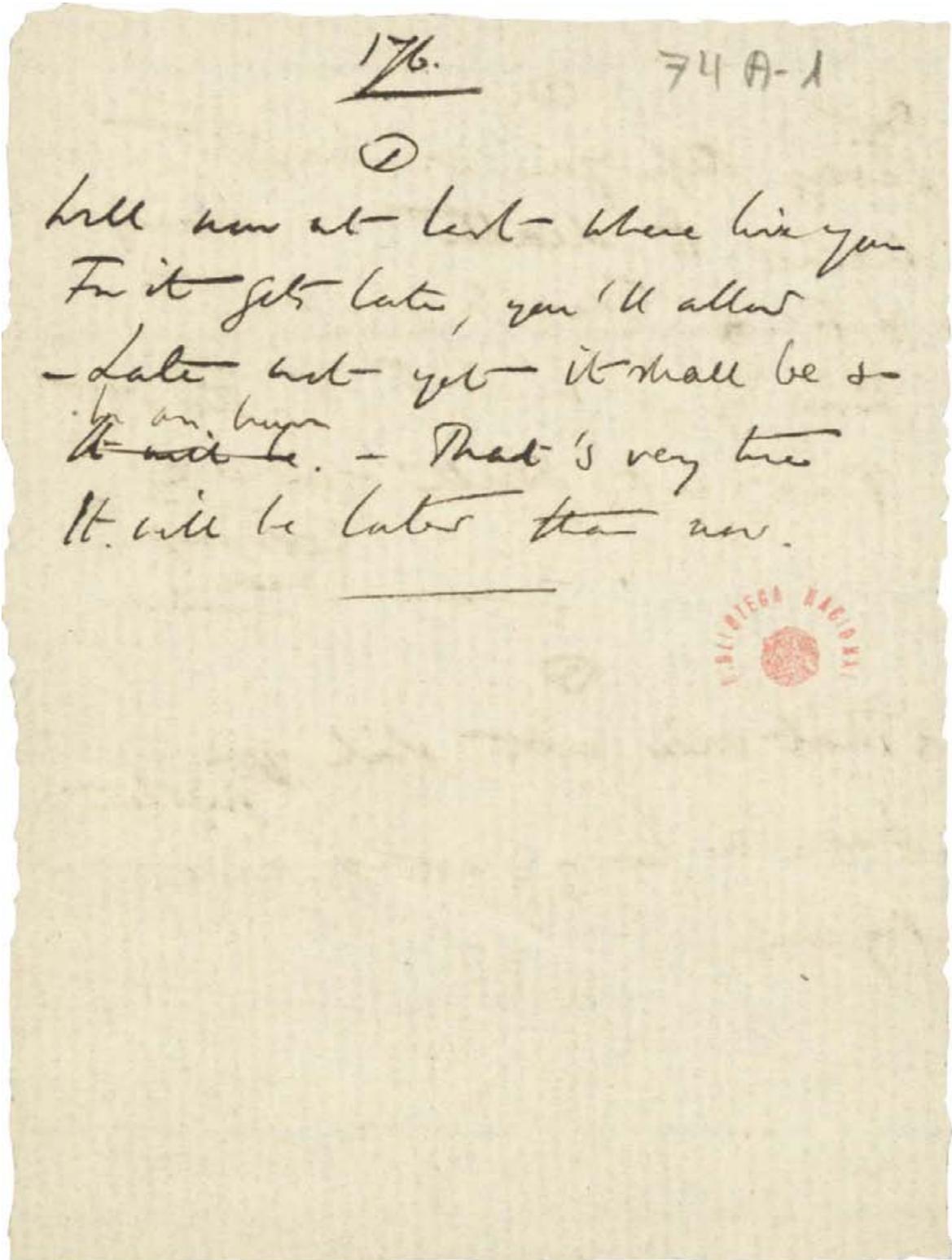


Fig. 109. BNP / E3, [74A-1']

③

Every step you are by the  
 nearer to death beauty  
 S.F. \* Tremble you not  
 Give your heart to you <sup>no</sup> thought  
 That with death you are  
coming?  
meaning

④

& That vice with still you  
 make me love you but the more:  
 My soul

Fig. 110. BNP / E3, [74A-1']

176 77A-43

With eels melancholical & saw  
 To yoke <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ ~~cross~~ & her

Roused in the voice of the tempestuous wind  
 Stones against stones it strike, hit  
 Beneath his feet earth trembled & did reel  
~~And the~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~of~~ ~~night~~ ~~of~~ ~~black~~ ~~ness~~ ~~met~~ ~~met~~  
 And the eyes cross <sup>above</sup> ~~the~~ ~~sky~~ ~~heard~~  
 & in the shadows <sup>2</sup> eyes with a gleaming  
 He saw in air to wander the still fear <sup>in</sup> ~~act~~  
 Ever upon him in seeing  
 Eyes full of horror that saws ceasing stones.

Fig. 111. BNP / E3, [74A-43']

He saw <sup>not</sup> ~~the~~ ~~trouble~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~his~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~long~~  
~~upon~~ ~~his~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~&~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~shadows~~ ~~boldly~~ ~~heart~~  
 But find no shade he, nor find he night  
~~And~~ ~~his~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~light~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~heart~~  
 And his he raised impatiently to Heaven  
 And ground his teeth & cursed  
 And in him grew the infernal  
 Mouth and with clapping he said:

Fig. 112. BNP / E3, [74A-43']



74 A-59

Before a portal stopped the lady then  
 Was an enormous portal <sup>where 20,000</sup>  
 Which at her end high <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~  
 To a mysterious impulse did they  
 After the lady went the student  
 Pages nor daemons did meet  
 Their way  
 At some dim ~~dim~~ candles' light they  
 Fantastical deserted galleries  
~~From~~ the room <sup>the</sup> like <sup>a</sup> deceiving pleasure  
 Over the flag-stones trod without  
 A sound  
 Hidden <sup>under</sup> beneath the mantle <sup>trance</sup>  
 Which in fold <sup>glide</sup> ~~glide~~ over the  
 The while over the <sup>void</sup> ~~void~~ <sup>consider's</sup> measure  
 She ~~soth~~ on  
 The  
 The light like torches funeral  
 A languid light & <sup>as</sup> cast  
~~and~~ all around <sup>the</sup> shadows <sup>up</sup> & fall  
 With movements unequal <sup>side</sup> ~~side~~ vast  
 Here ~~ruined~~ arches, ~~up~~ & ~~apud~~ ~~ruined~~  
~~There~~ there and statues ~~were~~ seen  
~~to~~ to be placed  
 Shattered columns, <sup>not</sup>  
 Grassy and ~~mo~~ and humid <sup>secure</sup>  
 and ~~dark~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~dark~~

Fig. 114. BNP / E3, [74A-59]

74 A-44

"And the pale lights like torches funeral  
 A languid light do cast,  
 And all around the shadows rise and  
 fall  
 with movements unequal, wide and  
 vast;  
 Here ruined arches dim and sepulchral,  
 urns there and statues were seen to  
 be placed,  
 Shattered columns, cloisters not secure,  
 Grassy and sad and humid and  
 obscure.

Fig. 115. BNP / E3, [74A-44']

"And all is vague, chimerical and dark,  
 A building sans foundation, nor de-  
 signed,  
 Reclutch and rolletts like a fancied bark  
 Which anchored nayeth the tempestuous  
 wind,  
 In a deep silence cold and dread and  
 stark  
 All things there lie; no sound nor sense  
 defined  
 Nor human breath was ever heard there:  
 In silence there time runs buried in  
 deep  
 sleep.

Fig. 116. BNP / E3, [74A-44']

183  
 It was a black & solemn  
 monument  
 That in the middle of the  
 to rose  
 To martyr <sup>at an</sup> ~~his~~ (strange  
 patent)  
 A tomb and burial bed  
 did suppose  
 And his mad thought fancied  
 with hair's bent  
 That the 'open tomb awaited  
 his repose;  
 And  


---

 And to dead him so the dead  
 low succeed  
 In the inhuman dark  
 And shades of horror that around  
 do spread  
 Like to a dreamed scene  
 fantastical  
 They troop to see his who  
 their peace doth  
 fall.

Fig. 117. BNP / E3, [74A-59a']

74 A-51

Dead hours, <sup>to</sup> dead hours  
 succeed  
 In the

Forms of hours that <sup>awhirl</sup> around  
 do speed

Of that dread dwelling dark  
 • funeral



Fig. 118. BNP / E3, [74A-51']

All vague ~~chimerical~~ / dark  
 A building / foundation  
 Reeketh and pulseth like a furnace  
 which ascends ~~through~~ the  
<sup>tempestuous</sup> wind.  
 In a deep silence cold and  
 dead and stark  
 All things there lie ~~no~~ <sup>without</sup> ~~no~~ <sup>defined</sup>  
 No human breath was ever heard  
 there: deep  
~~And~~ In silence there time was buried  
 in sleep.  
 Dead hours + dead hours in each  
 other follow  
 In the  
Grand shapes of horror  
 On him they fix their <sup>eyes</sup> deep awful stare  
 From the deep gallery's end  
 That like burning coals <sup>might</sup> do shine  
 And courage self had struck <sup>afire</sup>  
 with a fright.

Fig. 119. BNP / E3, [74A-59']

74A-54

A Grand Satanic figure  
 Erect his front, fine treadeth <sup>crime</sup>  
 Montemar  
 A spirit in his madness { all }  
 sublime { 40 }

Frail fulcrum of the  
 The soul that holds it <sup>of time</sup>

Makes himi God's equal



Fig. 120. BNP / E3, [74A-54']

74 A-53

A second suayer that dith  
 From the awajij with the amaded  
 A wild soul that fear <sup>terror</sup> can  
 not make  
 but new conquests  
 The man in fire that in his  
 The limit to life's <sup>not break</sup>



Fig. 121. BNP / E3, [74A-53']

74A-47

Carrying lightly a spot  
 mumbled with lips  
 He ~~traverses~~ <sup>traverses</sup> <sup>drunken</sup> song  
 with low indifference <sup>may</sup> trends  
<sup>pin & string</sup>  
 across on his lips, with  
 dauntless face:  
 And the <sup>hair</sup> his  
<sup>parted</sup> hair along  
 had the  
 had echoes, following on the  
 in X minutes an <sup>equalness</sup> compass do  
 repeat



Fig. 122. BNP / E3, [74A-47']

74A-58

~~And that foreign & only sound  
Which of that mansion doth the echoes fill,  
In the floor, in the ceiling doth resound~~

---

That foreign sound, that sound alone  
That did the echoes of the mansion  
~~fill~~ fill  
In floor & ceiling reechoed  
In its profoundest solitude doth thrill:  
And dies away like a funeral <sup>moan</sup> groan  
Which from its pain the  
Which at the end of the wide corridor  
And dark seems from the tower wall to

---

And in that other life & other world  
Lives all of shadows, life that is a <sup>sleep</sup> ~~dream~~  
Life that with death made one

A world, vague illusion  
Of an am world,

Fig. 123. BNP / E3, [74A-58']

74 A-42

of me that star world & life  
 but all of shadow, life that is (a) sleep,  
 life that with death cuponled

---

looks, vague this is  
 of an world & a dream                      & deep,  
 there                      out & all its med in strife  
 the only images of human life.



Fig. 124. BNP / E3, [74A-42']



In there his white guide & mysterious  
 seems the illusion of the happy <sup>spots</sup> good,  
 which now the imperious hope  
 now too, near to touching it  
 A white, a floating cloud that in  
 the dark  
 drifts on the wings of the soft wind <sup>delto</sup>  
 Her graceful dress, abandoned to the wind  
 to like

---

The smoke of a burnt incense  
 which in <sup>air</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>to be</sup> ~~dispersed~~ <sup>ascends</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>air</sup> ~~to be~~ ~~dispersed~~ <sup>ascends</sup>  
 A ray of moonlight that in the <sup>fluid</sup> <sup>loma?</sup>  
 Like to a hawk its top to gather <sup>birds</sup>  
 A nymph that <sup>is</sup> <sup>born</sup> <sup>above</sup> <sup>(w/Re)</sup>  
<sup>born</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>shadows</sup> <sup>black</sup> <sup>all-woven</sup> <sup>&</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>light</sup>  
<sup>mixes</sup> <sup>between</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>morning</sup> <sup>&</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>night.</sup>  
<sup>Ascend</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>cloudy</sup> <sup>blue</sup> <sup>its</sup> <sup>wings</sup> <sup>extends</sup>

Fig. 126. BNP / E3, [74A-58']

And light <sup>soft</sup> & swift & aerial <sup>self</sup> & dispelling 74A-55 181  
~~The~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~four~~ <sup>four</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> its <sup>quite</sup>  
~~soft~~ <sup>soft</sup> ~~feet~~ <sup>feet</sup> ~~secretly~~ <sup>secretly</sup> ~~touching~~ <sup>touching</sup>  
 Crosses that darksome and most awful dwelling  
 The magic vision of the veil of white:  
 The <sup>face</sup> faithful image  
 That happy man in heaven with delight  
 Thought without formula ~~and~~ without name  
 The maker ~~the~~ <sup>(up)</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~proph~~ <sup>proph</sup> & ~~curse~~ <sup>curse</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~probe~~ <sup>probe</sup>.

Fig. 127. BNP / E3, [74A-55']

In an eternal spirit & in a  
 Infinite it is prolonged, with content  
 To be the tumbly with dance  
 139.  
 Farewell of for ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> a moment's sight  
 I feel of life & ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~face~~ <sup>face</sup>  
 Yet brings again me and my wandering sight  
 To rapture & troubled...  
 My trouble, oh death! Alone  
 Love me, no pardon me, <sup>by</sup> ~~useless~~ <sup>useless</sup> ~~deceit~~ <sup>deceit</sup>  
 Farewell, farewell, thy heart ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~gone~~ <sup>gone</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~dead~~ <sup>dead</sup>!  
 - For me ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~dead~~ <sup>dead</sup>!

keep me; but let thy heart  
 be moved by any remorseful unrest.

Fig. 128. BNP / E3, [74A-88']

182 74 A-50  
 And in that other world & other life  
 Mills of shadow, life that is a sleep  
 Life that  
 &  
 hurls  
 Of our own world and

---

182 ① never slens  
 And while the to the abyss he goes

182 ②  
 And from step on to step ~~by leaps~~ falling  
 He swears & curses with  
 And his furious gurgling whirl appallingly  
~~And hurling~~ world  
a deep  
 Hear; already the storm's howling  
 already world

Fig. 129. BNP / E3, [74A-50']

p. 182-183 74 A-49

Whinnings and tears and complaints  
 and moans,  
 Sarcasms, laughter  
 And in a thousand groups  
 He saw beneath him  
 And men and women  
 with stupid sadness, with glad gestures  
 that with a stupid wonder look on him  
 And in perpetual whirling are dim.  
 He feels at last  
  
 But  
 His eyes he opened & his feet he found:  
 And the first object upon which he thought  
 lay the white lady, and he looked  
around,

Fig. 130. BNP / E3, [74A-49']

74 A-46

But  
 and firm to me his as a ~~to~~  
~~hall~~ & heaven he ~~is~~ defy  
 with a firm heart & with ~~his~~  
 Towards the white ~~man~~ sure:

182-183

He feels at last that ~~his~~ <sup>to a step is</sup>  
 And ~~for a while~~ he was <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>thought</sup> ~~steps~~  
~~of that~~ ~~verse~~ a while ~~but~~ <sup>sworn</sup>  
 But after ~~soon~~ with ~~bravery~~ <sup>remains</sup> he  
 Opens his <sup>he opens</sup> eyes & his feet he ~~from~~  
 And the front of ~~his~~ <sup>thought</sup> ~~up~~ ~~on~~ ~~which~~ ~~he~~  
 has the white ~~body~~ & he looked a-  
 round

And ~~of~~ a sad ~~moment~~ <sup>stone</sup>  
~~the~~ ~~middle~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~room~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~sitting~~, ~~alone~~.

Fig. 131. BNP / E3, [74A-46']

And  
 Resolved adventure and  
 Heaven and hell defies  
 With a firm heart & will that doth  
 And to the vision white his way he  
 And  
 And Montemayor as a star he did seek  
 at her feet, thus with accents, have said:  
 "Devil of woman or illusion  
 because to judge by the way  
 That to this morning doth thy  
 You're pure wisdom, a delusion  
 Devil's invention"

Fig. 132. BNP / E3, [74A-49"]

183-184. 74A-745

~~Devil~~  
~~that~~ woman dream, ~~or thing~~ of evil  
 that to judge but by the road  
 that to this mansion ~~to~~ travel  
 then art madness pure + how  
 or invention of the Devil

whether  
 of fear of the Devil's bidding  
 of fear the Devil's bidding  
 who brought us here <sup>hither</sup> ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~town~~?  
 Tell me in fine: who <sup>thou art</sup> are you  
 let me know to whom I speak:

For  
~~that~~ more than ever ~~the~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~beats~~ <sup>heart</sup>  
 Resolved + firm <sup>the</sup> ~~my~~ ~~heart~~ <sup>beats</sup>  
 when ~~my~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~so~~ <sup>so</sup> ~~complete~~ <sup>complete</sup>  
 in so angering  
 my reason ~~to~~ shows me  
 That a Power supreme here  
 invisible ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~having~~ <sup>having</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~beard~~ <sup>beard</sup>  
 Over I feel <sup>without</sup> ~~+~~ ~~so~~ ~~not~~ ~~fear~~,  
 Determined ~~to~~ <sup>yet not</sup> ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~end~~  
 This Adventure to ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup>

Fig. 133. BNP / E3, [74A-45']







And when soaring  
 is joined to  
 of the scale that <sup>sheds</sup> resembles  
 feels the to  
~~form~~ <sup>terrible</sup>  
 by the presence  
 of the <sup>stone</sup>

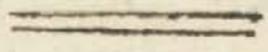
---

Fig. 137. BNP / E3, [74A-17']

186

74 A-18

And in  
 The ~~frances~~ sounds  
 here near are ever growin'  
 And is a ~~hoarse~~ hoarse  
 Like in the mountains thunder  
 That runs ~~course~~ course  
 Or as it shak' n earth under  
 A ~~mean~~ mean' great force.



F. ~~low~~ <sup>x shouting</sup> the ~~shockin'~~ shockin'  
 of teeth ~~grawin'~~ growin'  
 As the ~~frances~~ ~~rockin'~~ rockin'  
 As in a ~~peopl~~ ~~peopl~~ ~~peopl~~ \_\_\_\_\_  
 The ground's ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~  
 their ~~joint~~ ~~joint~~ ~~joint~~ ~~joint~~ <sup>gaping</sup>  
 as ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~ ~~shock~~



Fig. 138. BNP / E3, [74A-18']

Montemar hears & the noise  
 hears, nearer grows & and  
 already ~~flashes~~ <sup>flashes</sup> &  
 and ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~trouble~~  
 of cloudy mists the  
 the ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~soar~~  
 thunder  
 but <sup>so</sup> ~~land~~ <sup>land</sup> ~~to~~  
 All in a heavy furrow  
 All in phrenetic  
 All in capricious trouble  
 All might & disease.

Fig. 139. BNP / E3, [74A-18"]

187.

74 A-19

and sudden ~~the~~ furness →

Confused & unaid in a sound  
 While hours in deepness  
 hark from the sky as bound;

Am echo the secret  
 of the 'angel of judgment' the tone  
 in a

sonorous & fearful uproar;  
 He felt truth-stone removed  
~~to~~ strike at his feet

The words on the stone to datter  
 with aye & fierce

To see the granite  
 the boys from the home  
 the dead, muddy head;  
 The body of God.

Fig. 140. BNP / E3, [74A-19']

And a horrible crumblly  
 The to he  
 And crumblly  
 Full a loud and specter one he saw  
  
 Of their eyes the hollow  
 And the eyes the points at his  
 And the each one looks out his  
 And to the his follows  
 as his left hand heady  
 with a dull and faintest air  
 looking on him, they split heady  
~~the~~ <sup>could</sup> mental out to below <sup>entirely</sup>  
  
 And now the approach + the ~~eyes~~  
 skull  
 with a number noise center  
 By band around

Fig. 141. BNP / E3, [74A-19"]

188, 74A-20

And the the river of the veil of white  
 To/has mountain it-hand and stretch  
 And as cow on it-grap & light  
 As to avoid to ~~and~~ <sup>that in vari.</sup> ~~the reach~~  
 Sabanic, cruel, never, cold  
 Hyacinth, written, hissing  
 That the whole that leg <sup>chill</sup> ~~hold~~  
 As to the heart <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>hundred</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>compel</sup>



Fig. 142. BNP / E3, [74A-20']

189

From her did take to W Mountain  
 Take it for her he had face his  
 bare  
 'This her husband! the actress  
 The wife do look he look with <sup>out</sup> ~~trou~~  
 The specter to into glances <sup>id</sup>  
 This to husband of her endless <sup>Mount</sup> ~~love~~ <sup>love!!</sup>  
 She said the My husband  
 (~~Hand~~ <sup>Fatal</sup> ~~disillusioning~~  
 a ~~man~~ <sup>man</sup> & ~~written~~ <sup>written</sup> skeleton

Fig. 143. BNP / E3, [74A-20']

189.  
 And then a  
 just man though ~~his~~ face was <sup>wearing</sup> the colour of death  
 his heart <sup>with a space golden</sup> being yet

Approachs & says his right hand  
 which fearles <sup>extended</sup> shake Montemar  
 At last the prisoner in face  
 Amã Elvira

Fig. 144. BNP / E3, [74A-25']

74A-25  
 My death I do ponder: SD for certain  
 In Felix's report.  
 I'm glad that I see you  
 For truly I hoped not to see you again.  
 And as to the spectacle, my wife, in your  
 The marriage you offer is rare <sup>begin's</sup>  
 Her face to be some 's written pretty well  
 But don't you believe that I will to head:  
 For ~~my~~ wife I take her, because

Fig. 145. BNP / E3, [74A-25']

~~Handwritten scribbles~~ 74A-26

But tell me before <sup>this</sup> I get as the Devil  
 brought on to this place, to get to see  
 by one of the other, & if my margin reveal  
 To have got a witness, at least I suspect:

---

Or either of both had to count  
 / there with spectacles all here  
 would not have much by attend of wedding  
 I.D. of both do appear not think so.

Fig. 146. BNP / E3, [74A-26']

So speak I.F. with him <sup>reuning</sup>  
 Around him did fly with countenance  
 But glances of harsh <sup>ferice</sup> contempt  
 To get against whom he tells /

---

Fig. 147. BNP / E3, [74A-26'']





"Oh! long did thy <sup>day</sup> ~~day~~ in the ~~shanty~~ 192  
 They brides' love & glory & bliss  
 With joy in her arms the caresses  
~~The husband~~ her heart ~~the~~ did move  
 Her mouth to his with <sup>be just</sup>  
 And ~~real~~ <sup>pleasure</sup> ~~pleasure~~ <sup>superior</sup>  
~~of joy & this~~ <sup>blending</sup> ~~the~~  
 And ~~Rafael~~ <sup>Rafael</sup> Kiss of love.

Fig. 150. BNP / E3, [74A-12']

" 74 A-12  
 And held by <sup>192</sup> mutual embraces  
 In soft & eternal reposing  
 The wife  
 For ever in peace ~~to~~ may they rest  
~~And wife~~  
 Their bridal a torch  
  
 The grave

Fig. 151. BNP / E3, [74A-12']

192. :2:  
 74 A-13  
 Meanwhile  
 enhances  
 its white with end  
 more every time  
 more every time it is white  
 itself in arcs impurely  
 more robust every time.

Fig. 152. BNP / E3, [74A-13']

And a Rank of it appears  
 that round disappears  
 in the first part of light  
 and its fine and honey  
 but more and more are tearing still.

Fig. 153. BNP / E3, [74A-13"]

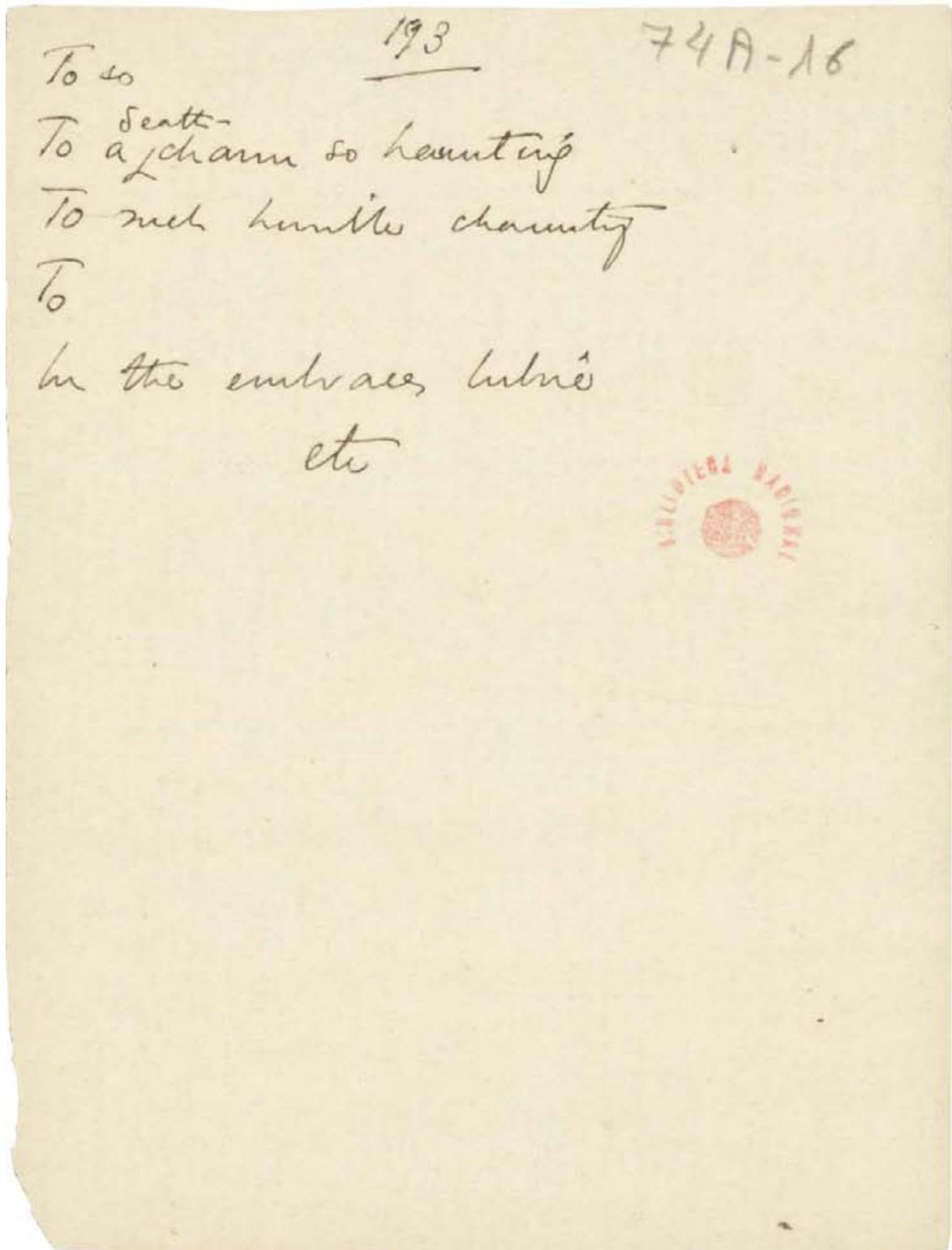


Fig. 154. BNP / E3, [74A-16']

74 A-6

And he felt drowned  
 His weak heart ailing  
 And fully failing,  
 His eyes in dimness,  
 His ~~eyes~~ eyelids  
 Fall with the faint,  
 His front he bendeth  
 .  
 His arms he feeleth  
 Limp and feeble  
 Heavily to faint.  
 .  
 In the embraces lush  
 Where with <sup>pressed</sup>  
~~his~~ a 1000 caresses  
 Of the dead Meliton:  
 His spirit ne'er conquered  
 His frame <sup>quailing</sup>  
<sup>failing</sup>  
 And all the while his spirit  
 Matter

Fig. 155. BNP / E3, [74A-6']

193 74 A-15

His mind ~~was~~ <sup>ever</sup> captured  
 this ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>quail</sup> already  
 he felt ~~the~~ <sup>falling</sup> unsteady  
 To ~~take~~ <sup>take</sup> ~~Monte~~ <sup>to</sup> quail,  
 and the ~~man~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>spirit</sup>  
 At misery was rebel  
 The matter weak & feeble  
 Bequeathed to faint.  
 Just fail.

---



Fig. 156. BNP / E3, [74A-15']

He feels a confused 74A-7  
 A wild another  
 Calms & deep counter  
 And a bitter woe:  
 He sees lights & shadows  
 The whole mansion reeling  
 And dim spirits wheeling  
 Which do come & go.  
  
 And now at a distance  
 Falls in his hearing,  
 An echo we-hearing  
 Dazedly did sound,  
 Like the melody  
 Which the <sup>to Pitt and</sup> ~~amorous~~ <sup>young</sup> ~~man~~  
<sup>with love - music</sup> ~~did~~ <sup>clay</sup> ~~hear~~  
 On the night doth found.  
we there  
  
 He ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~then~~ <sup>then</sup>  
~~and~~ <sup>heard</sup> ~~to~~ ~~hear~~  
~~and~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~die~~ <sup>die</sup>  
~~and~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~the~~ ~~side~~  
 Heard the ~~echo~~ <sup>echo</sup>  
 Of a ~~note~~ <sup>note</sup>

Fig. 157. BNP / E3, [74A-7]

1914 74A-11  
 And a flame  
 That was kindled  
 & that dwindled  
 He desisted;  
 And soon you  
 Heard the echo  
 Of a moan.  
                     died.  
  
 So sweetly



Fig. 158. BNP / E3, [74A-11']

1895

& then in clouds of cammi + of red  
~~The~~ ~~show~~ ~~to~~ ~~mom~~ ~~is~~ ~~gay~~  
 As into its shades adorn  
 The to day  
 Screen to my + mom  
 The haze is soft, transparent, cold  
 of the sun <sup>at</sup> ~~front~~ ~~with~~ ~~its~~ ~~beams~~  
 Over rays of ~~light~~ ~~and~~ ~~long~~ ~~happiness~~

Fig. 159. BNP / E3, [74A-14']

74A-14

Fed is the night on the night <sup>here</sup> ~~be~~ ~~ful~~ <sup>long</sup>  
 Its shadows + its women  
 of its ~~shades~~ ~~to~~ ~~its~~ ~~calm~~ <sup>here</sup> ~~stream~~ <sup>meanly</sup>  
 The ~~stream~~ <sup>strangest</sup> + the noise of stream  
 + to the work + ~~let~~  
<sup>is</sup> ~~the~~ + to the ~~frivolous~~ ~~pleasures~~  
 One to-day its to ~~talk~~ ~~retro~~ ~~full~~  
 of ~~manic~~ + fear ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~mid~~ :

Fig. 160. BNP / E3, [74A-14']

That in a woman's form <sup>74A-29</sup> a white  
 Mysterious time ~~passed~~  
 To Salamanca on the very night  
 The Devil had come for Monte-  
 was at last  
 And reader, if there say it is  
 not true  
 As thy hand turn it in I tell  
 it you.

'Twas a report tearfully to  
 a right—  
 The musing heart  
~~hardened too far~~

Fig. 161. BNP / E3, [74A-29']

## Related Documents

144N-14  
21.

June 8<sup>th</sup>: Keats: Odes and  
 other poems.  
 Laing: "Modern Science  
 + Modern Thought."

June 9<sup>th</sup>: Keats: Ibidem.  
 Weber: "History of Eu-  
 ropean philosophy" - up  
 to Montaigne.  
 Espronceda: "Estudiante  
 de Salamanca."

June 10<sup>th</sup>: Keats. Espron-  
 ceda.

June 11<sup>th</sup>: Espronceda.

June 12<sup>th</sup>: Laing. Keats: Early  
 Poems. Spectator 10-  
 . Colin & Harleville:  
 "Veua Céltique."

---

Fig. 162. BNP / E3, [144N-14]

"Da Necessidade e do Methodo da <sup>48B-129</sup>  
 Revolucao."  
 "The Voyage." - Poem.  
 "Dictionary of the English Language."  
 "Promethens Rebound." - Dramatic poem.  
 "Marino: A Tragedy."  
 "Principles of Ontology."  
 "The World as Power."  
 "The Death of God." - Book of poems.  
 "Miscellaneous Poems." - Another book.  
 "On Sensation."  
 "The Realist."  
 "The Case of the Science Master."  
 "The Narrative of a Stranger."  
 "Edgar Allan Poe."  
 "The Successors of Poe."  
 "Genera in Literature."  
 "On Art and Morality."  
 "Rational Graphology."  
 "The Voice of the Unknown."  
 "Jacob Desnoet."

Fig. 163. BNP / E3, [48B-129]

"The Circle of life."  
 "The Black Spider."  
 "Espronceda - The student of  
 Salamanca." - Translation,  
 "Mandinka."  
 "Percy Bysshe Shelley."  
 "On the Rose."  
 "Essay on Free-will."  
 "Creation ex nihilo."  
 "Essay on impulse."  
 "On the Imprint."

Fig. 164. BNP / E3, [48B-129']

28A-1

Reading during the month of May.

no note taken before the 6<sup>th</sup>

6<sup>th</sup> Abel Botelho: "O Barão de Lavos."

7<sup>th</sup> finished the above.

8<sup>th</sup> A. Oriental: "Odes modernas."  
 Gomes Leal: "Claridades do sul."  
 Ant. Nobre: "Despedidas."

9<sup>th</sup> Cazotte: "Diabre Amoureux."

10<sup>th</sup> Poe: "Arthur Gordon Pym."

11<sup>th</sup> Hollander: Scientific Phrenology (begun)  
 Sh: "Merchant of Venice."

12<sup>th</sup> Hollander (continued).

13<sup>th</sup> Finished Eça de Queiroz: "O Crime do Padre Amaro."  
 Guerra Junqueiro: "Morte de D. João."

14<sup>th</sup> Hollander (continued)

15<sup>th</sup> Ant. Nobre: Só (half).

16<sup>th</sup> Wurtz: Article on Lavoisier.  
 Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" ch. 1.  
 Tennyson: Early Poems.

18<sup>th</sup> Addison } "spectator": 17 papers.  
 + Steele }

19<sup>th</sup> ———

20<sup>th</sup> Haeckel: Anthropogénie (lessons 2, 3, 4, 5).  
 A. Nobre: Só (finished).



Fig. 165. BNP / E3, [28A-1']

Work done

9<sup>th</sup> May: Almost finished 1<sup>st</sup> part "St. of Salamanca".

10<sup>th</sup> May: continued same work.

13<sup>th</sup> May: continued.

14<sup>th</sup> no work done.

16<sup>th</sup> . about 600 words of "V. O. Summer."

Fig. 166. BNP / E3, [28A-1<sup>v</sup>]

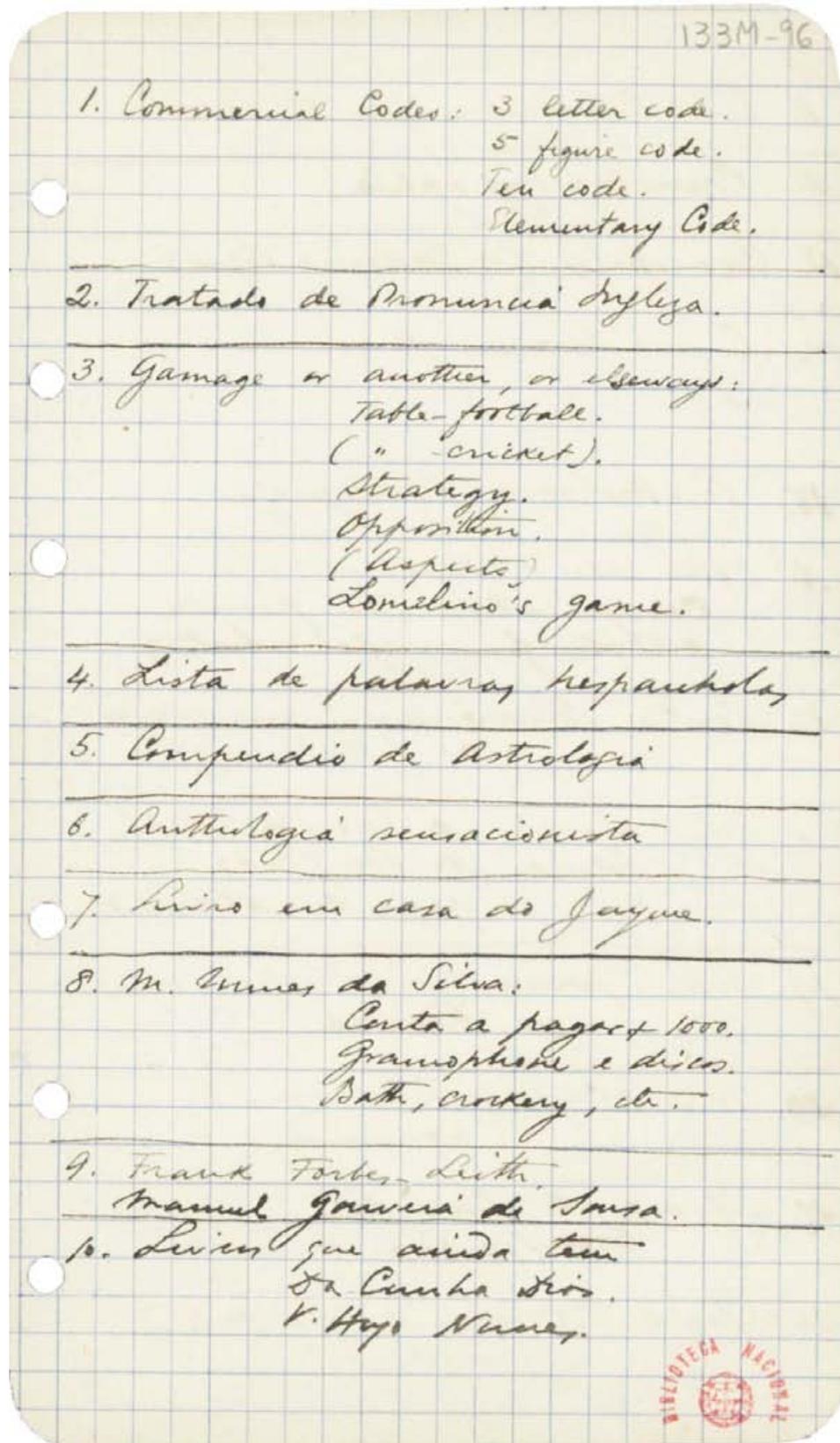


Fig. 167. BNP / E3, [133M-96]

11. Trad. *littera romanae* (v. Braga)

---

12. *Phonographia*.

---

13. *Cosmopolis* (v. Caderno azul)

---

14. Small book in th. Bacon.  
Large " " " ;

---

15. *Anthologia Portuguesa*

---

16. "All about Portugal" - a  
Compilation (w. possible  
articles from specialists)

---

17. *Contos Quaresma* - em livros  
ou folhetos.

---

18. Trad. *Sonetos de Camões* (inglês)  
*Poemas de Poe* (Port)  
" *em prosa de Wilde* (Port)

---

19. *War poems*, in English and  
in French.

---

20. *My mine* : *Says no*, Port  
examine.

---

21. *Alvaro de Campos*:  
Book (perhaps w. arts.)

---

22. Trad. "Estudante de Salo-  
manca"

Fig. 168. BNP / E3, [133M-96']

Work for the 3rd September,

At least 500 words in the "Door."

Type up to page 50, at the least,

"V. O. D. "

Finish reading "Religio Medici"

Finish reading first part "Zartor

Type, finishing, the first canto

of Espronceda.

Send off poem.

*There is a lot to do  
a type for it at the request.*

Fig. 169. BNP / E3, [133F-53']

Books.

The Portuguese Republic and the Political  
 Situation in Portugal. (June-  
 October)

---

"The Mental Disorder of Jesus" - a  
 Critique of Dr. Bonifacio's La  
Folia de Jesus. (for RPA-3)

---

Esposicion. The Student of  
 Salamanca.

---

Mons Sei: To be published in Lisbon

---

The Meaning of Rationalism.  
 (for R.P.A.)

---

~~Le Cas d'Exhibition.~~  
~~Gen of Genes~~  
~~1900~~

Fig. 170. BNP / E3, [49C<sup>1</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>]

78B-63

Notes regarding the publication of poems.

1. The first book of poems to be published is the translation of *Espronceda*.
2. After this an original book of poems; this is to be formed of the poems in parts 2 and 3 of "Delirium" (as called on the sheets), namely those called "Meaning" and "Delirium" proper.
3. Then a book composed of the poems in the first part of "Delirium" (sheets) and called there "Oddities".
4. After this a book made up of the poems in the 5th. part of "Delirium" (sheets) - "Agony".
5. Subsequently a book composed of the poems in part 4 of "Delirium" (sheets).
6. After this a book of songs, more lyrical, from the sheet-cover called "Lyrical Poems."
7. About this time a book of poems called "Nonsense"; see cover so named.
8. After<sup>all</sup> these, the "Death of God."
9. After "Death of God" a book containing earlier poems, "Old Castle"; etc., etc.
10. Then a book containing other longer poems, such as "Vincennes"; "Voyage"; etc.
11. Another volume: "Sonnets in Energy" *Imposed* (when to publish?)

over

Fig. 171. BNP / E3, [78B-63]

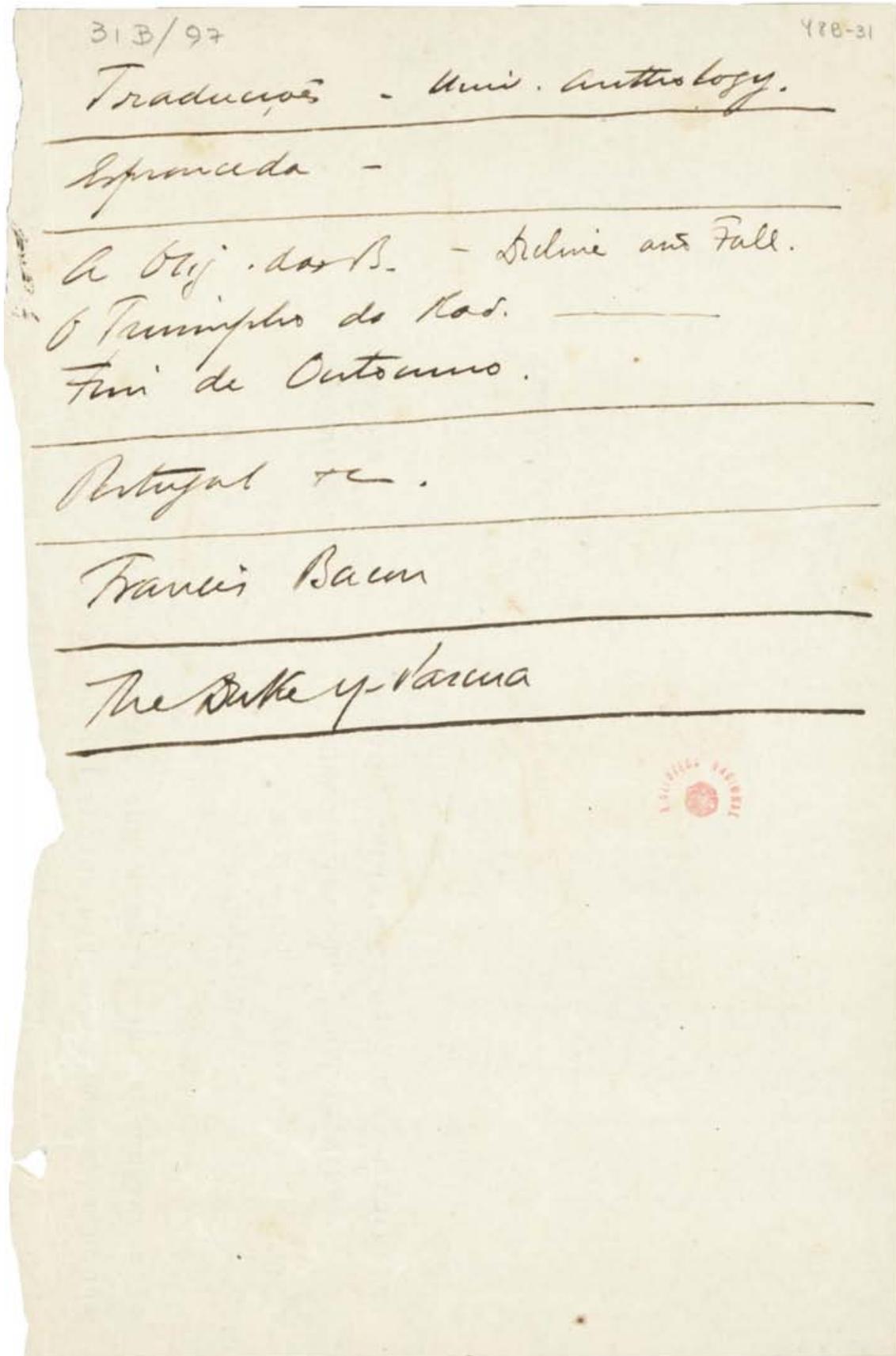


Fig. 172. BNP / E3, [48B-31]

42B-53

Volume de Alibi Portuguez [nas. de  
vros]

Cantos: Vnos completos - 1v.  
 Anth. de Azevedo - 1v.  
 João de Deus - 1v.  
 Gil Vicente - 1v.  
 Camões - 1v.

---

Esperança - 1v.

Almeida Junqueira - 1v. (poesia) - (?)  
 Alex. Henriques [Hist. de Portugal]. (?)  
 — (other top)

João Barros. (?)  
 António Luís. Sui Dno. Cosme Lobo.


Fig. 173. BNP / E3, [48B-53<sup>r</sup>]

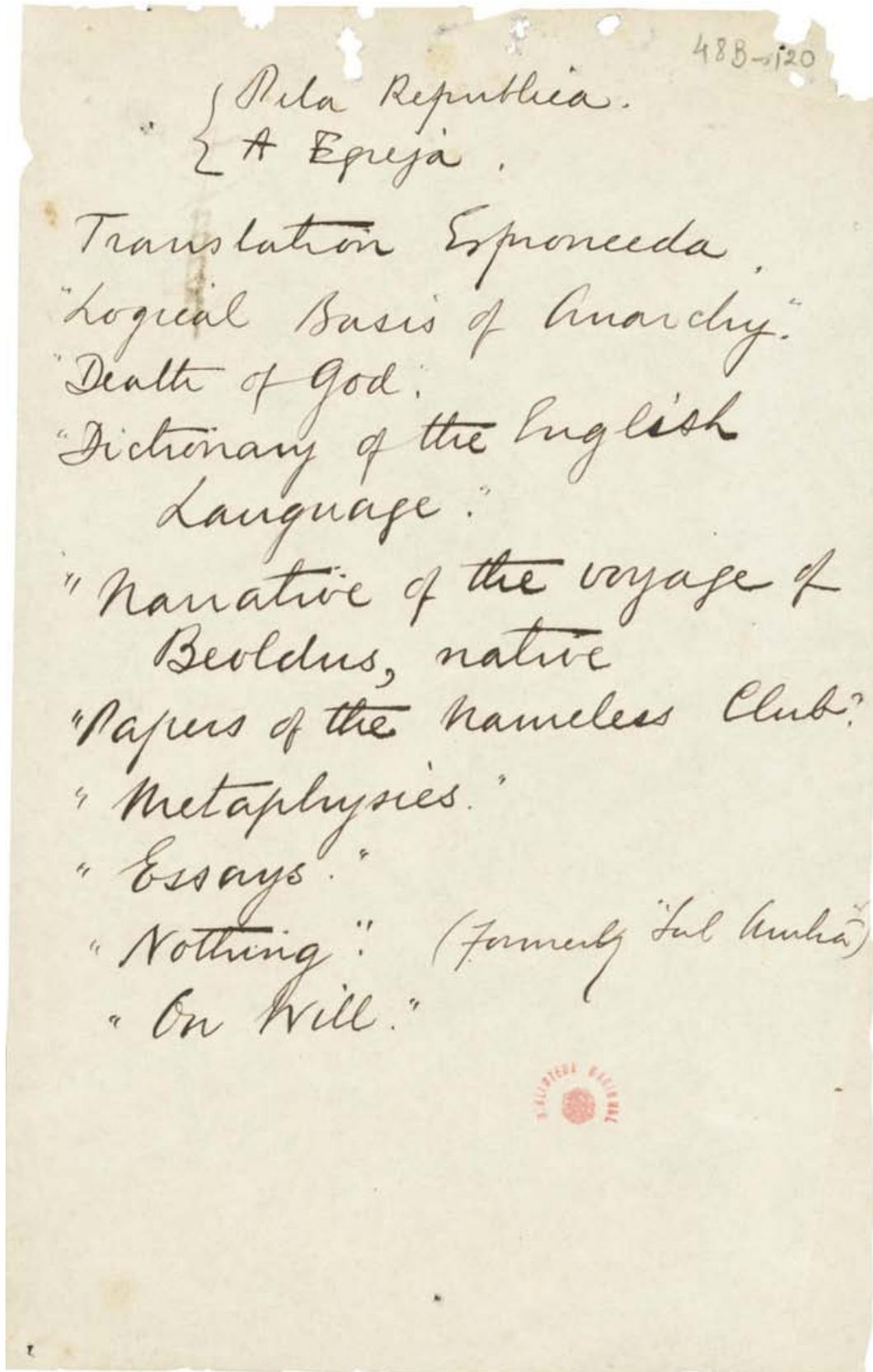


Fig. 174. BNP / E3, [48B-120']

2.

Publicar talvez uma collecção completa  
de Espremezas de Campomanes (?), etc.

---

Consider Engl. translation of "Juia-  
ada" - a good thing to give a  
name.

---

(!) Do not forget translation of P. Repi-  
cide - good to begin with.

---

Order: 1. José Anastasio.  
2. A. J. da Silva.  
3. Pychou Aventuretation }  
4. Guilherme Braga. }  
5. H. R. - some work. }  
6. Pantalao. }

---

Garratt: Poemas Completos.  
Anthero - can that be copyright?  
Moloniupo -  
Cravo Verde - Completos.

See also: Fil. (revisões etc.)

Fig. 175. BNP / E3, [48B-148']

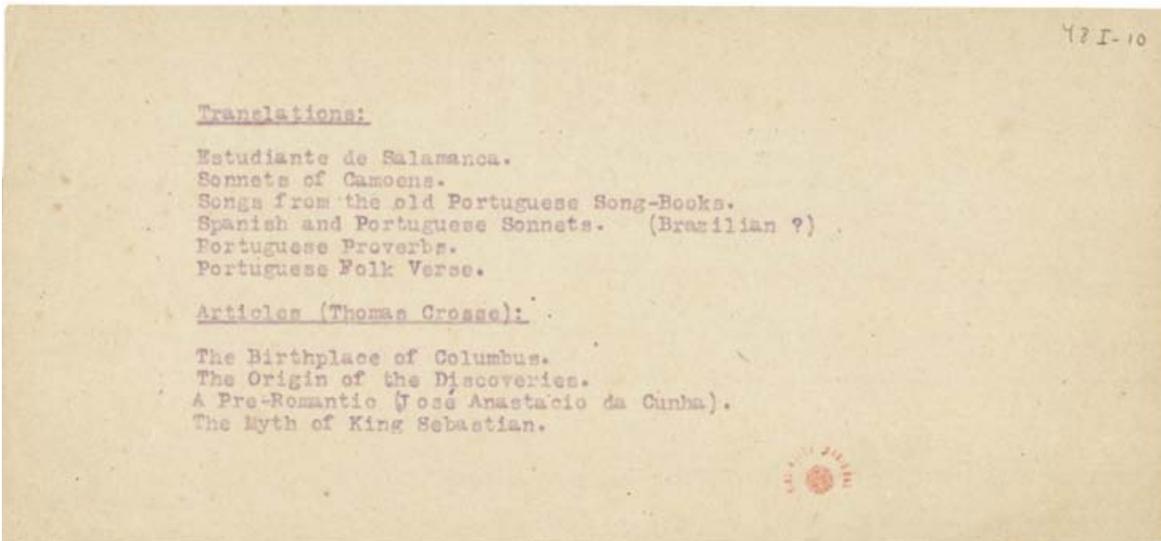


Fig. 176. BNP / E3, [481-10']

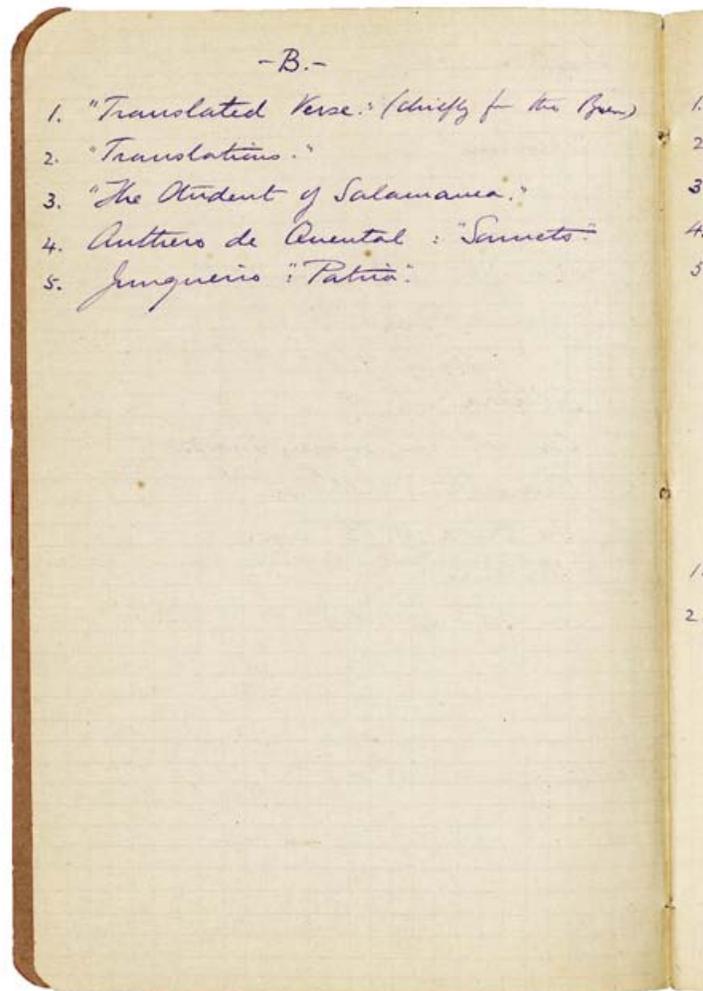


Fig. 177. BNP / E3, [144D-7"]

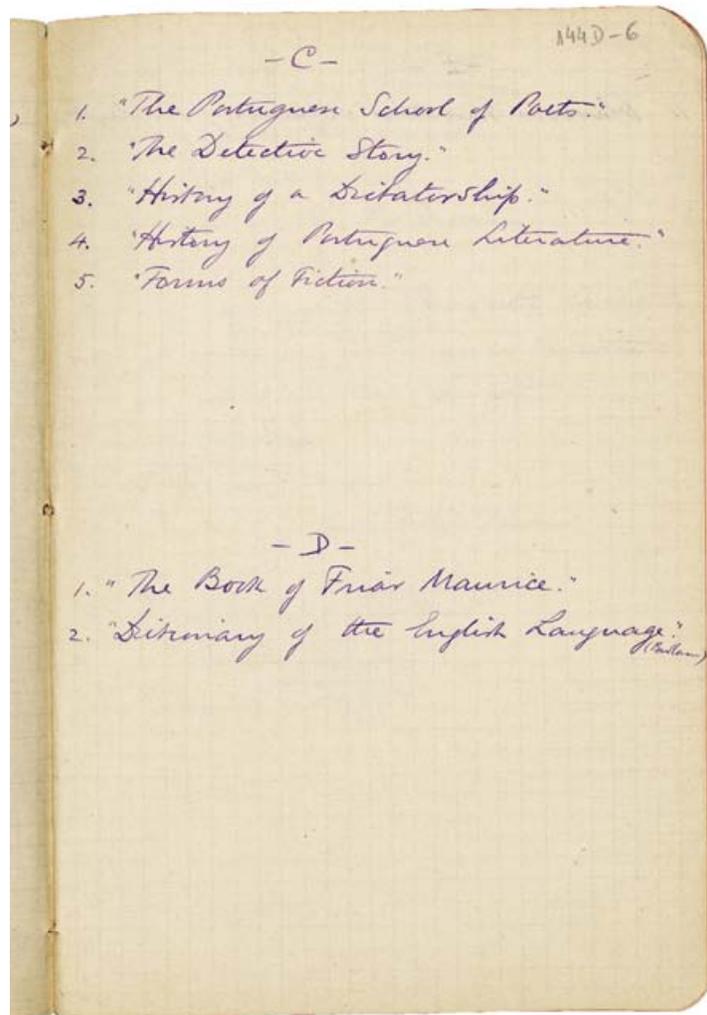


Fig. 178. BNP / E3, [144D-6]

144E-8  
Esprincada: "The Student of  
Salamanca."  
Antthens de Ouental: "Sonnets."

Fig. 179. BNP / E3, [144E-8']

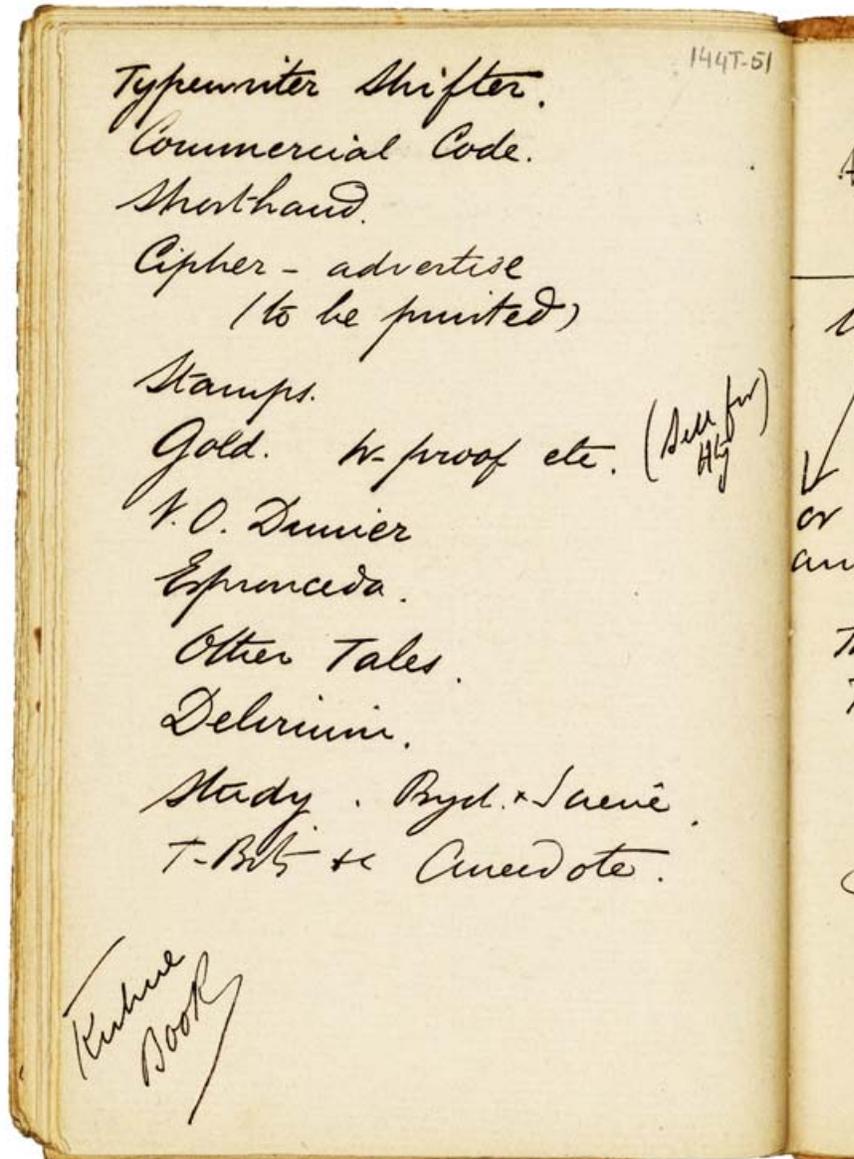
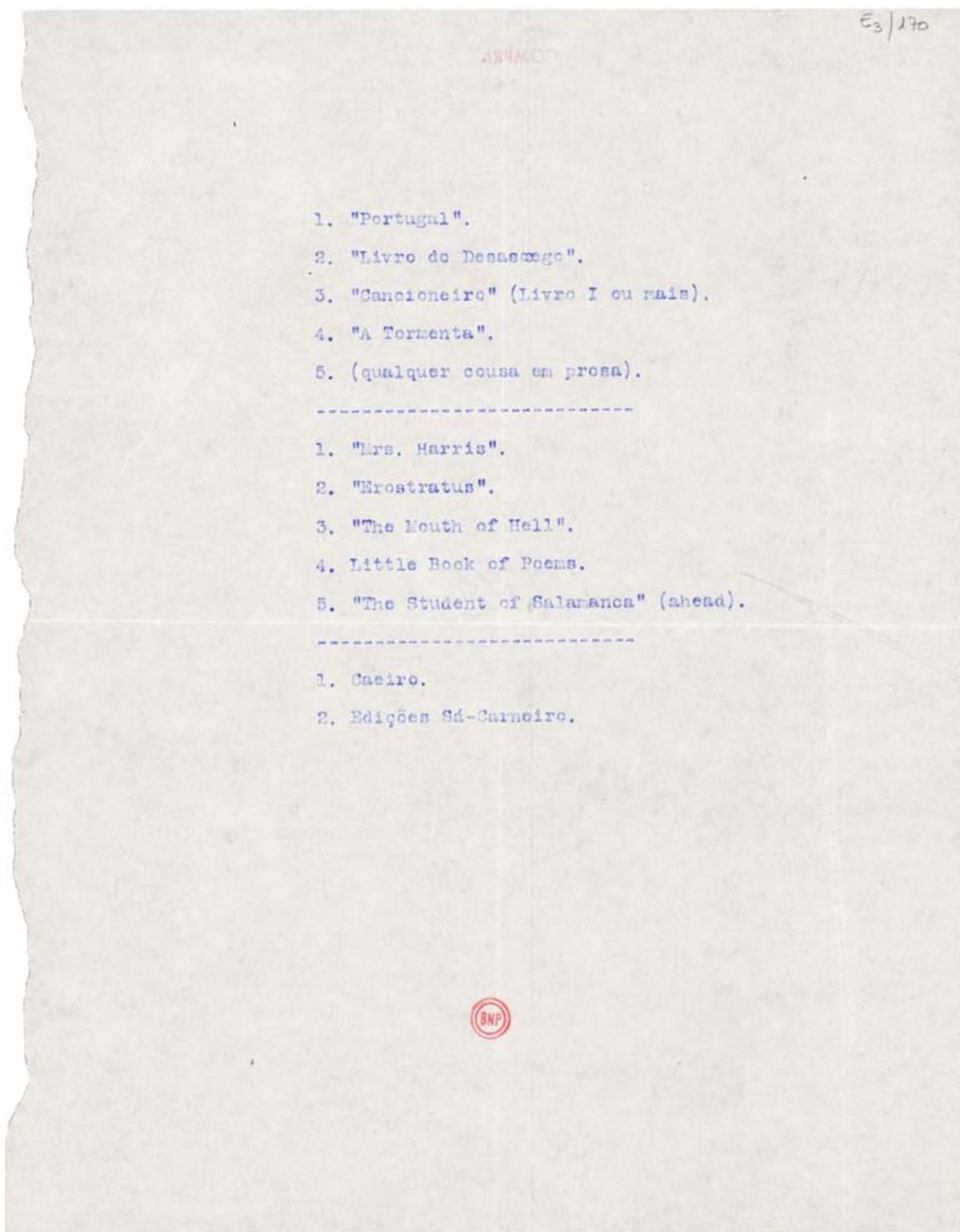


Fig. 180. BNP / E3, [144T-51]

Fig. 181. BNP / E3, [167-170<sup>o</sup>]

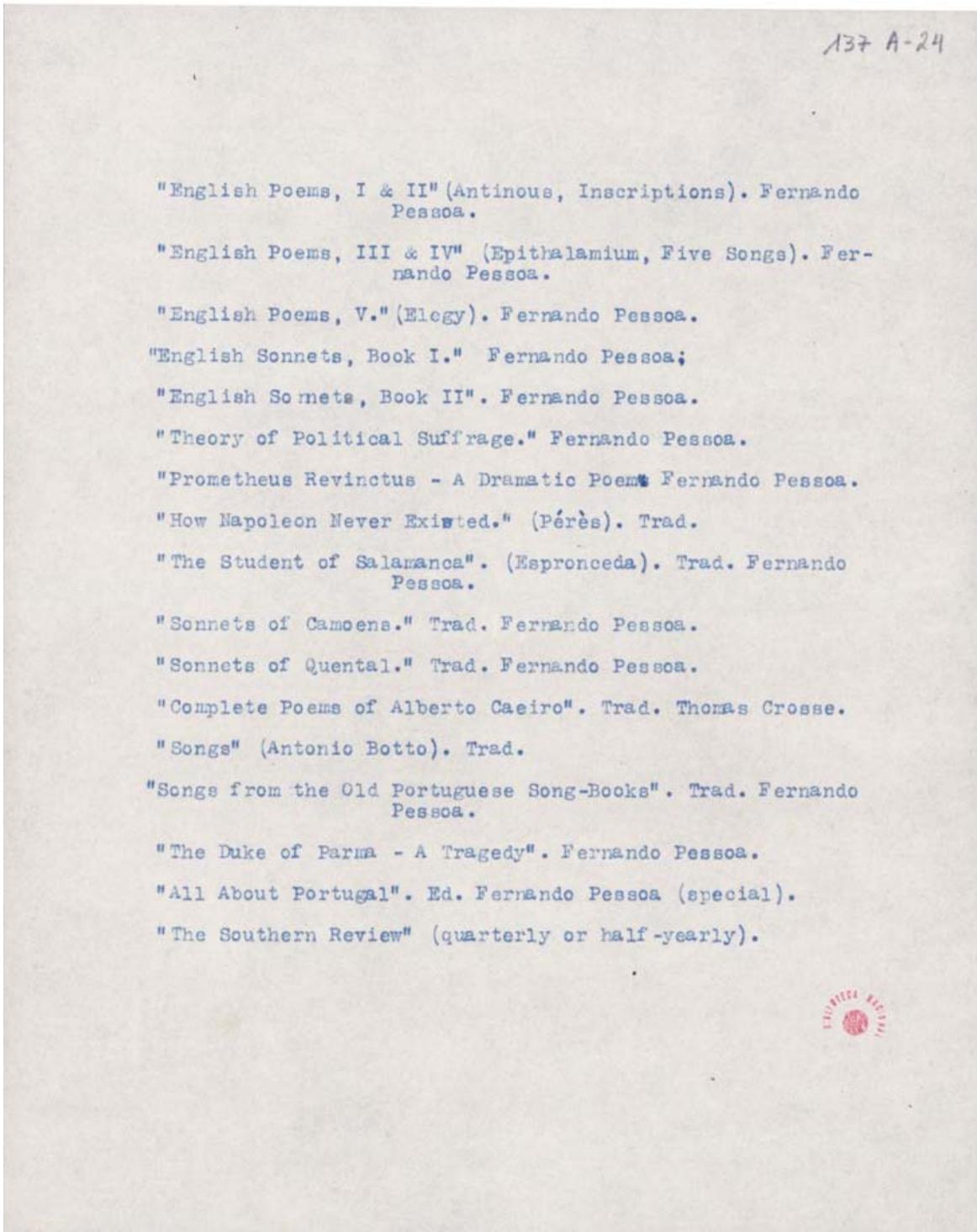


Fig. 182 BNP / E3, [137A-24]

Idea of the Directory.  
 Idea of the Vocabulary, or Vocabularies.  
 The Code, completed.  
 Shorthand system, to be devised fully yet.  
 C. Prod. Port. in some fit and appropriate system.  
 Games, the ones invented.  
 Condensing Code, apart from the one mentioned above.  
 Will, etc. Course, or something of the sort.  
 Repronceda (rather strange for the Prop. side).  
 The Great Anthology.  
 The Propaganda Review, a proposition in itself.

(The pamphlet containing the dict. articles).  
 (Cambridge Literary Agency).  
 Such prominent agencies (and simple ones) as once thought of,  
 either in England or near.

English Poems.  
 Journalistic free-lance work, of several sorts (one basis being  
 work on Spanish & Portuguese elements).  
 (The Directory as made here for abroad - here before leaving).  
 --- The prop. basis other than first thought of: not the bureau,  
 but an intell. prop. thus conducted on a private and  
 individual basis. --- £30 a month and, perhaps, an initial  
 £100, would do quite well.

*Films (completing the one ~~has~~ begun).*

Fig. 183. BNP / E3, [71-50']

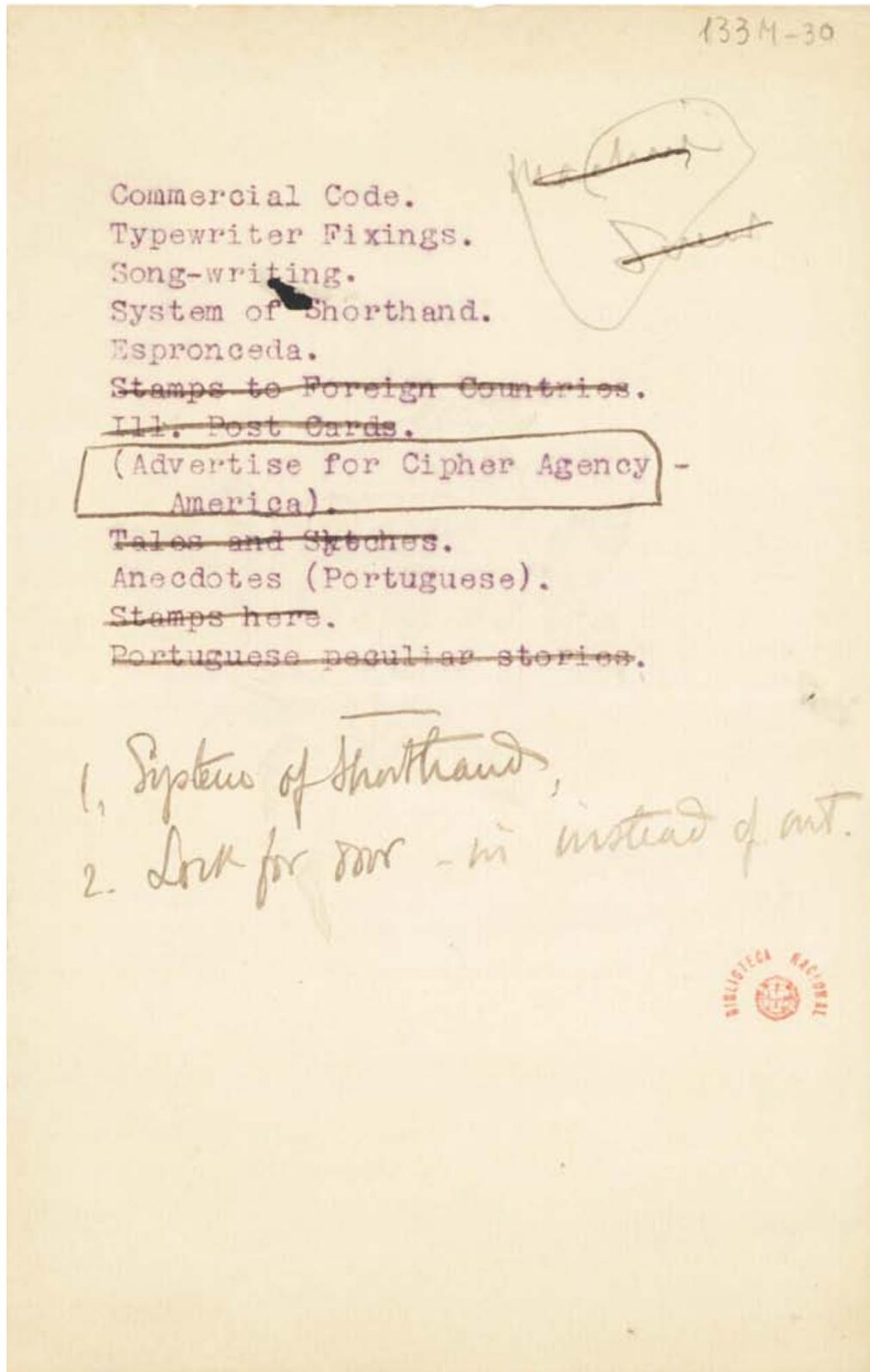


Fig. 184. BNP / E3, [133M-30']

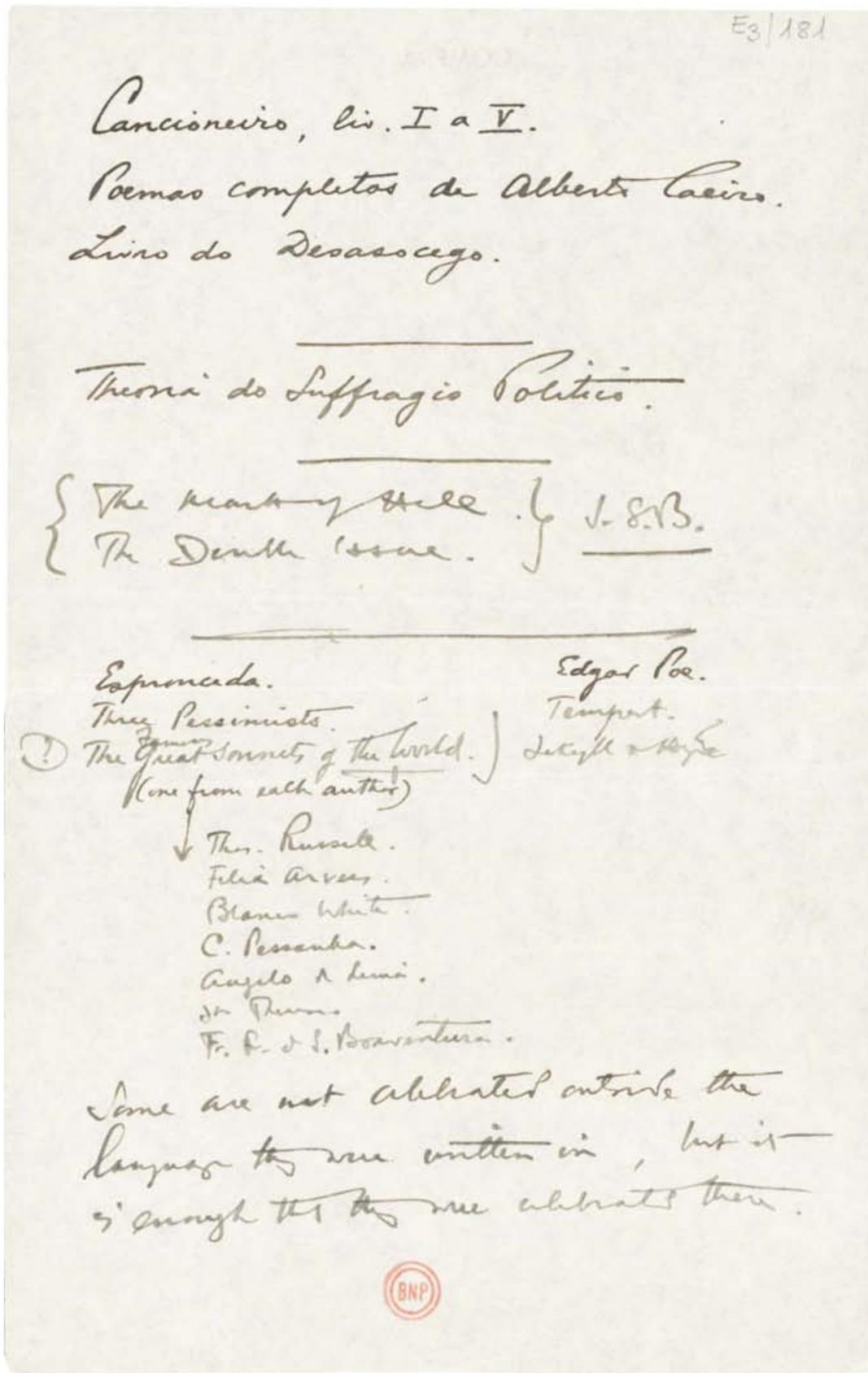


Fig. 185. BNP / E3, [167-181']

146-58

Over the St. of Salamanca indistinctly, with  
 some words. Yet by not with a effort to  
 know her - but in his own good, it  
 elevates. A man reads it + admires prof, is  
 abstract to himself. It is a chief idea  
 moral work. The sublime is always pure. It is  
 as impossible for the sublime to be coarse as for  
beauty to resemble ugliness.

Fig. 186. BNP / E3, [146-58]

55d-11

The generation that followed the  
 glory in life of Byron was  
 by the admiration of the  
 "romantic" character. I refer not  
 only to the "romantic" character in  
 books, but also & principally to  
 what ~~was~~ is called the "romantic"  
 character in life & habit. The  
 word "romantic" means <sup>little</sup> ~~too~~ more  
 than hundred expressions for a  
 hundred use.

Preliminary essay to translation  
 of Espronceda.

on the subject of  
 the "romantic" character  
 by Barbosa


Fig. 187. BNP / E3, [55L-11<sup>1</sup>]

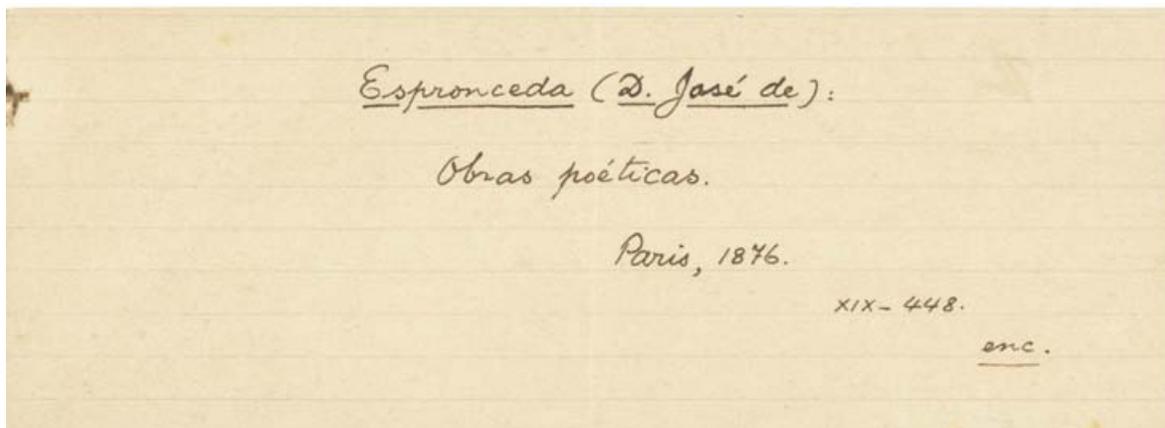


Fig. 188. BNP / E3, [133H-63°]

# Searching for the Corpus of Alexander

Nicolás Barbosa López\*

**PESSOA, Fernando (1997). *Poemas Ingleses: Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, Volume V, Tome II, 574 pp.**

Like most critical editions of Pessoa's work, João Dionísio's pioneer edition of Alexander Search's poetry inevitably constitutes a twofold book: (I) it introduces the poems of he who became Pessoa's most prolific fictional author in English; (II) by telling the story behind the selection and organization criteria, the book is also a testimony of its own making. Unsurprisingly, Search did not escape the philological ambivalence pervasive to Pessoa's entire work, and thus it seems coherent that Dionísio would not forfeit keeping track of the poems' chain of custody by trying to determine the traceability of their authorship. The extent to which the editor necessarily or excessively relies on this philological backbone is among the main questions derived from the book's overall structure.

The corpus selection of this edition is carried out under the notion that, in terms of attributed authorship, Search lies between Charles Robert Anon and Fernando Pessoa himself. Dionísio establishes a sequence of mutability, identifying poems that passed from Anon to Search, and from the latter to Pessoa, yet his aspiration to determine a chronology does not translate into an all too clear elucidation of Search's origin. On the one hand, he disagrees with the dates previously suggested by Gaspar Simões and José Augusto Seabra—some time around 1898 (when Pessoa was 10 years old) and 1899, respectively. On the other hand, the editor both accepts Search's early appearance in poems dated from 1903, which were part of the *Early fragments*, and at the same time insists that Yvette Centeno's hypothetical date—26 or 27 May 1906—could be slightly sooner than Search's real advent. Overall, Dionísio seems unable to either refute or vindicate these dates, although it is worth noticing that, in accordance to more recent studies, he considers the 1903 version of Search an immature occurrence while agreeing that his full emergence must have happened some time during 1906 (see PESSOA, 2016, p. 230 and SEARCH, 2014, p. 221).

The editor is less ambiguous when dismissing potential end dates to Search's work, although he remains ambivalent about identifying one himself. He is critical of three previous hypotheses: 1911, year of a poem written in Portuguese, with a crossed-out signature of Search (p. 11); 1914, year based on Search's alleged

---

\* PhD candidate; Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University.

collaboration in the magazine *Europa* (p. 16); and 1916, year of the poem “There is no peace save where I am not,” (p. 16) which according to Teresa Rita Lopes would prove that by then Search was still alive. Dionísio dismisses the first date based on the knowledge that, besides the evident implications of a crossed-out signature, it is odd that Pessoa would attribute an isolated poem in Portuguese to Search after a systematic work in English. He is also skeptical of the second year, after not finding any document, signed by Search, indicating he was directly involved with the collaboration in *Europa*. As for the 1916 attribution, he adheres to previous scholarly work that considered this a non-Search English poem.

Dionísio’s work made an unprecedented contribution to the analysis of the papers where Pessoa rewrote or typed subsequent drafts of Search’s poetry. In terms of dating, Dionísio is once more consistently aware of his limitations, but again he provides strong arguments to narrow down the array of hypotheses. By the time of its publication, this edition was the first that addressed the dating of the graph paper manuscripts with some of Search’s rewritten work. Although the editor is unable to provide an exact answer, he does establish May 1907 as the earliest potential date, an approximation that has been used in subsequent analyses of Search’s work. In terms of corpus selection, Dionísio provides a strong argument for the inclusion of some typewritten poems whose attribution to Search has been problematic due to a lack of signature on a given document. Dionísio insists on Pessoa’s tendency to not only group poems but also write the attribution of authorship once, on the cover of the folder he would group them in. In fact, the editor’s guess is that Pessoa was considering mailing the folder, although no further evidence of this seems to be available. Besides, Dionísio stresses how these poems do not appear in the oronym’s projects, an additional evidence of the immutability of Search’s authorship.

The extensive analysis of the editor’s own selection methodology indicates how, besides the obvious need to establish the content of the book amidst philological uncertainty, he aimed for a structure that would closely reflect Pessoa’s projects. As a result, the editor introduces poems from ten lists that were chosen according to a specific procedure. These are either (I) lists *with* poems by Search (among poems from other attributed authors), most of which are signed; (II) lists *of* poems exclusively by Search, which do not always necessarily have the attribution in the poem, but rather belong to a list of common authorship; (III) one extra list, “Delirium,” that was attributed to Search (prior to Dionísio’s edition) based on mentions in his editorial projects (and despite the lack of an explicit attribution in the title page). It is worth noticing that although the editor conditions the selection of lists to their quantitative relevance, he does not further explain which ones were discarded for this reason alone—that is, for having a reduced number of poems.

The organization of the material is perhaps the most debated aspect of this edition, also problematic because Dionísio seemed to be fully aware of the editorial risk involved. Instead of following a chronological sequence, the editor pays heed to Pessoa's instructions, that is, to the various testimonies in which the poet organized the volumes of Search's poetry. The editor himself affirms that Pessoa's plans are mostly contradictory and incomplete, yet he chooses this method anyways. In fact, it is not always clear which projects are to be preferred. Nonetheless, Dionísio proposes a chronology of the lists of projects rather than the poems themselves. He begins by the latest one, and goes backwards in what he considers an advantageous approach that allows readers to filter out Search's poetic production while quickly identifying the poem's level of authorship. In other words, the progression of the book comes to represent the eroding attribution of the poems, and readers are able to recognize which poems are 'truly' Search's, having stood the test of time and Pessoa's volatile authorships.

With his different approach, Dionísio intends to be as faithful as possible to Pessoa's plans and he applies the principles of genetic transcription annotation to the overall structure of the book—following the idea that readers must have immediate access to philological traceability. Nonetheless, he also affects readability by choosing a structure that is, inevitably, based on redundancy. Although Dionísio only transcribes poems in their latest occurrences, many of them appear more than once, across several lists and several years, forcing him to mention the occurrences separately and making it difficult for readers to centralize information of each poem in a single section. Moreover, this adherence to Pessoa's projects forces Dionísio to open the edition with incomplete poems that would have normally been placed in the end, either for the sake of readability or the appearance of the corpus itself.

This book introduces a higher number of texts attributed to Search, compared to Lind's estimation of 115-117 poetic writings and F.E.G Quintanilha's 125 poems and 40 fragments. Dionísio comes up with a total of 174 texts, a number that he considers insufficient based on his conviction that there are more poems, probably untitled in other sections of the archive. He also accepts—though not as the main cause of incompleteness—Lind's theory that Pessoa might have destroyed part of the material. In any case, Dionísio theorizes based on the debatable premise that Pessoa's lists must be entirely believed: that a title mentioned on a list but unfound in the archive does not necessarily prove the inexistence of the text.

Although we cannot cast exact doubt on Dionísio's number, mainly because it is he who is questioning it first, we can corroborate the case of one text that does not belong to Search's own poetry (see p. 316 of Dionísio's edition). The transcription and the original manuscript are reproduced below:

'Twas more than the hour of midnight,  
 As is told by ancient stories,  
 When all in sleep and in silence  
 Enwrappèd is earth and gloomy  
 When the □

[← Alexander Search]

Alexander Search  
 A. Search  
 Alexander Search

[→ A. Search.]

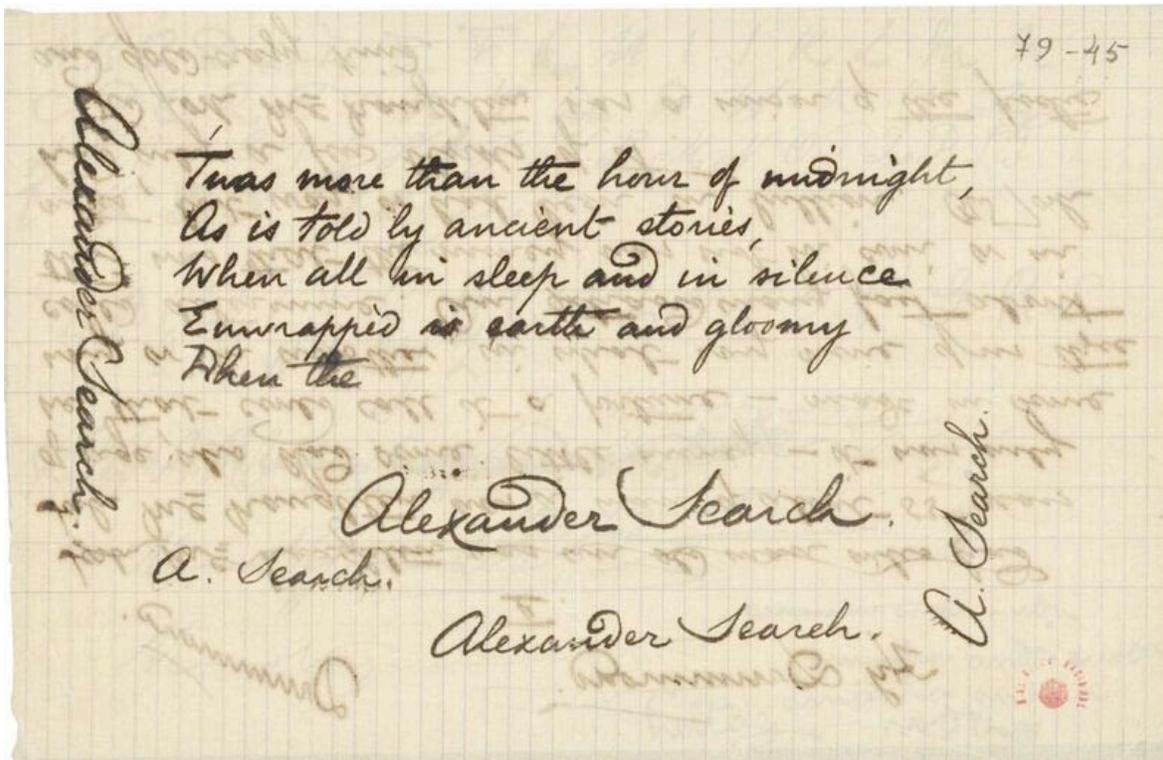


Fig. 1. Ms. (BNP / E3, 79-45<sup>r</sup>).

This text corresponds not to one of Search's poems but to the English translation of lines 1-5, Part I, of *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*], a Spanish poem written by José de Espronceda. The English project was actually carried through (see "*The Student of Salamanca: an English translation*," in this same issue), and Pessoa initially attributed the translation to Alexander Search before Charles James Search inherited it in 1908. The lapse is more than understandable given that, unlike other manuscripts related to this project, Search's signature does not appear next to the word "Translation" (see article by Jorge Wiese included in this issue).

As Dionísio himself points out, his work is pioneering for various reasons: its exclusive focus on Search's poetry, the ambition of collecting his entire poetic production, and the fact that it was the first autonomous volume to do so. The editor also credits the tradition of cumulative efforts around Search's legacy, and is especially keen on acknowledging the work of Georg Lind, whose transcriptions constituted one of his starting points. Such awareness of the collaborative progression of Alexander Search studies begs calling, almost 20 years after this critical edition, for the necessity of publishing Search's complete works. Such an edition would (I) review the organization of the poetry corpus as well as the illegible words in some of the poems; (II) include Alexander Search's complete prose, an attempt that was partially started by Natalia Jerez Quintero in 2014.

## Bibliography

- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."
- SEARCH, Alexander [PESSOA, Fernando] (2014). *Un libro muy original | A Very Original Book*. Edited by Natalia Jerez Quintero. Medellín: Tragaluz.

# “The Mad Fiddler” The Critical Edition

Kenneth David Jackson\*

**PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major series, volume V, tome III.**

In 1999 the Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda published the critical edition of “The Mad Fiddler,” edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes, under the title *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. This work is an assemblage of poems in an allegorical drama in eight sections, which Fernando Pessoa wrote between 1911 and 1917. “The Mad Fiddler” had three previous publications, first in a bilingual edition translated to Portuguese and edited by José Blanc de Portugal, under the title *O Louco Rabequista* (Lisbon: Presença, 1988); an Italian edition translated by Amina di Munno, under the title *Il violinist pazzo* (Rome: Lucarini, 1989); and a bilingual edition edited and translated by Luísa Freire, *Poesia Inglesa* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1995).

Importantly, there is a previous publication history for poems belonging to “The Mad Fiddler,” even though the firm Constable and Company rejected the typescript compiled by Pessoa in 1917. Pessoa published two poems: “Meantime,” in *The Athenaeum* (30 January 1920), and “Spell” in the Portuguese journal *Contemporânea* (May 1923). In the second edition of *Obras Poéticas*, edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz and published by Aguilar in Rio de Janeiro in 1965, in the section “ALGUNS POEMAS DE “THE MAD FIDDLER” E OUTROS POEMAS DISPERSOS,” there appear the poems “The Abyss,” “The End,” “Meantime,” and “Spell,” the latter two being repeated from the journals. In an article by Georg Rudolf Lind, “Descobertas no espólio de Fernando Pessoa,” published in *Ocidente*, vol. LXX, n.º 334 (February 1966) (pp. 57-62), the early Pessoa scholar comments: “The Mad Fiddler” (O Rabequista Louco), um volume dumas 30-40 poesias, compostas entre 1911 e 1916, ordenado pelo próprio poeta e mandado para Inglaterra, sem que tivesse encontrado o interesse do editor. A resposta negativa do inglês estava ao lado da cópia dactilografada” (p. 58). He calls the work post-romantic in the style of Shelley, Wordsworth, and Browning. Lind reproduces the poem “Looking at the Tagus” (p. 59), which he compares to the poem in Portuguese, “Ela canta, pobre ceifeira.” Again in *Ocidente*, vol. LXXIV, n.º 362 (June 1968) Lind publishes “Oito poemas ingleses inéditos de Fernando Pessoa,” in which he explains that many of

---

\* Yale University, Department of Spanish and Portuguese.

the poems of "The Mad Fiddler" were written after the major poems in Portuguese, and that Pessoa's intention was to change English romanticism into spiritualism. The poems are followed by Portuguese translations by Paulo Quintela. Lind published "The Poem," "Suspense," "The Broken Window," "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings" (which he titles "A SENSATIONIST POEM"), and "Soneto," for which the critic sees an origin in "Passos da Cruz", XIII. Also in 1968 in his book *Fontes Impressas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*, José Galvão published the poem "The Sunflower" in INÉDITO DE FERNANDO PESSOA, followed by a note explaining that he had received the poem directly from the hands of Francisco Caetano Dias, who had found it in "o fundo do famoso baú" (GALVÃO, 1968: 113). The critical edition alters the printed record on the basis of handwritten annotations to typescript 31, one of a number of versions of "The Mad Fiddler" found in the Pessoa Archive.

The criticism that the editors of the critical edition aim at Amina di Munno in her preparation of the bilingual Italian edition (1989) are, first, that she did not take into consideration the modifications, substitutions, and additions that Pessoa made on typed versions of his poems; secondly, that she included poems that Pessoa tried to exclude; and finally that she included all 53 poems in order, ignoring Pessoa's decision indicated in the "cópia final" ["final copy"], with the word "Omit," to withhold six poems ("If I could carve my poems in wood," "Summer Moments," "Rivers," "Isis," "Horizon," and "Elevation"). Munno also failed to alter the titles of certain poems, as Pessoa had marked on a list of contents, "Goblin Dance" to "Elf Dance" and "I feel pale and I shiver" to "Not Myself."

The problem faced by the editors of the critical edition, in view of the many changes and emendations in multiple copies of the poems, is the certainty of which version is the "final copy." What is the status, for example, of the clean copy kept in Pessoa's famous trunk that itself was copied and used for another phase of changes and annotations? Could the poems as sent to Constable and Company be considered definitive? Did typescript 31 precede or follow the rejection by the English press, and if it proceeded why are there no clean copies containing the changes marked in ink on that typescript? How can one be absolutely confident, without a doubt, that Pessoa's "Omit" represents a definitive decision for "The Mad Fiddler"? In several cases, the "Omit" exists alongside a question mark or doubt. In "Summer Moments," for example, the annotation after the typed title "Autobiography in the Sunlight" is crossed out and reads "omit or correct much." "Elevation" carried the notation "Omit or alter altogether." The lines of the poem contain alterations, which would be unnecessary if Pessoa had definitely decided to eliminate the poem. In "The Broken Window," included in the critical edition, Pessoa has noted "insert, perhaps for corrections." In spite of this reservation, the poem appears in the critical edition exactly as it does in Lind's 1968 essay. Yet in other cases, the editors have decided to act on Pessoa's single indication, "omit"

even though the list of poems is unreliable, since the poem "Prayer" does not appear in the index to 31, which is the basis for the choices for the critical edition.

With the appearance of the Nogueira typescript (see Section Documents in this issue), an electrostatic copy of which became the basis of typescript 31, scholars have another lens with which to analyze the development of the critical edition, also in view of what was perhaps a special version prepared for Constable and Company. Another complicating factor is the existence of sheets taken or obtained from the archive in the 1960s, which may include poems from "Outros poemas publicados por José Blanc de Portugal" ("Ship sailing out to sea," "Mother of things impossible," "When shall we rest?" "Wake with the Sun, wake with the moon," and "The Master said you must not heed") or other titles published by Lind?

Some of the alterations to individual poems are significant. In "Not Myself" (also "I feel pale and I shiver"), line 6 has two possible readings, "Unlocks all my soul?" or "Unlooses all my heart?"; and line 16 reads "That I am vainly king" or "That I am fairy king." In several poems, the rhythm and esthetic effect is altered by the choice of variants, as in "Meantime" (also titled "Far Away"), in which the final lines read either "All me a delight, | All away from sight" or "All me a delight, | Far away from sight" or "For me a delight, | Far away from sight." Perhaps no single poem is so affected as "Lullaby," a poem that carries the following note: "The 'Lullaby' quoted is the 134<sup>th</sup>. Poem in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. It was taken by him from Martin Peerson's *Private Music*, a Song-Book of 1620. The 'Lullaby' is here given twice over, and the last stanza twice again." Peerson's quatrains with their two-line refrain are thus divided and form a rhythm for the sections of Pessoa's lullaby, with the final quatrain and refrain repeated three times for effect to bring the poem to a rhythmic conclusion. Pessoa noted in typescript 31 that the entire poem should be reproduced after his first lines, then only the refrain repeated subsequently throughout the poem. Perhaps should he have seen a typed version he would not have been so hasty, as the entire poem becomes dull and loses its musical effect, while the two-line refrain repeated throughout the poem is too simple and adds nothing either to the development or the meaning of the poem. Here, a sudden impulse resulted in an unmusical and dull poem esthetically, which the editors could have ignored.

Perhaps the major conundrum facing the editors of a critical edition is that definitive textual decisions must be made, even when the evidence is inconclusive, incomplete, or subject to doubt. The situation is even more acute in the case of a work that Pessoa never published and, as far as one can tell from the many possible arrangements of its poems, never concluded. Its place in the English poems further depends on an analysis of the many English poems that followed "The Mad Fiddler" during the period 1921-1934. And perhaps the material taken or borrowed from the famous trunk in the 1960s, about which Jorge de Sena

complained vociferously, will eventually alter our perception of Pessoa's writing of "The Mad Fiddler?"

What we have now are competing textual records, one in which poems from "The Mad Fiddler" have been published in three journals and two books, including the complete *Obras* by Aguilar, in translations to Italian and Portuguese, and in Freire's *Poesia Inglesa*, which follows the Nogueira typescript, and the Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda critical edition. One can appreciate the careful scholarship in the critical edition, even if the "critical" is not "final."

### ***Mad Fiddler* – comparative editions and typescript in Nogueira's private collection:**

1. Typescript from Nogueira's private collection.
2. PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major series, volume V, tome III.
3. PESSOA, Fernando (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Edition by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.

Typescript	Edition (1995)	Critical Edition (1999)
CONTENTS		
I. THE MAD FIDDLER		
The Mad Fiddler		
The Island		
Lycanthropy		
Spell		
Goblin Dance		Elf Dance
Dream		
"I feel pale..."		Not Myself
II. THE SHINING POOL		
Elsewhere		Sunset
"Go: thou hast nothing..."		The Shining Pool
The Poem		
Looking at the Tagus		Moonside
"If I could carry my poems"		(Poem not included)
Suspense		
Fierce dreams of something else		

## III. THE WRONG CHOICE

The Night-Light

Lullaby

(Poem not included)

Summer Moments, I, II, III

Emptiness

Monotony

Sister Cecily

Prayer

Prayer

(Poem not included)

The Ruined Cloister

## IV. FOUR SORROWS

Rivers

Far Away

Episode

Nothing

Meantime

(Poem not included)

Meantime

## V. FEVER-GARDEN

Fever-Garden I, II

The Broken Window

Isis

Ennue

L'Inconnue

Horizon I, II

Her Fingers Played Absently...

Her Fingers Toyed Absently...

(Poem not included)

(Poem not included)

Her Fingers Toyed

## VI. SONGS AFTER SLUMBER.

The Lost Key

The Sunflower I, II

The Hours

La Chercheuse

Song

Anamnesis

Chalice

Song After Slumber

Awakening

The Butterfly

## VII. THE DROPPED TORCH

Elevation

To One Singing

The Foreself

The Bridge

The King of Gaps

The Loophole

The Abyss

(Poem not included)

## VIII. THE LABYRINTH



to hover

to hover

"Looking At the Tagus"  
(last two quatrains absent)

"Fierce Dreams of Something Else"

- 2 Frenzy to go away  
3 (O wave in me that swells!)

Splendour to go away  
(Frenzy in me that swells!)

### III. THE WRONG CHOICE

"The Night-Light"

- 47 Whose lost scent throngs  
48 Through my sense-screens?  
61 And life, life's hearse,  
62 Leaving dreams free,  
63 Shrink undefined  
64 Into the unknown.  
74 Brotherly night,

Whose lost colour throngs  
Round my lost sensuousness?  
Till cares disperse  
Like leaves set free  
Where the quick wind  
Freshens its moan.  
Motherly night,

"Lullaby"<sup>1</sup>

- 1 My heart is full of lazy pain  
2 And an old English lullaby  
3 Comes out of that mist of my brain.  
4     Upon my lap my sovereign sits  
5     And sucks upon my breast;  
6     Meantime his live maintains by life  
7     And gives my sense her rest.  
8     Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
9     Sing lullaby, my only joy!

My heart is full of lazy pain  
And an old English lullaby  
Comes out of that mist of my brain.  
(complete text of Peerson's  
*Private Music* placed here)

- 10 I would give all my singing trade  
11 To be the distant English child  
12 For whom this happy song  
  was made.  
13     When thou hast taken thy repast,  
14     Repose, my babe, on me;  
15     So may thy mother and thy nurse  
16     Thy cradle also be.  
17     Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
18     Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

I would give all my singing trade  
To be the distant English child  
For whom this happy song  
  was made.  
Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
Sing lullaby, my only joy!

- 19 There must have been true

There must have been true

---

<sup>1</sup> "Note: The "Lullaby" quoted is the 134<sup>th</sup> poem in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. It was taken by him from Martin Peerson's *Private Music*, a Song-Book of 1620. The "Lullaby" is here given twice over, and the last stanza twice again." The six-line stanzas from Peerson are typed in red in the document extant in Nogueira's private collection.

happiness  
 20 Near where this song was sung  
     to small  
 21 White bands clutching a mother's  
     dress.  
 22 I grieve that duty doth not work  
 23 All that my wishing would,  
 24 Because I would not be to thee  
 25 But in the best I should.  
 26 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 27 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!  
  
 28 Oh, what a sorrow comes to me  
 29 Knowing the bitterness I have  
 30 While that child had this lullaby!  
 31 Yet as I am, and as I may,  
 32 I must and will be thine,  
 33 Though all too little for thy self  
 34 Vouchsafing to be mine.  
 35 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 36 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!  
  
 37 My heart aches to be able to weep.  
 38 Oh, to think of this song being sung  
 39 And the child smiling in its sleep!  
 40 Upon my lap my sovereign sits  
 41 And sucks upon my breast;  
 42 Meantime his live maintains by life  
 43 And gives my sense her rest.  
 44 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 45 Sing lullaby, my only joy!  
  
 46 I was a child too, but would now  
 47 Be the child, and no other, hearing  
 48 This song low-breathed upon  
     its brow.  
 49 When thou hast taken thy repast,  
 50 Repose, my babe, on me;  
 51 So may thy mother and thy nurse  
 52 Thy cradle also be.  
 53 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 54 Sing lullaby, my only joy!  
  
 55 Oh, that I could return to that  
 56 Happy time that was never mine  
 57 And which I live but to regret!  
 58 I grieve that duty doth not work  
 59 All that my wishing would,  
 60 Because I would not be to thee

happiness  
 Near where this song was sung  
     to small  
 White bands clutching a mother's  
     dress.  
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!  
  
 Oh, what a sorrow comes to me  
 Knowing the bitterness I have  
 While that child had this lullaby  
 Sing lullaby, my little boy  
 Sing lullaby, my only joy!  
  
 My heart aches to be able to weep.  
 Oh, to think of this song being sung  
 And the child smiling in its sleep  
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!  
  
 I was a child too, but would now  
 Be the child, and no other, hearing  
 This song low-breathed upon  
     its brow  
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!  
  
 Oh, that I could return to that  
 Happy time that was never mine  
 And which I live but to regret!  
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,  
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!





# The Incomplete English Poems of Fernando Pessoa

Cary Stough\*

**PESSOA, Fernando (2000). *Poesia Inglesa II*. Edited and translated into Portuguese by Luisa Freire. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.**

As it now stands, the largest collection of Pessoa's posthumous English poems written under his own name—96 of them, in fact—was published in Portugal, by editor and translator Luisa Freire, in a bilingual volume titled *Poesia Inglesa II*, in 2000.<sup>1</sup> Freire's pioneer undertaking presents a selection of Pessoa's poems in English, unattributed to any fictitious author—which is to say, by default, attributed to Pessoa *himself*. As any rudimentary knowledge of his criticism reveals, Pessoa was no stranger to the English language or its poetic traditions. Winning the Queen Victoria Prize when he was just 15 and then, in 1917, assembling a volume of primarily standard English verse, which he titled *The Mad Fiddler*, are two facts that remind us of Pessoa's comfort in English. As the years pass and scholars are allowed time to trace and retrace all sorts of heteronym bloodlines—and as new documents are constantly being discovered (those in the Hubert Jennings estate,<sup>2</sup> for example, some of which I assisted Patricio Ferrari in editing)—the scope of Pessoa's English output continues to expand and render more complex our understanding of the one-or-many poets we call Fernando Pessoa.

It is at this juncture that a close look at Freire's edition reveals its limitations, in spite of the pioneering aspects of the enterprise. Additionally, this closer look (in conjunction with recent English-Pessoa scholarship) affords us with the critical facility to notice the editorial shortcomings: labeling some published poems unpublished, not to mention the implication that the collection was far from being complete. As Freire herself articulates in the postface:

---

\* MFA candidate; Literary Arts Department, Brown University.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Zenith recently published close to 150 English poems by Fernando Pessoa (though there are more poems than in Freire's edition, Zenith's does not include as many loose poems). The volume includes poems attributed to Alexander Search, as well as a selection from 35 *Sonnets*, "Antinous," "Inscriptions," *The Mad Fiddler*, and poems posthumously published. See Fernando PESSOA. *English Poetry*. Selected and introduced by Richard Zenith, Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> In October 2015, the Hubert Jennings literary estate was donated to the John Hay Collection of Brown University. For a special issue recently devoted to this archive see Carlos Pittella, editor, *People of the Archive: the Contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa Studies*, Providence, Gávea Brown, 2016. [A printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8].

Neste terceiro volume de poesia inglesa foram reunidos, como foi dito previamente, poemas escritos dispersamente por Fernando Pessoa, que vão de 1901 até 1935, data da morte do poeta. Embora tenha havido (como se pode verificar pela datação respectiva) períodos mais férteis de escrita em língua inglesa – 1915, 1916, 1917 e 1920 – Pessoa nunca abandonou, até ao final da sua vida, a língua que aprendeu na infância e na adolescência na África do Sul e dentro da qual, de certa maneira, moldou o pensamento, através da sua formação britânica e das literaturas nela expressas, que o poeta atentamente estudou e assimilou.

No entanto, perdido o contacto directo com a língua falada a partir de 1905, data do seu regresso definitivo a Lisboa, o seu inglês tornou-se essencialmente literário e foi nessa versão muito pessoal que redigiu toda a sua obra neste idioma.

[This third volume of English poetry combines, as previously said, poems dispersedly written by Fernando Pessoa, from 1901 to 1935, when the poet died. Even though there have been (as one may see from the dates of poems) more fertile periods of creation in English language—1915, 1916, 1917 and 1920—Pessoa never abandoned, up to the end of his life, the language he learned in his childhood and adolescence in South Africa, and in which, in a way, he molded his thought, through his British education and its literatures, which the poet attentively studied and assimilated.

Nevertheless, once lost the direct contact with the spoken language as from 1905, when Pessoa definitively returned to Lisbon, his English became essentially literary, and it was in this very personal mode that he composed all his work in that language.]

(PESSOA, 2000: 259)

It is very possible this passage inadequately capture the translucent opacity of a poet Patricio Ferrari calls “the poet-between-languages—the outlandish Pessoa,”<sup>3</sup> but it also omits the existence of English poems still lying outside of the corpus presented. As shown in the recent publications below, many English poems remained unpublished—varying between lyrical, stylistic, and cultural registers:

FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2016). “Twenty-one Haikus by Fernando Pessoa.” Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest editors, *Pessoa Plural— A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º. 9, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, pp. 184-229. [16 unpublished English poems].

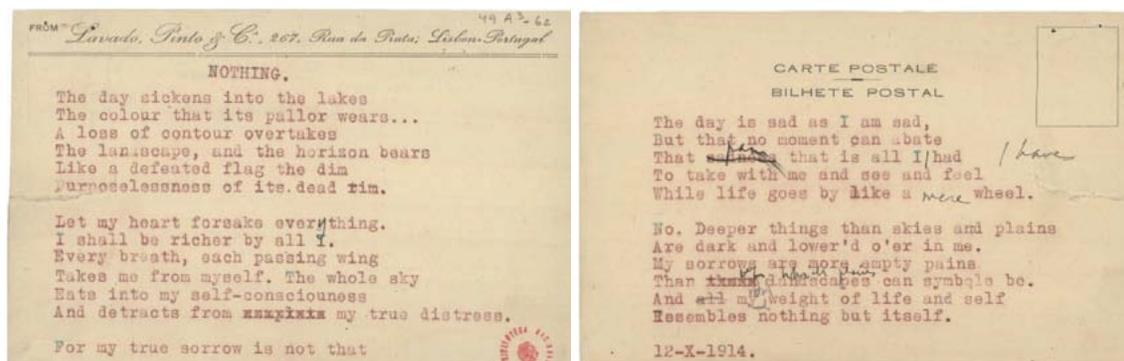
FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2015). “Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa’s English Poetry.” Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo PIZARRO, guest editors. *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer. Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º. 28, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Tagus Press, Spring, pp. 227-246. [4 unpublished English poems].

FERRARI, Patricio (2015). “Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa.” Carlos Pittella, guest editor. *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º. 8, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431. [25 unpublished English poems].

<sup>3</sup> Patricio FERRARI, “Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa.” *Pessoa Plural— A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, 2015, p. 373.

PESSOA, Fernando (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition. [First edition 2014]. [8 unpublished English poems].

Freire's edition also includes some inaccuracies, which—now that Pessoa scholarship is beginning to embrace the English poems—require reparative attention. For example, “The Day is Sad as I am Sad,” previously published by Teresa Rita Lopes in *Pessoa Inédito*, Lisbon, Horizonte (1994: 194) had been, as Ferrari showed (2012: 270-271), only partially published. The typewritten poem occupied both sides of the sheet (BNP / E3, 49A<sup>3</sup>-62<sup>r</sup> and 49A<sup>3</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>; cf. Figs. 1-2). What is more, “The Day is Sad as I am Sad,” (titled “Nothing”), seems to have been an earlier draft of “Emptiness” (BNP / E3, 31-34; PESSOA, 1999: 52 and 155; cf. Fig. 3), which, with a few minor differences, became part of the third section of the *The Mad Fiddler*.<sup>4</sup>



Figs. 1 and 2. “Nothing” (BNP / E3, 49A<sup>3</sup>-62<sup>r</sup> and 49A<sup>3</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Fernando PESSOA, *Poemas Ingleses, The Mad Fiddler*, Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Major Series, volume V, tome III, 1999.

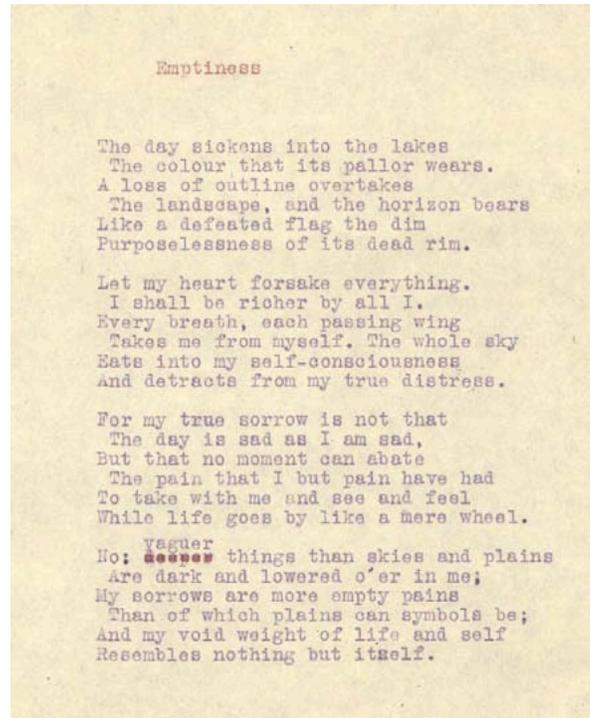


Fig. 3. "Emptiness" (BNP / E3, 31-34<sup>r</sup>).

Also needing rectification are two poems wrongly attributed as unpublished. "The Lame of Legs, for Coming Late or Ill," given as "inédito" [unpublished] (PESSOA, 2000: 251), had been previously published by Georg Lind in "9 unbekannte englische Gedichte F[ernando] P[essoa]s, Diskussion und Kommentar von Ulrich Suerbaum und vf." *Poetica*, n.º 2, vol. 2, Munich, April 1968, p. 232.

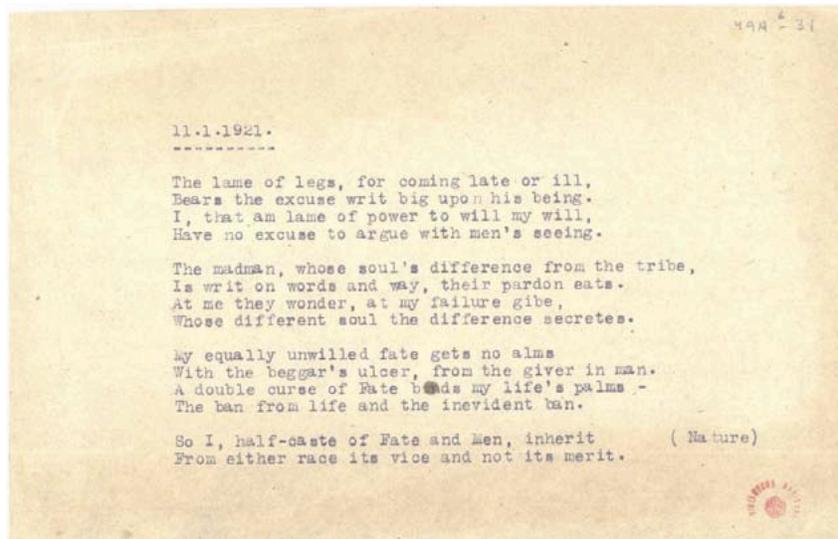


Fig. 4. "The Lame of Legs, for Coming Late or Ill" (BNP / E3, 49A<sup>6</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>).

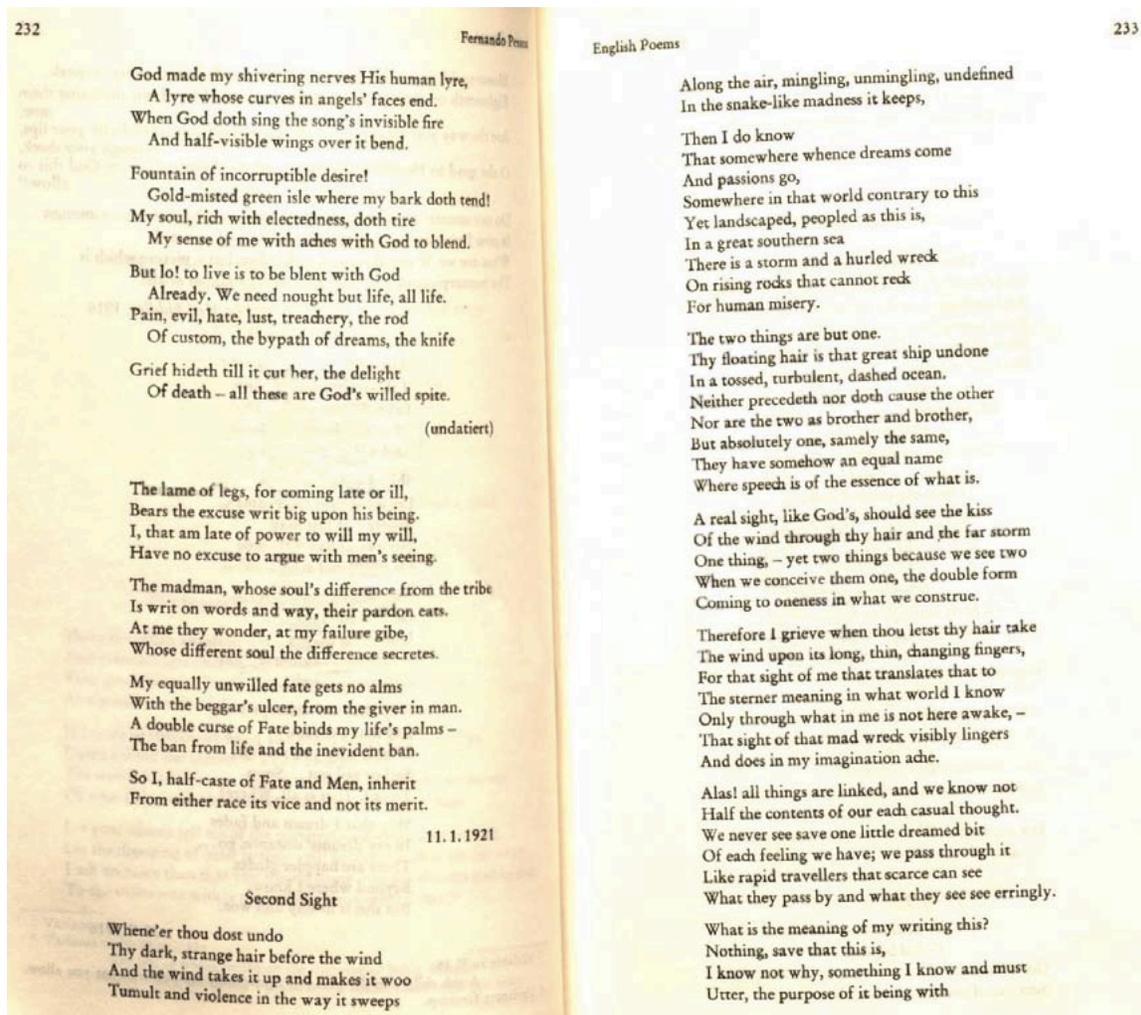
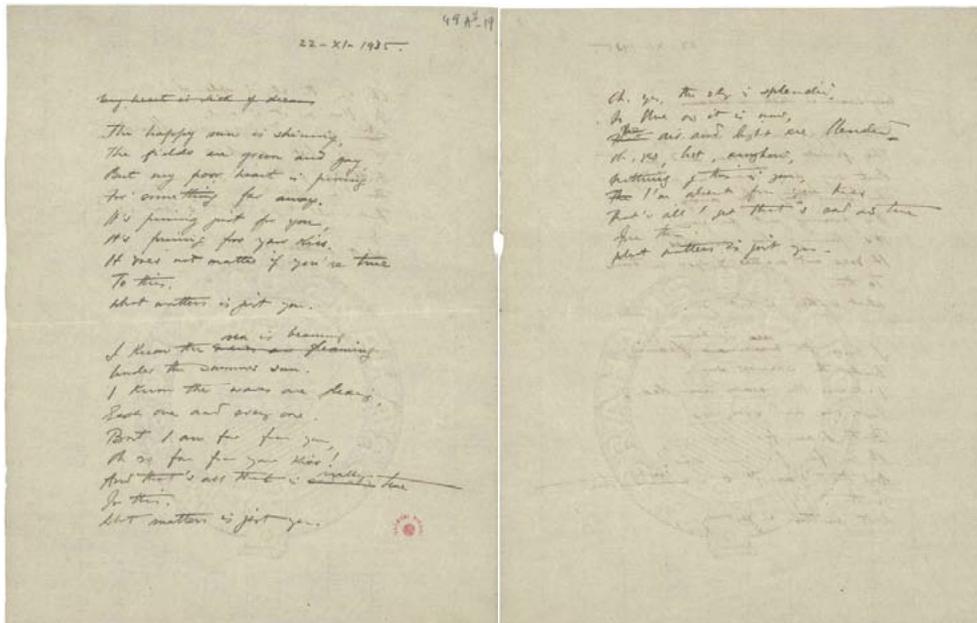


Fig. 5. Georg Rudolf Lind. "9 unbekannte englische Gedichte F[ernando] P[essoa]s." *Poetica*, n.º 2, vol. 2, Munich, April 1968, pp. 232-233. British Library.

The last of the dated poems in the edition, "The Happy Sun is Shining" (BNP / E3, 49A7-19), dated 22 November 22 1935, given as "inérito" [unpublished] (PESSOA, 2000: 253), had been initially published by Ángel Crespo in Fernando Pessoa, *Noventa poemas últimos (1930-1935)*, Hiperión, Madrid, 1993, p. 214.



Figs. 6 and 7. "The Happy Sun is Shining" (BNP / E3, 49A7-19r and 49A7-19v).

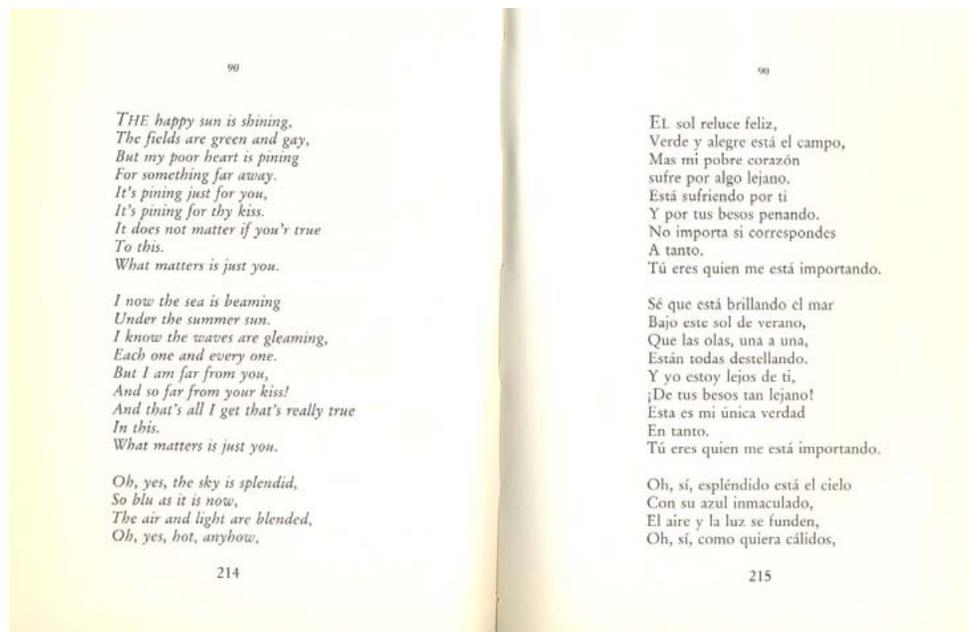


Fig. 8. Fernando Pessoa, *Noventa poemas últimos* (1930-1935), translation and preface by Ángel Crespo, bilingual edition, Hiperión, Madrid, 1993, pp. 214-215.

For such a prolific author who left so many writings not only unpublished, but also undated, it is not surprising that a relevant aspect in Pessoa scholarship is the date-range within which those poems were written. The heteronyms, of course, were also contingent in nature to time, as much a factor of where the poet lived as when he was living. Therefore, it poses quite a question why Freire did not organize the book in any way to highlight this contingency. One must, in reading this edition, continually flip to the index in order to synthesize their reading experience within the context of the poet's life. The poems appear to be gathered

with little differentiation—simply two sections: poems dated and undated poems. Though it reflects a certain economy on behalf of Freire’s contribution, one desires a little more organizational guidance.

The truth of the matter is clear, however: not only did Pessoa write in English, he wrote more than originally imagined in his own name. This revelation surely was not lost on Freire, whose efforts on display were not, in the least, small, and very important to the now burgeoning study of the English poems. Somewhat more surprising, however, was that more than several of the poems recently transcribed attain a level of beauty and complexity akin to those written under such heteronyms as the inimitable Caeiro, Reis, and Campos. “What is hidden from me that is everything?” asks this author of authors, reaching for his unique metaphysics, as singularly mystical as it is pessimistic. The previous quote is found in an English poem dated 7 February 1915, recently revealed in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*.<sup>5</sup> But there is much merit to be unearthed in Pessoa’s seemingly bottomless trunk: haikus and sonnets, for instance, which makes it the more unfortunate to have been left out of Freire’s anthology. Jerónimo Pizarro, the most knowledgeable scholar today regarding Pessoa’s archive, tells of over 1,300 documents including English writings, that may or may not all include poems, which need to be thoroughly scrutinized (cf. FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2015: 230). The critical edition of Fernando Pessoa’s complete English poems is yet to come.

---

<sup>5</sup> Patricio FERRARI, “Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa.” *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, 2015, p. 399.

# Connections and Transformations: Fernando Pessoa Reads and Writes in English

David Mittelman\*

**FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo PIZARRO, guest eds. *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer. Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Tagus Press, Spring 2015. Print.**

If it occasionally seems that scholarly publications on Fernando Pessoa must have already exhausted every significant aspect of the poet's work and life, the fact is that the field of Pessoa studies is subject to the same sorts of blind spots that cause interesting topics to be overlooked in every area of inquiry. Pessoa's voracious study of literature in English and his own extensive writings in the language constitute one such topic, frequently mentioned in passing, sometimes studied in compelling detail, but only receiving sustained and penetrating critical attention in the hands of a few scholars. In this volume, editors Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro offer us a richly varied collection of articles and other materials relating to Fernando Pessoa's participation in the English-language literary tradition, with the aim of moving the subject closer to the center of the discussion of Pessoa's legacy. Claiming the distinction of producing the first book-length publication focusing exclusively on the study of Pessoa as a reader and writer of English, the editors present five major themes to be explored over ten articles: "the Durban years; Pessoa's short and long poems; mediating Portugal; the nineteenth century and a theoretical framework for heteronymism; and Pessoa's archive" (4). In addition, the book includes little-known works by Pessoa, including the short story "A Very Original Dinner," excerpts from the essay "Erostratus," both originally composed in English, and incomplete Portuguese translations of poetry by Dryden, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning. The final section contains an interview with translator Margaret Jull Costa and three reviews of recent books relating to Pessoa.

Among its many strong articles, the collection contains several highlights worth mentioning specifically. Richard Zenith's article on Pessoa's *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* disputes Hubert Jennings's autobiographical interpretation of this early project and argues instead that though Pessoa's story was "not a translation or even a remake of the original," his experiments were closely based on the serialized boys' novel *The Boys of Barrowby*, written by Edgar Joyce Murray under the pseudonym Sidney Drew (19). It is possible that Zenith goes too far in rejecting Jennings's reading, since Pessoa could very well have appropriated the title and

---

\* PhD Candidate; Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University.

narrative equipment of *The Boys of Barrowby* in order to tell an autobiographical tale. However, regardless of the view we adopt, Zenith has solved for us the small mystery of the formal origin of Pessoa's Barrowby.

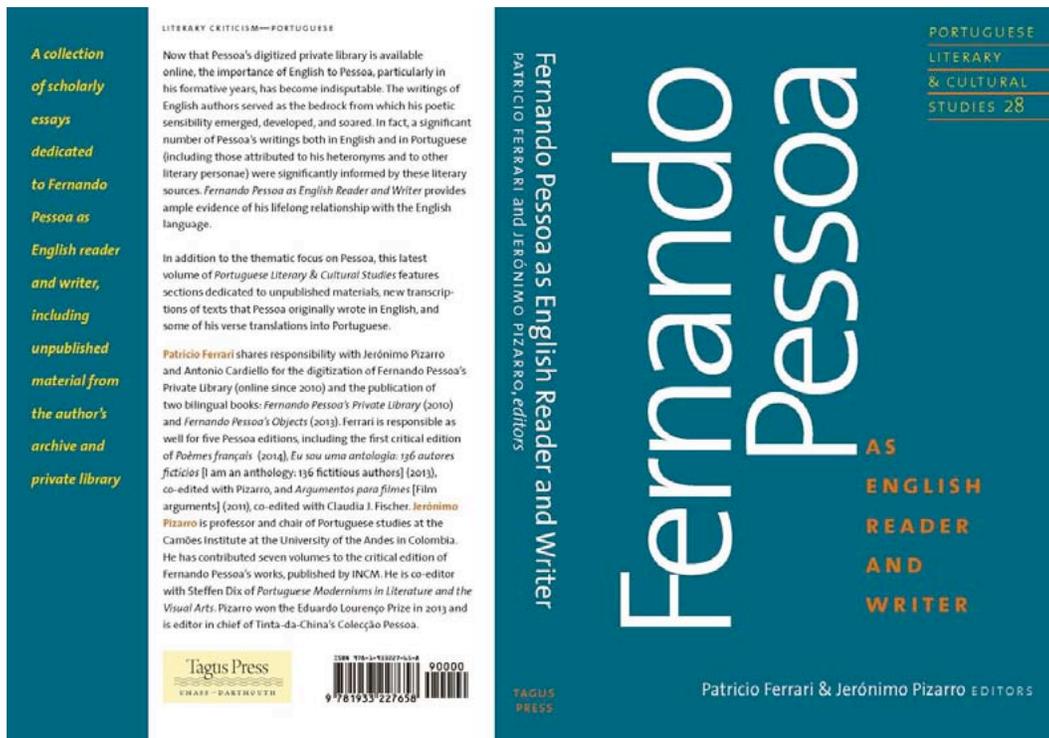


Fig 1. Cover and back cover of *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*.

George Monteiro's discussion of Pessoa's "O menino da sua mãe" contests another received autobiographical interpretation. Against the psychoanalytic gloss promoted so vigorously by João Gaspar Simões, Monteiro compares Pessoa's lyric with the work of the English poets Rupert Brooke and A. E. Housman, interpreting the poem as a denunciation of war informed as much by Pessoa's reading of English poetry as by the news of the wars of his time. The comparative reading reveals "so stark a contrast, in fact, that one is tempted to see 'O menino da sua mãe' as something of an answer to the public sentimentality exemplified in the young Brooke's last poetry" (53). Vividly drawing out this contrast between celebratory and elegiac poetic treatments of war, Monteiro observes that "[i]n the poetry written during the war, body parts – usually referred to, with a strong trace of Victorian delicacy, as 'limbs' – were lost and heroically dead bodies were interred under fields of red poppies and blooming roses, but it was not noted that myriad corpses, unclaimed for burial, lay rotting on the battlefields where they died. Housman and Pessoa knew better, even if Brooke did not, or would not" (60).

Stefan Helgesson's discussion of Charles Robert Anon and imperialism provides a refreshing postcolonial appreciation of Pessoa's early writings and

intellectual formation. Helgesson approaches the issue of empire in Anon's poetry via the question of the "double elusiveness" of Fernando Pessoa's presence in South Africa and the presence of South Africa in Fernando Pessoa. The analysis reveals Anon's "imperial ambivalence," his critical understanding of the geopolitical order in the first years of the twentieth century as a violent inter-imperial game. At the same time, however, Helgesson calls attention to the limits of the criticism of which Anon (or Pessoa) was capable, since in the end "[t]here is no evidence in Pessoa's early poems that he was aware of anything other than white concerns in southern Africa" (40). The article concludes with a timely admonition for Pessoa scholarship: the imperial context in which Pessoa was educated and began to write must be addressed "not in a narrowly moralistic sense, but as its problematic onto-political condition of possibility" (42).

Other articles in the collection offer compelling discussions of many aspects of Pessoa's work. Patricia Silva McNeill shares a thorough exploration of Pessoa's reception in English modernist magazines, noting, in particular, the potential influence of *Blast* on the *Orpheu* 2. José Barreto's analysis of Pessoa's massive "History of a Dictatorship" project sheds light on the republican-leaning early period in the development of Pessoa's political thought, a phase frequently overshadowed by the poet's later writings on the concept of aristocracy. And the duo of Ferrari and Pittella-Leite provide a succinct and persuasive argument for their contention that Pessoa continued writing poetry in English, at least intermittently, long after he was thought to have stopped in 1921.

The articles are accompanied by a series of commented transcriptions that show the state of textual criticism on the English Pessoa and which will be of particular interest to enthusiasts of the archive. On the whole, though readers outside the immediate circle of Pessoa specialists might have benefited from greater clarity and contextualization regarding some editorial decisions, many will find a wealth of cutting-edge analytical and textual scholarship with which to dialogue. The release of *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*, along with other recent publications and events organized individually or in tandem by Ferrari and Pizarro, including the collection *Eu Sou Uma Antologia* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2016) and the symposium "Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa" (held 17-18 April 2015 at Brown University), marks another important development in the field of Pessoa studies, a turn in the direction of a more complete and transcultural appreciation of the great poet and his work.